

A  
R E P O R T  
OF THE  
Proceedings and Opinion  
OF THE  
BOARD of GENERAL OFFICERS,  
ON THEIR  
Examination into the CONDUCT, BEHAVIOUR,  
and PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
Lieutenant-General Sir *JOHN COPE*,  
Knight of the *BATH*,  
Colonel *PEREGRINE LASCELLES*,  
AND  
Brigadier-General *THOMAS FOWKE*.

From the Time of the breaking out of the Rebellion in *North-Britain* in  
the Year 1745, till the Action at *Preston-Pans* inclusive.

Taken Publickly in the Great Room at the *Horse-Guards* in the  
Year 1746.

With a PREFACE, containing the REASONS  
for this PUBLICATION.

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M, DCC, XLIX.

T O T H E  
R E A D E R

THE Defeat at *Preston-Pans* was attended by such a Train of Mischiefs, and laid the Foundation of so many Dangers, both to our own most excellent Constitution, and the Independency of *Europe*; That it was natural for every good Subject, to treat, with the utmost marks of their Displeasure, all those whom they conceived had contributed to this fatal Event, either by Cowardice, Incapacity, or Negligence. Indeed, upon this Occasion, Indignation was the Duty of every honest Mind; for none could consider this Disgrace with Calmness, but such as were secretly leagued with our Enemies, or such as were insensible of the inestimable Prerogatives which distinguish a Subject of *Great-Britain*, from the Inhabitants of all the rest of the Globe.

From the Beginning of the Rebellion, and the first Motion of the King's Troops in *Scotland*, it was generally believed, that Sir *John Cope* had acted with less Vigilance than he ought to have done; and all the Advantages of the Rebels, previous to the Battle of *Preston-pans*, were by the Publick, imputed to his Mismanagement; so that I think myself sufficiently authorized, by the concurrent Opinion of Mankind, to declare, That I considered all the Difficulties in which the Rebellion, afterwards, involved us, as entirely owing to the Misconduct of Sir *John Cope*. And, that I may not be accused of having formed a confused and vague Judgment, without having considered the Particularities of the Matter in Question, I must beg leave to give a short Journal of the Proceedings of the King's Troops, till the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, together with a distinct Account of the Censure of the Publick on each Part: Whence it will appear, that, whether our Opinions were, or were not, well founded, yet we could not be accused of dealing in general Surmises, only.

About the Beginning of *August* 1745, it was first suspected by the Government, that the Pretender's Son was either landed, or proposed to land, in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*. By the 8th or 9th of *August*, it was confirmed that he was on the *Highland* Coast. On the 20th, Sir *John Cope* marched Northward from *Stirling*, with all his Foot. On the 26th, he arrived at *Dalwhinny*, where the great Road divides into two: that on the Right, leading to *Inverness*, and that on the Left, passing over a remarkable Mountain, called *Corriarrick*, goes to *Fort-Augustus*. At *Dalwhinny* Intelligence was received, that the Rebels had possessed themselves of the Passes of the *Corriarrick*, (the Road our Troops intended to take) and on this Sir *John Cope*, instead of pursuing his

March to *Fort-Augustus*, as he had proposed, turned off by the Right-hand Road, and arrived at *Inverness* the 29th. By this means the King's Troops being all to the Northward, except two Regiments of Dragoons, which were left about *Stirling*, and *Edinburgh*, the Rebels immediately marched Southward, and the Dragoons giving them no Interruption at the Passage of the *Forth*, they crossed that River, and approached *Edinburgh*, the Dragoons retreating, always, with great Precipitation before them. On hearing that the Rebels intended to advance towards the *Low-lands*, Sir *John Cope* left *Inverness* on the 4th of *September*, and arrived, with his Troops at *Aberdeen* on the 11th; there they were embarked on board the Transports which had been collected for that Purpose, and putting to Sea on the 15th, they on the 17th, landed at *Dunbar*, where they were joined by the two Regiments of Dragoons. The 18th, the getting the Artillery on Shore was completed; and the 19th, the Army marched towards *Edinburgh*, which had been delivered up to the Rebels the very Day the Transports arrived off *Dunbar*. On the 20th, Sir *John Cope* came in Sight of the Enemy, who had marched their whole Force from *Edinburgh* to meet him: And the 21st, in the Morning, the fatal Battle of *Preston-Pans* was fought, in which all the Foot of the King's Army were either killed, taken Prisoners, or dispersed, and Sir *John Cope*, with no more than 450 Dragoons, retreated to *Berwick*.

In this Month's Transactions, thus briefly related, the Publick have severely censured almost every Step taken by the General. For, it hath been believed, that the Troops did not march from *Stirling* so soon as they might have done, nor made that Expedition in their March, as was expected; by which means the Rebels were enabled to collect their Numbers, to confirm their wavering Friends, to animate their Party, to march, to the Southward of *Fort-Augustus*, and to take Possession of the *Corriarrick*. It was farther believed too, that notwithstanding all these Advantages, neither the Strength, nor Position, of the Enemy was such, when Sir *John Cope* arrived at *Dalwhinny*, as should have deterred him from prosecuting his March over the *Corriarrick*, and endeavouring to dislodge them; and even had this Measure appeared too rash, yet, the marching to *Inverness* seemed the most imprudent Step that could possibly be taken; for, it obviously left *Edinburgh*, and the whole South of *Scotland*, to the Discretion of the Rebels, as there was no other Force to check their Progress than two Regiments of Dragoons. To this March towards *Inverness*, all the future formidable State of the Rebellion hath been usually ascribed; it being supposed, that the Arms the *Highlanders* met with at *Edinburgh*, and the Reputation and Courage they acquired by their Progress in the South, were the principal Circumstances which emboldened them to attack the King's Troops at *Preston-Pans*, and were the Source of all the Encouragement they afterwards received, both from our domestick and foreign Enemies. But how strongly soever the publick expressed their Disapprobation of the Measures pursued by Sir *John Cope*, previous to

the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, this was far short of their Censures of his Conduct in that Action; since it was almost universally thought, that the Troops under his Command had been attacked before they were formed, and were, in some sort, surprized, by an Enemy who had continued within a Mile of them, for at least twenty Hours preceding the Battle. It was believed too, that instead of endeavouring to retrieve, by his Activity, and Presence, the Confusion and Rout, which, it was supposed, his own Mismanagement had occasioned, the General was the first who abandoned the Field, and, leaving his Troops to the Mercy of the Enemy, retired with the utmost Precipitation to a Place of Safety.

This is, I presume, a faithful Abstract of the Opinions of the Majority of the Nation, with regard to the Behaviour of Sir *John Cope*; so that, when in the latter End of the Summer 1746, his Majesty was pleased to appoint a Board of General Officers, to examine into the Conduct of that Gentleman, it was Matter of no small Joy to the Publick, as they expected to find all their Suspicions irrefragably confirmed, and thence to have had speedy and exemplary Justice on those they considered as the Authors of their past Calamities.

This Enquiry was indeed managed with a Strictness, and Solemnity, that excluded all Suspicion of Biass, or Partiality. The General Officers who presided, were, Field-Marshal *George Wade*, President, Lieutenant-General *Charles* Lord *Cadogan*, Lieutenant-General *John Folliot*, Lieutenant-General *Charles* Duke of *Richmond*, and Lieutenant-General *John Guise*. None of these Gentlemen had, at any time, been so much as suspected of a Behaviour the least resembling that charged on Sir *John Cope*; but, were all of them, of unblemished Honour, and distinguished Justice, and were competent Judges of the Matters entrusted to their Examination. Every Officer who had marched with the Army from *Stirling*, or had been at the Battle, were ordered to attend, except a few whose Service could not be dispensed with, and whose Letters, therefore, were permitted to be read. The Volunteers too, who were present at *Preston-Pans*, were desired to appear, and to declare all they had observed. The Examinations were taken publickly, in the great Room at the Horse-Guards, where any Gentleman was permitted to enter, and where there were never less than one hundred and fifty Auditors. The Enquiry lasted five Days, from ten in the Morning, till three in the Afternoon. There were above forty Witnesses examined, and the Board frequently enquired if there were any Officers who had served under Sir *John Cope*, who had not been summoned. But they found, that except a few who could not be spared, but, whose written Evidence was read, there were none. In the Course of the Proceedings publick Notice was often given, That if any Person, either knew, or had been informed, of any Fact, or Circumstance, contradictory to the Evidence then given, it was a Duty he owed to his King and Country, to acquaint the Board therewith. The Board at the same time declaring, That all such voluntary

Witnesses might be assured of Protection, and might, at their own Option, either give their Information in Publick, or in a private Room by themselves. I must add too, that the Board were so extremely attentive to every Matter, even the minutest, that might tend to throw any Light upon the Enquiry they were engaged in, that they ordered the whole of the Correspondence between the Secretary of State for *North-Britain*, and Sir *John Cope*, to be read, and to be annexed to their Report, lest the Letters omitted should contain such Particulars as might explain the detached Passages in a different Sense from what they bore when considered apart. Nay farther, when the Enquiry was, in all Appearance, finished, and the Board had adjourned to a distant Day, in order to give their Opinion of the Report, which was then, in good Measure, drawn up, one of them having accidentally heard that there was a Person who asserted, he had been present in the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, and, who was said, to relate many things, differently from the Witnesses examined by the Board, a Summons was hereupon immediately sent him, and his Examination was taken, and annexed to the Report.

As I constantly attended the Board, and as I had been, myself, strongly persuaded, that the general Censure of Sir *John Cope's* Conduct was well grounded, it was no small Surprize to me, to find, on the Enquiry, that the various Matters with which he was charged, appeared so very different from my Prepossessions about them. I could not, indeed, impute this, either to the Partiality of the Judges, the Management of the Accused, or the Collusion of the Evidences, since, the Methods of proceeding, already described, were insuperable Obstacles to all these Artifices. However, as Opinions once strongly imbibed are not easily departed from, I could not, immediately, persuade myself, that a Person, whom I had long considered, as extremely blameable, was, really, so totally free from Reproach, as the Result of these Examinations seemed to conclude: and therefore still suspecting some Fallacy, I did not rest satisfied till I had procured an authentick Copy of all the Evidence, such as is contained in the following Sheets, and such as it was delivered to his Majesty by the Board: And now, having the whole Matter before me, which I could compare and review, with more Attention and Deliberation, than could be done by only hearing the Examinations, I at length was fully persuaded, that the Reproach and Odium thrown on Sir *John Cope* by the publick Voice, were altogether groundless; and that no Part of our Misfortunes in *Scotland* could, with the least Shew of Justice, be imputed to him.

For it will appear to every one who peruses the ensuing Sheets, with Care, That, from the first Hour when Sir *John Cope* was informed of the Pretender's Son being landed in *Scotland*, he lost no Time in putting the Troops in Motion, and in making all necessary Preparations for a March to the Northward; that as soon as his Bread, and Money, were ready, which was in ten Days, he actually marched from *Stirling*, firmly

persuaded that he should be joined on the Way, by some of the well affected Clans, for whom he had provided Arms: That his March was continually retarded by the losing of his Provision-Horses, and the Desertion of their Drivers, which, no Precautions could prevent: That, at *Creif*, he found himself disappointed of the Succours he had expected from the well-affected Clans in that Neighbourhood, and would, therefore, have suspended his March, had he not been tyed down by positive Orders: That at *Dalwhinny*, he received advice of the Rebels having possessed themselves of the Fastnesses of the *Corriarick*, where they proposed to wait for him; and that thereupon after the most serious Deliberation, and maturely Weighing the Consequence of every other Measure, it was unanimously resolved in a Council of War, to March towards *Inverness*.

And that this Step may be viewed in its true Light, it is necessary to describe the Road across that Mountain, whence it will appear, how great the Risque would have been of attempting that Passage. The South Side of the *Corriarick* is of so very sharp an Ascent, that the Road traverses the whole Breath of the Hill seventeen times before it arrives at the Top. The Road in descending on the North Side is flanked for a considerable Space by a Wood, and is crossed by a large Hollow, which is the Bed of a Torrent, and whose Banks are so extremely steep, that it is not passable but by a Bridge, which was possessed by the Rebels, and could have been broken down in a very short time, if they had found it necessary. From this Description it is plain, that a very small Force, who were Masters of the Hill, were capable of stopping, or even defeating a considerable Army that should attempt to dislodge them. For, each Traverse, in ascending, is commanded by that above it; so that even an unarmed Rabble, who were posted on the higher Ground, might without exposing themselves, extremely harrass the Troops in their March. Whence, the attempting to force seventeen Traverses, every one of them capable of being thus defended, was an Undertaking which it would have been Madness to have engaged in, with a Number, inferior to the Enemy, especially as the *Highlanders*, from their Knowledge of the Country, their natural Agility, and their Attachment to Ambushes and Skirmishes, would, in this Situation, have indulged their Genius, and would, doubtless, have proved most formidable Opponents. Besides, could it be supposed, that by the Bravery of the Troops, or an uncommon Share of good Fortune, all these Passes had been cleared, and the Army arrived on the Top of the *Corriarick*, yet, the Descent would have been still more hazardous, and, if the forementioned Bridge was broke down, became absolutely impossible; for then neither a Carriage, nor a Baggage Horse could have crossed the Hollow.

The passing the *Corriarick*, then, proving impracticable by the Time Sir *John Cope* arrived at *Dalwhinny*, and his Orders being positive to march to the Chain of Forts, *Inverness* was the only Part of that Chain to

which the Army could proceed. But, even independent of the Orders of the Secretary of State, the March to *Inverness* (whatever its Consequence might prove) appeared the most prudent Measure that could be, at that Time, pursued. It was impossible to remain at *Dalwhinny*, for there was only three Days Bread in the Camp, and none could be procured at that Place. To have marched back towards *Stirling*, and *Creif*, would have been construed as abandoning all the King's Friends in the North, to the Fury of the Rebels, and would have furnished an Excuse to Numbers to have joined the Enemy, under Pretence of being forced to it against their Inclination. It would have had the Air of a Retreat, and would, doubtless, have dejected the Friends of the Government, and have increased the Insolence of its Opposers. Whereas, by the March to *Inverness*, the Army would be in the Neighbourhood of the greatest Part of the well-affected Clans, who chiefly inhabited that Side of the Country, many of whom had given strong Assurances of their Readiness to join the King's Troops, and had, in some Sort, requested the General to advance that Way. It was not, at that Time, certain, that the Rebels would venture to the Southward, and, if they did, it was hoped, that by assembling a Body of the well-affected, at *Inverness*, and sending it upon the Rebels Lands, all their Views of advancing to the *Low-lands* would instantly vanish, and they would immediately return back to take Care of their own Defence. It is true, the supposed general arming of the well-affected about *Inverness*, proved a mere Chimera, and all the Advantages expected from thence, fell to the Ground. But, I appeal to every impartial Person, who carefully considers the following Report, whether, before the Event, the Reasons and Inducements for their March were not such, as would have exposed the General to the Censure of having wilfully ruined his Master's Affairs, had he not resolved upon it.

I have dwelt the longer on this Article, as it was, I confess, a Matter which had appeared to me, from common Fame, to be of most mischievous Consequence. But it is time to have done with it, and to follow the Report, in what relates to Sir *John Cope's* Conduct, after his Arrival at *Inverness*.

It appears, by the ensuing Examination, that when the Rebels advanced to the Southward, and the Proposal for forcing them back by a Diversion, proved abortive, Sir *John Cope* lost no Time in endeavouring to get into the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh* before them. As the returning by Land was tedious and hazardous, on Account of the difficult Country, and Rivers which lay in his Way, where the Rebels might destroy the Roads, break down the Bridges, sink the Boats, and harrass the Troops; it was therefore thought most prudent to march to *Aberdeen*, and thence, to pass the Army by Sea, to the South Side of the *Forth*. In executing this Project, it is proved, no Time was lost, and indeed it had, well nigh, secured the City of *Edinburgh*; for the Troops landed at *Dunbar* the very Day that *Edinburgh* was given up to the Rebels.

But the most extraordinary Part of the ensuing Report, and what, I conceive, will be digested by the Publick, with the most Reluctancy, is, the Account therein given, of the Battle of *Preston-pans*. For, surely, after the Prepossessions which have so long prevailed, it will not be easily credited, that the Field of Battle for the King's Troops, was well chosen; that their Disposition was prudent, that the Army was perfectly formed before the Rebels attacked it; that after the Dragoons, both on the Right and Left went off, the Foot stood, and were broken, gradually, from the Right, as the Enemy who first attacked the Right, moved up the Line. That Sir *John Cope* remained with the Foot till they were utterly routed, and exerted himself all he could, to have rallied them, and, if possible, to have retrieved the *Affair*; that at last, seeing the Foot totally dispersed, he then, and not till then, rode to the Dragoons, whose Flight had been retarded by a Park-Wall in the Rear, and tryed his utmost, in vain, to rally them, and to march them against the Enemy. That, indeed, when they had ran through the Village of *Preston*, 450 of them were collected, and persuaded to stand; but, a Party of the Rebels appearing in Sight, their old Pannick returned, so that all the Intreaties of Sir *John Cope*, and the Officers who were with him, could not prevail on them to charge; that therefore, as nothing was then to be expected from them, no other Step could be taken than to march to *Berwick*. All these Circumstances of the Battle, how well soever supported by the most unquestioned Evidence, will yet, I presume, be insufficient, immediately, to destroy the contrary Opinions which have, so long, possessed Men's Minds; and therefore, as I myself found it difficult to Master my Prepossessions, and impartially to weigh the Varacity of these Facts, I will lay before my Countrymen, the Reasons, which, in Opposition to my former Sentiments, have prevailed with me to assent to the Report, and to believe, the Conduct of Sir *John Cope* at the Battle of *Preston-pans* to have been unexceptionable.

That the Troops were perfectly formed before the Attack of the Rebels, and that Sir *John Cope* continued with the Foot, endeavouring to animate them, till they were entirely dispersed, are Matters attested by such a Number of Witnesses, That, unless it can be supposed they were all instructed beforehand, and resolved to concur in the same Tale, these two Points, (the most material in Question) cannot be controverted. But if it be considered, that the Evidences are, all the Officers of the Army that were in the Action, the greatest Part of them, never accused, or suspected, of having any Misconduct of their own to answer for, and yet, great Sufferers by the unhappy Event of the Day; it will, I suppose, be allowed, that their Losses, Wounds, and Imprisonment, and other Disadvantages to which they were exposed, by belonging to ruin'd Regiments, were such Incitements to them to have laid open the Faults of their General, as it was not in his Power to have diverted, or mitigated, especially, as he was far removed from all Influence over their Fortunes, or Preferment. Indeed when I consider,



that the Fact of the Army's being in excellent Order before the Attack, is proved by every Officer on the Line, who all assert, that the particular Body they belonged to, was compleatly formed; and when I farther consider the Number of those who depose, they saw Sir *John Cope* active amongst the Foot, and endeavouring to rally them after the first Confusion; I cannot but own, that these Proofs appear to me, beyond the Power of Collusion, or Management of any kind, and consequently, I cannot but affirm the Conduct of Sir *John Cope* in the Action, to have been unexceptionable, especially too, as amongst all those who were examined, there is but one single Evidence to the contrary; and he having, in Matters of an indifferent Nature, deposed, what could not possibly be Fact, and almost every Article he asserts, being denied by those who were on the Spot, I cannot think his single Testimony of the least Weight.

Thus I have briefly gone through the principal Matters contained in the ensuing Report, though with much less Force and Distinction, than what they there appear with. As I had not spared to treat the Character of Sir *John Cope* with great Freedom, whilst I believed him culpable, I thought it my Duty, as an honest Man, to make him the best Reparation in my Power, by publishing to the World the very same Materials which had convinced me of my Error, strongly persuaded, that, the following Sheets will have the same Effect upon all who will attentively peruse them. Whilst we were obliged to trust publick Fame for our Information, and the interesting Nature of the Subject would not permit us to keep our Judgment in Suspence, we were not, perhaps, to be blamed for forming such Opinions of this Gentleman, as tallied with the faulty Accounts we could procure. But, as the following Report furnishes more authentick Materials in relation to his Conduct, than can perhaps, be met with, in any other Inquisition of a like Nature; every one who is apprized of the Importance of Reputation, and who believes the wanton despoiling an innocent Man of his Character to be a Crime, is now bound in Honour to suspend those Censures of Sir *John Cope*, which former imperfect Relations may have given Countenance to, till he has carefully perused the following Sheets, and has impartially considered his own Heart, whether, Prepossession and Prejudice apart, there can be urged the least Shadow of a Reason for disbelieving the concurrent Evidence there given, and consequently whether Sir *John Cope* is not clearly absolved from the numerous Accusations with which he had been so continually, and confidently burthened.

I have only to add, That, how desirous soever I may have been to lay the ensuing Report before the World, yet I was deterred from publishing it sooner, lest it might have failed of having its full Force. For during the War, the Attention of the Nation was so entirely ingrossed by the military Events on the Continent, that the Re-examination of a Matter which every one had already decided in his own Thoughts, was a Subject, too trite, and barren, to merit even a

Perusal, especially as it was known that its Result was opposed to the general Opinion, and, it had thence, so prodigious a Weight of Prejudice to encounter. But since the publick Tranquility is happily restored, and the striking Occurrences of new Marches, new Sieges, and new Battles, are ceased; it is presumed the annexed authentick Account, though it be of Transactions long since finished, may in the present Leisure of Mankind, be considered. Besides, as precipitate Judgments are usually attended with a vehement Obstinacy, which, Confutation, and Contradiction, serve only to inflame, I believed that this Disposition, like all other violent Passions, was only to be calmed by Time; and that till Mens Minds had been suffered to grow cool, they would not bear to be told how strangely they had been deceived. I conceive, too, that on other Accounts, the present Conjuncture is the most proper that can be chosen, since, as we are now at Peace with all foreign Powers, no Imputation of Impropriety can be urged against the disclosing to the World any of the Facts or Correspondence contained in the Report and its Appendix.

From all these Considerations, then, it may be hoped that the following Sheets may, now, have some Chance, at least, of being read; and, that they should be attentively read, is, I imagine, all that is necessary to fix the Opinion of the World, for ever, with regard to the Conduct of Sir *John Cope*.

R E

A  
R E P O R T

OF THE  
Proceeding and Opinion of the Board  
of General Officers on their Examination, &c.

*May it please your MAJESTY,*

**Y**OUR Majesty having, by your Warrant dated the 30th Day of *August* last, Seen pleased to order a Board of General Officers, to consist of Field Marshal *George Wade* President, and of Lieutenants-General *Charles Lord Cadogan*, *John Foliot*, *Charles Duke of Richmond*, and *John Guise*, to examine into the Conduct, Behaviour, and Proceedings of Lieutenant-General Sir *John Cope*, and Colonel *Peregrine Lascells*, from the Time of the breaking out of the Rebellion in *North-Britain*, until the Action was over at *Preston near Seaton*; and likewise into the Conduct, Behaviour and Proceedings of Brigadier General *Thomas Fowke*, from the Time he took the Command of the two Regiments of Dragoons, then in the City of *Edinburgh*, until the said Action was over at *Preston*, which happened on the 21st Day of *September* last, between your Majesty's Forces and the Rebels; and requiring the said Board to report a State thereof, as it shall appear to them, together with their Opinion what is proper to be done thereupon. We the above-said Field Marshal and other General Officers, have in Obedience to your Majesty's said Warrant, had several Meetings thereupon, on *Monday* the 1st of *September* 1746, and the following Days: whereat, having, considered the Nature of the Examination, and the Method that would be most distinct to state the same, agreed to proceed in setting down the Questions that would be proposed to Sir *John Cope*, and his Evidences; and in like manner to Colonel *Lascells* and to Brigadier *Fowke*, and to their Evidences, with the respective Answers thereto. And, as several of Sir *John Cope's* Operations depended on the Instructions he received from the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, your Majesty's late Secretary of State for *North-Britain*, which would make it necessary to have the Correspondence by Letters between the said Marquis and Sir *John Cope* laid before them, the Board came to a previous Resolution, that such Correspondence should not be admitted before them, unless taken from some authentic Office Copies of such Letters, in Cases where the original Letters themselves cannot be produced, by Sir *John Cope's* having had, as he alledges, all his Papers, among which were the Marquis of *Tweeddale's* Letters to him taken from him (among other

Things) after the Battle of *Preston*. And accordingly such Letters, or Parts of Letters, as are recited in any of Sir *John Cope's* Answers, have been compared by the Board, with authentic Copies from the Marquis of *Tweeddale's* late Office, signed by *Andrew Mitchel*, Esquire, late Chief Secretary to the said Marquis of *Tweeddale*, and found to agree with the same; and for further Satisfaction, the Board have annexed, in their Appendix to this their Report, Copies of the several Letters, recited or referred to, marked Numb, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.

The Board then proceeded to the said Examination, as followeth.

## Questions put to Sir *John Cope*, with the Answers.

### QUESTION 1.

*When was the first Notice of the intended Rebellion, and what Steps did you take on receiving such Notice?*

*Sir John Cope answered as follows.*

The first Notice I had of it was on the second of *July* from the Lord President of the Court of Session in *Scotland*, acquainting me, that he had received a Letter from a Gentleman of some Consideration in the *Highlands*, letting him know, that there was a Report current in that Country, that the Pretender's Son was to land there this Summer, in order to attempt an Insurrection. This Report the Gentleman says he gives no Credit to, as he was convinced, that young Man would find no Gentleman of Consequence to join him; but said, he thought it his Duty to acquaint the President of this Rumour, and promised to enquire further into it, and if he found there was any thing in it, to give Notice by Express.

The Lord President being called upon in Relation to the Answer, confirmed the same as far as he is mentioned therein; then Sir *John Cope* proceeded to say as follows:

The Day I received this Notice, being the 2d of *July*, I acquainted the Marquis of *Tweeddale* of it by Letter\*, and represented to him, that if an Invasion did take Place, he knew the well-affected Clans were without Arms, and that, no doubt, Arms would be landed to put into the Hands of those who were not so: That there were no Magazines of Arms to supply the well affected with: That the Arms in the Castle of *Edinburgh* were far from being too many for the Service of the *Low Country* in Case of Necessity; and submitted it to his Lordship, if it would not be proper, that Arms should be sent from the Ordnance, to be lodged in some of the *Highlands* for the Service of the Government in case of any sudden Attempt.

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\* Appendix, Numb. 1.

To this Letter the Marquis on the 9th of *July* answers \**“I have received yours of the 2d of July, giving me an Account of the Information you had that Day received, that a Report is current in the North Country, that the Pretender’s eldest Son is expected in Scotland this Summer. Whether this Report be well or ill founded, it is proper the Government should be upon their guard; and therefore, I make no doubt but you will keep a strict Eye on what may be passing in those Parts; and that you will forthwith transmit to me any Intelligence you may think material.*

*“I laid before the Lords Justices what you suggest, of its being proper that Arms should be sent from the Ordnance, to be lodged in some of the Garisons in the Highlands, to answer the Service of the Government there, in case of any sudden Attempt; but their Excellencies came to no immediate Resolution on that Matter<sup>†</sup>.”* Upon the 9th of *July* I wrote to the Marquis acquainting him, that the Lord Advocate had shewed me his Lordship’s Letter to him, which he received last Night, and that this Morning we met with the rest of his Majesty’s Servants, to consider jointly what Steps would be proper to be taken upon it; and went on to tell his Lordship,

*“I have ordered the Dragoons, whose Horses are at Grass, to be in readiness to take them up and march at a very short Warning. I have called in as many of the Out-Parties as conveniently I could, in order to draw the Troops together in case of Necessity, I have ordered General Preston, whose Health has permitted him to come here two or three times this Year, to repair forthwith to his Command of *Edinburgh* Castle, which Place I look upon to be of the greatest Importance of any in this Country.*

*“I did design to set out this Week, to review some of the few Troops we have in this Country; but, at this Juncture, I think it more for the Service to stay here, till Affairs have a better Prospect.*

*“A small Encouragement from abroad, would, in my Opinion, give rise to disaffected Persons in these Parts to disturb the Government, especially if we have not Troops sufficient to discountenance any such Attempts; and as I know more Troops cannot be expected to be sent here, I hope, at least, none will be taken from us to endanger this Part of the King’s Dominions.*

*“I submit it to your Lordship, if it would not be proper, at this Time, to obtain an Order from the Regency, for every Officer absent from *Scotland*, to repair forthwith to his Post, notwithstanding any Leave to the contrary.”*

In answer to which the Marquis wrote me on the 18th of *July*,<sup>‡</sup> *“I*

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\* Appen. Numb. 2.

† Appen. Numb. 3.

‡ Appendix, Numb. 4.

received both yours of the 9th and 11th of *July*, which I have laid before the Lords Justices. I have often recommended it to his Majesty's Servants in *Scotland* to keep a strict Look-out at this Juncture, which indeed is absolutely necessary; but it has not been recommended to me, by his Majesty or the Lords Justices, to give any further Orders, which, no doubt, would have been done, had they apprehended any immediate Danger; I am therefore very glad you did not proceed any further in ordering the Dragoon Horses from Grass, &c. since that would have tended to have alarmed the Country too much."

And on the 25th of *July* his Lordship wrote me as follows \* : "I am persuaded his Majesty will be pleased with the Accounts I have had the Honour to transmit to him of Zeal and Activity at this Juncture; and I hope you will continue to have a strict Eye upon what may be passing, and to keep the Forces under your Command in such a Disposition, as you shall judge most proper, for frustrating the Attempts any Persons may make to disturb the Peace and Quiet of his Majesty's Government: but at the same Time, you will do this with the greatest Caution, to prevent the alarming his Majesty's Subjects too much: I believe it was in this View, that the Lords Justices did not think proper, to issue an Order for every Officer absent from *Scotland* to repair forthwith to his Post, notwithstanding any former Leave to the contrary, as you suggested to me in the 9th of *July*. However I must earnestly recommend it to you, not to allow any of the Officers now with their Regiments to absent themselves; as also, that you will give Orders, as of your own Authority, and in a 'private Manner, to such Officers as are absent from their Duty, without good Reason, to repair immediately to their Regiments.

The Lord President was desired to inform the Board, what he knew in relation to Sir *John* consulting with him, and the rest of the King's Servants at *Edinburgh*, as to what Measures were most proper to be taken for his Majesty's Service, from the Time his Lordship gave Sir *John* the first Notice of the intended Rebellion, till the Time his Lordship left *Edinburgh*.

To which his Lordship answered, that upon the Notice he gave Sir *John* in the Beginning of *July* of the intended Rebellion, he continued from time to time, to give Sir *John Cope* such Accounts as he received, and his Lordship was consulted by Sir *John Cope* with the rest of the King's Servants concerning the Credibility of the Reports that were spread, of the Pretender's Son's landing, and of the Measures that would be necessary to be taken in this Case; and his Lordship was then of Opinion, that from the Number of the well-affected Clans, it could not rise to a great Head, but that it could be crush'd in the Bud.

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\* Appendix, Numb. 5.

## QUESTION II

*What Troops were in Scotland, at the Time you received this Notice of the intended Rebellion, and where were they stationed? To which Sir John Cope answered as follows:*

I can only answer this from my Memory and Enquiry, having lost both my Journal and Returns; but as much as I can remember, on the 2d of *July* the Troops in *Scotland* were quartered thus:

*Gardener's* Dragoons at *Stirling, Linlithgow, Musselburgh, Kelso, and Coldstream.*

*Hamilton's* ditto, at *Haddington, Dunse,* and the adjacent Places. *N. B.* Both Regiments at *Grass.*

*Guise's* Regiment of Foot at *Aberdeen,* and the Coast-Quarters. Five Companies of *Lee's* at *Dumfries, Stranraer, Glasgow* and *Stirling.*

*Murray's* in the *Highland* Barracks.

*Lascelles* at *Edinburgh* and *Leith.*

Two additional Companies of the *Royal* at *Perth.*

Two ditto of the *Scotch* Fuziliers at *Glasgow.*

Two ditto of Lord *Semple's* at *Cowper* in *Fife.*

Three ditto of Lord *John Murray's Highland* Regiment at *Creif.*

Lord *Loudon's* Regiment was beginning to be rais'd; and besides these, there were the standing Garrisons of Invalids in the Castles.

*N. B.* As to the additional Companies of the *Royal, Scotch* Fuziliers, and *Semple's,* by Reason of the Draughts made from them, and the Difficulty the Officers met with in getting Men, I believe, I may safely say, that upon an Average, they did not exceed 25 Men *per* Company, and those all new-rais'd Men. The three additional Companies of Lord *John Murray's,* I believe might be pretty near compleat; of these three last I soon after sent one to *Inverary,* and the other two which I took with me, mouldered away by Desertion upon the March Northward.

## QUESTION III.

*When had you Notice from the Secretary of State of the Report of the Pretender's being imbarked for Scotland, and what Orders did you receive upon it?*

*Sir John Cope's ANSWER.*

The first Notice I had of this was from the Marquis of *Tweeddale,* in his of the 30th of *July,* wherein he wrote me, that\* “this Day several Informations were laid before the Lords Justices, importing, that the *French* Court was meditating an invasion of his Majesty's Dominions,

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\* Appendix, Numb. 6.

and that the Pretender's Son had sailed on the 5th Instant, N.S. from *Nantz*, on board a *French Man of War*, and was actually landed in *Scotland*, which last Part I can hardly believe to be true, since I have not as yet received any Intelligence of this Kind, from any of his Majesty's Servants in *Scotland*: However, be that as it will, it has been recommended to me by the Lords Justices, that I should signify to you, that it is their Pleasure, that you make such a Disposition of the Forces now in *Scotland*, as you shall judge most convenient for drawing them together in Case of Necessity; that you order the Dragoon Horses to be immediately taken up from Grass, in order to their being ready to march at a short Warning; and that you will likewise dispatch proper Orders for the Security of the Forts and Barracks in the *Highlands*.

“I shall move the Lords Justices, at their next Meeting, that Orders may be sent to the Ordnance for a fresh Supply of Arms to be sent to *Scotland*; but you know it will take some time before they can arrive.”

#### QUESTION IV.

*What did you in Consequence of these Orders?*

Sir John Cope's ANSWER.

This Letter of the 30th of *July* I received on the 3d of *August*, and I immediately gave Orders for the Dragoon Horses to be taken up from Grass to be ready for a March, and to the Foot who were in Quarters in the *Low Country of Scotland*, likewise to hold themselves in readiness, and ordered the several Parties who were working on the King's Roads, to join their respective Corps. I likewise dispatched proper Orders for the Security of the Forts and Barracks in the *Highlands*, with Directions to the Officers quartered at those Places, to procure Intelligence of all that was passing in these Parts, and transmit the same to me.

In my Letter of the 3d of *August*<sup>\*</sup>, acknowledging the Receipt of his Lordship's of the 30th of *July*, I acquainted him, among other Things, “That, if I should have Occasion to make use of any Field Train of Artillery, there were no Gunners in *Scotland*.” And in another Letter of mine to his Lordship, of the same Date,<sup>†</sup> I apply'd for Credit, and added, “That tho' I was not alarmed myself, nor endeavoured to alarm others too much, yet I neither have, nor shall omit anything in my Power, to put the few Troops I have in Readiness to act against any thing that may be attempted in *Scotland*.”

“The President, and others well affected, are very desirous of having Arms put into the Hands of their Followers in case of Necessity.”

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\* Appendix, Numb. 8.

† Appendix, Numb. 9.



On the 9th of *August*, I received a Letter of the 5th,<sup>\*</sup> from a Steward of the Duke of *Argyle*, inclosed in a Letter from the Sheriff-Deputy of *Argyle* to the Lord Justice-Clerk, acquainting him, “That he that Morning received very extraordinary News, if it could be depended upon, that the Pretender’s eldest Son was landed at *Arisaig*, with between two and three hundred Men, and 2000 Stand of Arms.” I sent this Intelligence to the Marquis the same Day,<sup>†</sup> and acquainted his Lordship, “That I would march with what Troops I could draw together, wherever I could be of most Service.”

#### QUESTION V.

*When had you Intelligence of the Pretender’s Son’s landing in the Highlands, and what Measures did you take upon it?*

*Sir John Cope’s ANSWER.*

On the 9th of *August*<sup>‡</sup> I acquainted the Marquis, that the President had that Morning call’d upon me, on his Way Northward, to acquaint me, that he had just then received an Express from the same Gentleman, who had given him the Intelligence mentioned the 2d of *July*, acquainting him, “That the pretended Prince of *Wales* was on the Coast of *Ueist* and *Barra*, in a Vessel mounting 16 or 18 Guns, having about thirty *Irish* or *French* Officers on Board, together with one *Sherridan*, who is called his Governor, and no *Scotchman* of Consequence but the Duke of *Athol’s* elder Brother.”

The President believed the Information to be true, and I acquainted the Marquis, “That I had ordered as many of the Troops, as could with Security be spared from the *Low Country*, to assemble with the utmost Expedition, and that I would march directly to oppose whatever Enemies I should meet with.”

I gave the utmost Application to every one Thing for bringing the Troops from their respective Quarters to *Stirling*, and for providing what was absolutely necessary for their March thro’ the *HIGHLANDS*: The Ovens at *Leith*, *Stirling* and *Perth*, were kept at Work Day and Night, *Sunday* not excepted, to provide Biscuit, which was no other way to be got. I contracted with proper Persons for Horses, to carry a small Train of four Field-pieces, and four Cohorns (the Country Horses being too small for that Service) and with a Butcher, to carry some Cattle along with the Army, to kill upon the March.

In expediting these necessary Affairs I employed my Lord *LONDON*, who having but few of his Regiment to join us, did me the Honour to tell me, he would act in any Character whatever, by which he could most advance the Service, and readily accepted of doing the Duty of

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\* Appendix, Numb. 10.

† Appendix, Numb. 11.

‡ Appendix, Numb. 12.

Adjutant-General, and with whom I consulted in every one Step I took throughout the whole Affair; Lieutenant Colonel *Whiteford* of the Marines, who was willing to be employed in any Part of the Service where he could be of Use; Major *Caulfield*, whom I appointed Quarter-Master-General; Major *Missman* my Aid de Camp and Pay-Master of Extraordinaries, and Mr. *Griffiths*, Conductor of the Train, and Commissary of the Stores and Provisions.

While the President staid at *Edinburgh* I consulted with his Lordship, my Lord Advocate, and Solicitor-General, in every thing that could promote the Service. They were of Opinion with me, that the Pretender's Son would not venture on the Attempt, without Encouragement to expect a Rising of some considerable Number of Highlanders in his Favour; and that the most effectual Way of putting a Stop to wavering People joining with the Disaffected, so as to make a formidable Body, was, immediately to march and stop their Progress.

Agreeable to this Opinion, I made my Disposition, and did not lose one Moment in putting it in Execution. It was absolutely necessary to carry a sufficient Quantity of Bread; there was none to be got in the Country the Army was to march through; all possible Care was taken to get the baking of it dispatched: Notwithstanding whereof, we were obliged to halt a whole Day at *Creif*, waiting for a hundred Horse Load of it, which was not quite ready when we marched from *Stirling*, and did not come up to us till we got to *Amobrie*. I was in Hopes to have been able to begin our March from *Stirling* some Days sooner than I did, but the Delays I met with in this Article, made it impossible.

There was yet another Hindrance of no less Consequence: I could not march without carrying Money, wherewith to subsist the Troops; I knew there was none to be got in the Country we were to march into. I apply'd to have Credit for it at *Edinburgh*, in my Letter to the Marquis of the 3d of *August*. This Credit I received the 17th, I got the Money on the 19th in the Morning, and went that same Night to *Stirling*.

On the 10th of *August*, I acquainted the Marquis of this Opinion, which I had formed in Concert with the King's Servants, in these Words, \* “This sudden March, with the Shew of some Artillery, &c. I am in Hopes, and do believe, with the rest of the King's Servants, will put a Stop to the Design some of his Majesty's Enemies may have to rise in Favour of the Pretender; and if it should not, small as my Force is, I will go to the first Body I can meet of them, and try to check their Proceedings.

“Unless I hear any thing to alter my present Design, I shall march to the Forts, which form a Chain from *Inverness* to *Fort-William*.

In this Letter I acquainted my Lord, that “I intended to march with fifteen Companies of Foot, two *Highland* Companies, and some few

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\* Appendix, Numb. 13.

Dragoons, Northwards; and that I had sent a thousand Arms to *Inverness*, part of which were for the Use of such effective Men, as Lord *Loudon's* recruiting Officers might have got together in that part of the Country."

In Answer to this Letter, the Marquis, on the 13th, tells me, "I have laid it before the Lords Justices, who intirely approve of your Conduct, and are particularly pleased with the Resolution you have taken, to march with as many of the Troops as you could assemble, to those Parts where any Danger is apprehended: And their Lordships are of Opinion, that how soon you receive Information, that any Number of the Disaffected are gathered together, you should immediately attack them.

"A little Vigour shown in the Beginning, may prevent their coming to a Head; and I am hopeful, that even the small Number of Troops you have, will be able to give a thorough Check to any sudden Insurrection that may happen, as we do not hear that any foreign Troops are yet landed to support the Disaffected."

His Lordship adds, "It is impossible at this Distance to give any particular Directions; your Judgment and Conduct will enable you, to make the best of the Circumstances that may occur."

On the 11th of *August*,<sup>†</sup> I sent the Marquis a Letter, I had that Moment received from the Deputy-Governor of *Fort-William* acquainting me, that "2000 *French* were landed in *Moydart*;" and told his Lordship, that "the only Alteration this Intelligence would make in the Method I designed to pursue, (of which I had given him an Account in mine of the 10th) was, that the Troops from *Stirling* should encamp in *Stirling* Park, and those from *Perth* near *Perth*, so as that they may both join in one Day's March, I told him, "I did not need to state to his Lordship, the weak Condition we were in, in case of foreign Troops landing. Five Companies of *Lee's* Regiment lay at *Bernwick*; if they should be replaced, they would be some small Addition to us.

In this Letter I acquainted the Marquis, That I had sent an "Express to the Duke of *Argyle*, with a Copy of this Letter of Intelligence, begging his Grace's Advice and Assistance in this critical Juncture; which, I was in great Hopes I should have by his Grace's Return to *Edinburgh*, where I would stay to see his Grace, as well as to concert Measures with the rest of his Majesty's Servants, till I hear more certain Accounts from the *North*.

"The Men that were working upon the Roads, have, by this Time, all join'd their respective Regiments, and I have sent a Reinforcement to *Fort-William*."

By writing in this Manner, I did not mean that I would wait one

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\* Appendix, Numb. 14.

† Appendix, Numb. 15.

Moment for the Duke's coming to Town, after every Thing was ready for the March Northward. That I did not slacken my Preparations, on that Account, the Officers who were employed, I am certain will vouch; that, on the contrary, this Intelligence made me continue to labour incessantly, to forward every one Thing that was necessary for the March.

In the Marquis's Letter to me of the 15th, in Answer to mine of the 10th and 11th, he says, \* He "had laid them before the Lords Justices. Their Excellencies entirely approve of the Disposition of the Troops, and the Measures you did design to pursue, as mentioned in yours of the 10th; but they are surprized to find, that the Execution of so prudent a Disposition should have been in the least suspended, on such slight Intelligence as that contained in your Letter of the 11th: It has therefore been recommended to me by the Lords Justices, to dispatch immediately this Express, with their Directions and Orders to you, to march forthwith, and to execute the Plan laid down in your Letter of the 10th, notwithstanding the Report of landing of Troops; and even notwithstanding any actual Debarkation of Troops: And I am very hopeful, you will have already begun to execute the said Plan, upon your receiving my Letter of the 13th Instant by the last Express.

"Your Notion of marching with the Troops towards those Forts that form a Chain from *Imverness* to *Fort William*, is approved of here as the most effectual Method to disappoint any Design his Majesty's Enemies may have to rise in Favour of the *Pretender*."

To this Letter of the Marquis's of the 15th, I answered in mine of the 18th, † "I have the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 15th instant. I am very sorry I am so unhappy as to be misunderstood, as I find my Letter is of the 11th. your Lordship will find by my Letters both before and since, that providing Bread has been the only Stop to the Troops marching; in getting which, as I mentioned to your Lordship before, I immediately employed Bakers at *Perth*, *Stirling*, and *Leith*.

"I go To-morrow to *Stirling* and the next Day to *Creif*, (and sooner the Bread could not be ready) and so on, except Circumstances arise to make it improper for the King's Service.

On the 13th, ‡ I wrote to the Marquis, "The Troops that can be spared from within and about the Capital, will be encamped To-morrow at *Stirling* and *Perth*, and as soon as Bread, and Biscuit is baked, they will be ready to move: Which Bread, and all other Necessaries for putting the Troops in Motion, I ordered in an Hour after I received the Alarm on *Thursday* last. No March could be taken Northward without carrying Bread with us; and as all the few Troops

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\* Appendix, Numb. 16.

† Appendix, Numb. 17.

‡ Appendix, Numb. 18.

in this Country are raw, and unused to taking the Field, it makes it very difficult for me to put them in Motion in the manner I could wish.

“As this Affair seems *very serious*, I need not mention the absolute Necessity there is of a Reinforcement of Troops from some Part or other, as well as a strong and active Support in the Cause from his Majesty’s Friends in this Country.”

The Marquis in his Letter to me of the 17th, after owning the Receipt of mine of the 13th, says, \* “I know at this Juncture Things will be exaggerated, and Endeavours will be used to amuse you with false Intelligence: and therefore I hope, by the next Letter from you, I shall hear that you have actually begun your March, with Part of the Forces, towards *Fort-Augustus*; since even supposing there is a Debarkation of foreign Troops, in the Parts mentioned, your encamping in the Neighbourhood of those Forts, will, as I apprehend, be the most proper Place for you to make a Stand, or even from thence to march to attack them. In that Position, you have the Advantage of effectually securing the different Forts, and the receiving Reinforcements from either of them, as you shall judge most expedient and proper. Whereas should you remain about *Stirling* or *Perth*, you will thereby give Leisure to the Enemies of his Majesty’s Government to assemble; who then, probably, may attempt to surprize *Fort William* or some other of those Forts: And should they succeed, the Affairs then indeed will become *serious*. But I persuade myself I need not enlarge on this Subject, since the Plan was perfectly agreeable to your own Notion, as expressed in your Letter of the 10th, and which was entirely approved (as I mentioned to you in my former) by the Lords Justices, and for putting whereof in Execution you have already received their positive Orders.”

I cannot help here taking Notice, that my Proposition, in my Letter to his Lordship of the 10th of *August*, to march to the Forts which form a Chain from *Inverness* to *Fort-William*, was not *absolute*. I told his Lordship I would, “unless I hear any Thing to make me alter my present Design.” At *Creif*, I found, we were to have none of the Duke of *Athol* or Lord *Glenorchy*’s Men to join the Army; and the March Northward being projected upon the Expectation of being joined by them, the Disappointment would have determined me to alter my Design, if I had not been tyed down to the positive Orders I had received.

I sent the Marquis on the 15th † some further Intelligence: And in his Lordship’s to me of the 20th, after acknowledging the Receipt of mine, he says: “All which I this Day laid before the Lords Justices; but as these Letters contain nothing new, I have nothing, by this Post, to add to what I formerly wrote to you.

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\* Appendix, Numb. 19.

† Appendix, Numb. 20.

In his Lordship's to me of the 22d, acknowledging the Receipt of mine of the 17th and 18th, he writes \* : 'I immediately laid them before the Lords Justices, who are very glad to find, that you intended immediately to set out on your March Northwards. All Accounts hitherto received, confirm the Opinion, that your advancing towards *Fort-Augustus*, is the most probable Method of disconcerting the Designs of the Enemies to his Majesty's Government, and of preventing their assembling into one Body.

In his Lordship's of the 24th<sup>†</sup> he writes: "The last, I received from you, was dated at *Edinburgh* the 18th Instant, to which I immediately returned an Answer: Having at present an Occasion to dispatch an Express to *Scotland*, I write this to you, not being willing to miss any Opportunity, though I have nothing material to add to what I have formerly wrote to you. As there never has occurred the least Doubt, to any one here, that your marching to *Fort-Augustus*, was the proper Measure for you to take, as it was from the adjacent Parts there, that the most Danger was to be apprehended; and therefore it was thought, that the crushing in the Bud, any Insurrection that had, or might happen, was of the greatest Importance to his Majesty's Service at this Juncture and not to be neglected from what might happen afterwards, in other and more distant Parts.

On the 27th of *August*<sup>‡</sup>, his Lordship writes, "I have received yours of the 20th Instant from *Creif*, and of the 22d from *Amobrie*; both which I have communicated this Day to the Lords Justices, who have recommended it to me, to signify to you, that it is their Pleasure, you make what Expedition you can, pursuant to your Plan of the 10th, and their former Orders thereupon.

"Their Excellencies did observe, with some Surprize that you had so little Hopes of obtaining any Assistance of Men, either from the Duke of *Athol* or the Lord *Glenorchy*, notwithstanding your having carried Arms along with you for that Purpose. This confirms their Excellencies in Opinion, that you ought to be very cautious of distributing Arms to any but such as are willing to join his Majesty's Forces.

I understood the Orders contained in the Marquis his Letter of the 13th<sup>§</sup> to march Northward, with as many Troops as I could assemble, to those Parts where any Danger was apprehended, and that how soon I received Information, that any Number of the Disaffected were gathered together, I should immediately attack them, to be positive Orders. I thought them strongly enforced in his Lordship's Letter of the 15th, \*\*, recited above, by his taking notice of the apprehended

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\* Appendix, Numb. 21.

† Appendix, Numb. 22.

‡ Appendix, Numb. 23.

§ Appendix, Numb. 14.

\*\* Appendix, Numb. 16.

Suspension of the Execution of mine of the 10th, and adding as therein after follows; which; beg leave to refer to, as if the same were again repeated here.

I conceived these Orders to be positive, that I could not disobey them, but at my utmost Peril.

In the Marquis's Letter of the 17th of *August*\* his Lordship mentions them as positive Orders which I had already received and in the same Letter directs me not to remain about *Stirling* or *Perth*.

The Lord President being called in, was asked whether he remembered, that on the 9th of *August* he acquainted Sir *John Cope*, that his Lordship had just then received an Express from the same Person, who had given him the Intelligence the 2d of *July*, as mentioned by Sir *John Cope* in the Beginning of this his Answer; and what Steps were taken, and Applications made, during that Time, for getting the well-affected Clans to join the King's Troops.

His Lordship answered in the Affirmative, as to what he is said to have informed Sir *John Cope* of on the 9th of *August*, which was to the Effect as set forth by Sir *John*. And as to the Steps that were taken in Consequence of this Intelligence, his Lordship says, he knew of none other, than that Letters should be wrote to the several well-affected Clans, that they should take Care to be on their Guard: and advised Sir *John* to provide a thousand Stand of Arms to be sent to *Fort St. George*, which was accordingly done. And whatever Advice was given to Sir *John* by his Lordship and the rest of the King's Servants, as far as came to his Lordship's Knowledge, were observed by Sir *John* with great Diligence.

That on the 11th of *August* he wrote a Letter from the *Blair of Athol* to Sir *John Cope*, acquainting him that the Duke of *Athol* had made a Disposition for raising all his Tenants that he could depend upon; and expressing his Hopes, that other well-affected Lords would do the like; and therefore putting Sir *John* in mind of carrying Arms with him to put into their Hands. His Lordship farther says, that he did give it as his Opinion, that Sir *John Cope* would be joined by a greater Number of Clans, than what have since been found to have actually joined him; and he doubts not, but that was the Reason, that induced Sir *John Cope* to march. Northwards, which the Lord President says he also advised.

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\* Appendix, Numb. 19.

## QUESTION VI.

*What Measures did you take for being joined with a Body of Highlanders, who were reputed well affected to the Government, and what followed thereupon?*

To which Sir *John* answered as follows:

The Marquis in his Letter of the 1st of *August*\* hints to me, that if the Duke of *Argyle* desires to have Arms delivered to him, I might immediately deliver them to him; but to keep it secret, to prevent Applications of the like Nature from others, to whom, it might not, perhaps, be so proper to distribute Arms. I immediately acquainted his Grace by Letter, that in Case he would have any Number of Arms sent him, I would deliver them, where and when he pleased. The Duke acquainted me, when he came to *Edinburgh*, that till the Government had made it lawful for him to do such Service as might be in his Power, he durst not even defend himself; or used Words to that Effect.

I was very sensible, that it was of the last Consequence, to have a Body of the well-affected *Highlanders* to join with the regular Troops on their March through the *HIGHLANDS*; and explained myself fully about it, to the President and others of his Majesty's Servants at *Edinburgh*. If I had not entertained Hopes of having his Assistance, I should not have proposed the March to the North. Indeed I made no doubt of being thus assisted; the March was projected on that Expectation, as has been before said by the Lord President. And immediately upon its being resolved on, Letters were wrote to the Duke of *Athol*, Lord *Glenorchy*, and the Chiefs of the other well-affected Clans, requesting them to give their Assistance upon this urgent Occasion. Answers to some of these Letters were receive! before I set out for *Edinburgh*, which are lost among other Papers that were taken. In Substance, I remember, they expressed great Zeal for the Government, and Concern that they could not be useful, because their Clans were disarmed: And their Chiefs conceived, that they could not arm them without a legal Authority. Yet those from the Duke of *Athol*, and Lord *Glenorchy*, which are saved, did not leave me without Hopes of our having a Body of their Clans to join the Army, if I carried Arms to them.

The Duke of *Athol* in his Letter of the 14th of *August*† writes. "By Letters I had from the Lord Advocate, and having seen the Lord President in his Way-North, I find it will be the Duty of all his Majesty's faithful Subjects, at this Juncture more especially, to exert themselves, not only in discovering, but to suppress, as far as in them lies, any Commotions that may arise; in all which, you may be sure, for my part, I shall be as diligent as possible. The Situation of this Country is a greater Distance from the Sea, than any Part of *Scotland*., which may make any Intelligence, I can receive of that sort, very late, but,

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\* Appendix, Numb. 7.

† Appendix Numb. 24. examined with the Original.



whenever I hear any thing worth communicating, you may depend on all the Information I can give. And in the mean time, in all the Places of the *Highlands*, where I have any Concern, shall endeavour, not only to keep them in their Duty to the King, but even to make them serviceable, as far as shall be required of them.

Lord *Glenorchy* of the 13th writes thus \* : “I heartly wish a Power were lodged in the Commander in Chief, to supply those, who are known Friends to the Government, with Arms and Ammunition, in order to enable their Men to be of Service, whereas, at present, we are defenceless and useless to the Government: If the Northern *Highlands* come down armed upon us, what are we to do?

On the 14th he writes thus:† “Sir; In this State of Alarms, I should be obliged to you if you’ll send me your Advice, in what Manner I can be most serviceable to his Majesty and the Government. I see, with great Concern, the Inability I am under, of acting with that Zeal which I have already professed; this Country being entirely disarmed, and unable to make any Resistance, if a very small Force from the North comes down upon us. I can answer for a considerable Body of Men, for the Service of the Government, if I had Arms or Ammunition for them. But I do not know how far Self-preservation may operate on Men threatened by others with Destruction, if they do not join them; which may possibly be the Case, if those Numbers, which are said to be preparing to assemble in the North, have it in their Power to come so far forward, where we can make no Resistance in the Condition in which we now are. I have writ to the Duke of *Newcastle* and Lord *Tweeddale*, representing the Service it would be of, if a Power were lodged in the Commander in Chief, to supply those who are well-affected to the Government, with Arms and Ammunition, on their applying to him for them. I hope this will meet with your Approbation, and that you will support my Proposal.

“You will always find me ready to give all the Assistance in my Power, to carrying on any thing for his Majesty’s Service &c.

And in his Lordship’s on the 15th, ‡ he writes thus: “I cannot express the Situation I am in, not being able to be of any Service to the Government for want of Arms and Ammunition, which I hope you will represent, so as I may be supply’d.”

Before I left *Edinburgh* I advised with the Duke of *Argyle*, who was just arrived; and I wrote to the Duke of *Athol* and Lord *Glenorchy*, and proposed to them, to get a Body of their Men to list into the Regiments which were to march Northward; and promised to give it under my Hand, to every Man who thus enlisted himself; that he should be

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\* Appendix Numb. 25. examined with the original Letter.

† Appendix Numb. 26. examined with the original Letter.

‡ Appendix Numb. 27. examined with the original Letter.

discharged at the End of three Months certain, and no sooner, if the Service did not require their continuing all that Space, and sent my Letters to them by Expresses.

I did not receive their Answers before I left *Edinburgh*; but as I made no manner of doubt of their complying with this Expedient, I carried a thousand Stand of Arms with me. I got the Troops together, and every thing ready for the March Northward. I strengthened the Garrison of *Edinburgh* Castle, with two Companies of *Lascell's* Regiment. I ordered *Hamilton's* Dragoons into the *Cannongate* for the Defence of *Edinburgh*, *Gardener's* Dragoons into *Stirling*, two of the additional Companies to strengthen *Stirling* Castle, two of them to *Glasgow*, and one to *Inverary*, and left the Command in the South Country to Lieutenant General *Guest*.

We began our March from *Stirling* the 20th of *August*, with five Companies of *Lee's*, all *Murray's* Regiment, and two Companies of Lord *John Murray's Highland* Regiment.

We halted the 21st at *Creif*, waiting for one hundred Horse Load of Bread from *Stirling*, which yet did not all come up till the 22d at Night, and we were joined there by eight Companies of *Lascells's* Regiment.

From *Creif* I sent Expresses to the Duke of *Athol* and Lord *Glenorchy*, praying them to come there, because I could not leave the Troops to wait for them. The Duke and his Brother Lord *George*, and *Glengary* the Father came to *Creif* on the 21st in the Morning. I acquainted the Duke, that I had brought one thousand Stand of spare Arms, and hoped to be joined by a Body of his Men. The Duke told me, he could not supply the Troops with any Men, and expressed great concern about it. I asked his Grace, if he did not keep some Men in Arms, as a Guard to protect his Country from Thefts; the Duke said, he had about twenty or thirty Men so employed, who were dispersed at great Distance one from another. I begged that his Grace would order these to join us, to be a Beginning, and to set somewhat of an Example to the other well-affected Clans. The Duke said he would do what he could. Of these, twelve or fifteen did join us; and after marching a Day or two with the Army, went home again.

The Lord *Glenorchy* with Lord *Menzie* came to *Creif* in the Afternoon. I acquainted his Lordship that I had one thousand Stand of spare Arms; and desired to know what Assistance I might depend upon from him. My Lord's Answer was in Substance, that the Notice he had received was so short, he could not get his Men together.

The Earl of *Loudon* was present at these Conferences with the Duke of *Athol* and the Lord *Glenorchy*. We were now fully convinced, that we had no manner of Reason to expect, that we were to be joined by any *Highlanders* on the first Part of our March; which so disconcerted us, that if I had been at Liberty to act according to my own Judgment, I would have stoped at *Creif*, and declared so to my Lord *Loudon*, who

was strongly of the same Opinion. But as my Orders in the Marquis's Letters of the 13th, 15th, and 17th; the two first of which I received at *Edinburgh*, and the last at *Creif*, were positive, I was clearly of Opinion that I had nothing left me, but to obey. We marched on the 22d to *Amobrie*, having first sent back about 700 Arms to *Stirling*, finding it impossible to get Horses to carry them all the Way to the Chain.

We had vast Difficulties to struggle with upon our March, in getting Horses (and keeping them when we did get them;) they must be grazed, and there was no such thing as Inclosures to keep them in. For want of Horses, we were under a Necessity of leaving a great deal of Bread provided for the Troops upon the Road, which never came up to us; and great Part of what came forward was damaged.

On the 23d we encamped at *Tay-Bridge*, where we were joined by forty or fifty of Lord *London's* Regiment; on the 24th at *Trinifuir*, the 25th at *Dalnacardoch*, and the 26th at *Dalwhinny*.

Two hundred of the Baggage Horses deserted from *Trinifuir* in the Night; which obliged us to leave so many Bags of our Bread there, with the Duke of *Athol's* Steward, who promised to send them to us the next Day; but they never came.

And at *Dalnacardoch*, for want of Horses, we were forced to leave above 100 Bags of it, to the Charge of the Deputy-Sheriff, who undertook to send them after us: Part of them came the next Morning; but the rest did not come at all.

On the March to *Dalnacardoch* I received a Letter from Lord *Glenorchy*, proposing to me, as far as I can remember, to send back some of the 300 spare Arms I had with me to *Tay Bridge*, and he would endeavour to get some of his People to take them; and desired some Officers to take charge of them. I returned his Lordship an Answer, telling him, we were so thin officered that I could not spare any, nor Horses to carry back any Arms, or Words to that Effect. My Lord came to *Dalnacardoch*. I satisfied his Lordship of the Hurt it would be to the Service, to send back any Arms, or to spare any Officers; but if his Lordship would send any of his Men to join the King's Troops upon the March, and go forward, it would be doing valuable Service, in setting so good an Example, and I would put Arms into such People's Hands. He then said, he believed he could send up some Men, if I could stay forty eight Hours for their coming up: But I gave him many Reasons why I could not, from the positive Orders I had received, to march to the Chain with the utmost Expedition.

Mr. *William Jones* was called upon, to inform the Board of what he knew concerning Sir *John Cope's* having wrote to the Duke of *Athol* and Lord *Glenorchy*, as mentioned above.

He says, That he assisted Sir *John*, and, to the best of his Remembrance, he either wrote these Letters for Sir *John Cope* to sign, or

copied them; and very well remembers that they were both sent by Express, a few Days before Sir *John Cope* set out from *Edinburgh*.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, of Colonel *Cochran's* Regiment, being called upon as to Lord *Glenorchy's* Offers to Sir *John Cope*, says, That he remembers Lord *Glenorchy* told Sir *John* that if he would stay three Days, his Lordship would have 300 Men at *Dalnacardoch* to join Sir *John*.

Major *Severn*, of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, says, That he had a Conversation with Lord *Glenorchy*, which was to the Purport of what Colonel *Whiteford* has above declared, except that his Lordship said, he had proposed Sir *John Cope's* staying forty-eight Hours only.

Captain *Leslie*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, being also called upon to the same Point, says, He told Lord *Glenorchy*, in a Conversation he had with him at *Dalnacardoch*, that he had hoped the King's Troops would have been joined before this time by some of his Lordship's Men. That Lord *Glenorchy* answered, He had spoke very earnestly with Sir *John Cope* about it, and offered to join him with about 300 Men, if Sir *John Cope* would stay two or three Days; but that Sir *John* had told his Lordship, that he could not stay, because his Orders to march were so peremptory.

#### QUESTION VII.

*Where did you receive Intelligence, that the Rebels had posted themselves on the Corriarrick, to oppose your Passage to Fort-Augustus.*

Sir *John Cope* says, that the first Account he had of the Rebels Intention to come to *Corriarrick*, was at *Dalnacardoch*, by Captain *Sweetnam* of General *Guise's* Regiment, and that he received the first Confirmation of it at *Dalwhinny* the 26th of *August*, by Letter from the Lord President.

Captain *Sweetnam* being called upon in support of the first Part of this Answer, says, That he received Sir *John Cope's* Orders at *Ruthven* to go on to *Fort-William*, and take upon him the Command of the Companies in Garrison there; and as he was on his Way thither, he was made Prisoner by some of the Rebels on the 14th of *August*, within twelve Miles of the Fort, and carried by them to the North of *Lochlochry*. He says, That on the 16th two Companies of the *Royal* were attacked by the Rebels at *High-Bridge*; and on the 19th of *August* the Pretender's Standard was set up, as he believes, at *Glennifinnin*.

That when he had Leave to go from the Rebels, on the 21st of *August*, he was informed by Captain *Gordon*, one of the Rebel Party, that their Numbers were as follows:

<i>Clanronalds,</i>	200
<i>Cameron of Lochiels,</i>	900

*McDonald of Keppoch,*

300

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1400 Men

and that not one of them would stay behind, having heard that Sir *John Cope* was on his March.

He further says, He saw among them several Firelocks, Broad-Swords, Pistols and Cutlasses, which he believes came from *France*, but cannot say the Number. That upon the Road, he met several Parties going towards the Rebels, armed with Firelocks, Pistols, and Broad-Swords; which, he believes, in all might amount to about 100 Men. He also saw another Body of Men marching to the Rebels, which *Glenbucket*, of the Rebel Party, told Captain *Sweetnam* were 300 in Number.

That at *Dalwhinny*, in his Way to Sir *John Cope's* Camp at *Dalnacardoch*, he met *Boreland McIntosh* the 25th of *August*, who informed him the Rebels were 2000 strong, and intended to come to the *Corriarrick*; and Captain *Gordon* had before told him, that they had twenty-one Swivel Guns; all which he informed Sir *John Cope* of the 25th of *August* at *Dalnacardoch*.

The Lord President of the Sessions in Scotland, being asked as to what Intelligence he had received and sent to Sir *John Cope* about the Rebels Intentions, to come to oppose the Passage of the King's Troops over the *Corriarrick*, in what Numbers, and how they were armed; says, That it was given out by the Rebels, that they were to wait for Sir *John Cope* at a Pass on the Mountain *Corriarrick*, called *Stockvine*, near the Bridge of *Snugborough*. That after his Lordship's leaving *Edinburgh* he received two Letters from Sir *John Cope*, before Sir *John Cope* came to *Dalnacardoch*, in both which he complained of the unexpected Difficulties he met with, in the baking of the Bread and forwarding the March of the Troops; and gave him Notice of his Intention to go Northward with all Expedition.

That from *Dalnacardoch* Sir *John Cope* wrote him another Letter, acquainting him with his Arrival there, and with his Intention of marching cross the *Corriarrick* to attack the Rebels; but that his Lordship having heard of the Intention of the Rebels to wait for Sir *John* at the Pass above named, was under great Concern, lest Sir *John* should follow his Design; and therefore wrote him back an Answer in the most decent Manner his Lordship could think of, which he sent to Sir *John* by Express, commending his Purpose of attacking them, but insinuating the Danger by saying, He hoped he had foreseen, and found Means to obviate the Difficulties that would arise from the Rebels breaking down the Bridges, and making the Mountains of the *Corriarrick* impassable for any Wheel-Carriage; but where this Letter found Sir *John* he cannot tell.

Sir *John Cope* being asked where he received this Letter, says, He

believes, it was before he arrived at *Dalwhinny*.

The Lord President farther says, That as to the Number of the Rebels, the Reports were various; some making them amount to between three and four thousand Men, which he judged to be impossible; that to be certain of their Numbers, he sent among them three different Persons (not knowing each others Message) who on their Return gave separate Accounts, in which they agreed on the main, to within the Number of fourscore, the lowest Account being, as he remembers 1822, and the highest 1880, and some odd Men, who were all armed; and this Reckoning, they said, they made as these Men were on their March to *Snugborough*.

#### QUESTION VIII.

*What prevented your passing the Corriarrick before the Rebels were in Possession of it?*

*Sir John Cope answered as follows.*

Upon the 9th of *August* the Lord President having given me Intelligence, as is before mentioned, of the Pretender's Son's being actually landed in the *North Highlands*, which Intelligence, both his Lordship and I fully believed, I gave Orders that very Day, to Mr. *Griffith* the Commissary of the Stores, and Conductor of the Train, to make out a Proportion of Stores requisite to march into the *Highlands*, with a light Field Train of four 1½ Pounders, and four Coehorn Mortars. On the next Day Mr. *Griffith* had Orders forthwith to load the said Stores, in proper Artillery Tumbrils and Waggons, and to provide Horses for transporting the Artillery and said Carriages to the *Highlands*; all which were accordingly loaded in ten covered Waggons by the next Morning, and the necessary Horses provided, and all marched that Day to *Kirkliston*, on the 12th to *Falkirk*, and on the 13th reached the Camp at *Stirling*, which was the Place appointed for the Rendezvous of the Troops. And also, on the 9th of *August*, I gave Orders to the said Commissary of Stores, to buy up all the Biscuit that the Bakers of *Edinburgh* and *Leith* had upon Hand, and to set them to work to make more as fast as possible, for the Use of the Troops and Garrisons. That at the same time Orders were sent, at my Request, to the Magistrates of *Stirling* and *Perth* by the Lord Advocate, to let all the Bakers in those Places to work Night and Day, *Sunday* not excepted, to provide Bread. And I wrote to Major *Talbot*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, at *Perth*, to see that those Orders were put into Execution; upon which Errand I likewise sent Major *Caulfield* to *Stirling* on the 13th.

On the 11th I gave Orders to the said Commissary to hire a Vessel to carry Provision of Oats, Meal, and what Biscuit was ready to *Stirling*; all which were put on board early on the 12th, and sailed that Day.

On the 12th of *August*, I ordered the said Commissary to contract

with the Bakers of *Leith* (those of *Edinburgh* not dealing in that Commodity) to provide ten thousand Weight of Biscuit each Week for a further Supply to the Troops and Garrisons, and to continue baking till further Orders.

On the 16th I gave Orders to the said Commissary to provide Carriages and Horses for transporting 1500 Stand of Arms to *Stirling* to supply such Friends of the Government with, as I had good Reason to expect would join me on the March: And these Arms accordingly came up to the Camp at *Stirling*.

The Calculation I had made, was for twenty-one Days Bread for the Troops that were to march Northward, which, notwithstanding the indefatigable Pains taken by every one Person employed in this Service, the whole of this necessary Quantity was scarcely ready by the Time the Army marched from *Stirling*, my Intention being to march if possible, to the North west *Highlands*, where at that time the Pretender's Son was landed.

Mr. *Griffith*, the Commissary of Stores above-named, being examined as to all the Orders above said to be given him, and his Proceeding thereupon, confirmed the same, to have been in the manner Sir *John Cope* has above recited them. And added, that he remembers the Orders were sent to the Magistrates of *Stirling* and *Perth* for providing Bread; and that it came to the Troops at *Stirling* from Major *Talbot*, so as to enable the Troops to march the 20th of *August*; which last Part Major *Talbot* being now present, and asked, confirms. Mr. *Griffith* also saith, that all the Bread, that had been ordered, did not come up in Time; but that some was left at *Stirling*, which came up only at *Amobrie* the 22d of *August*. That in pursuance of his Orders of the 16th of *August*, he loaded the 1500 Stand of Arms on the 17th and 18th, and that they arrived in the Camp at *Stirling* before the Army marched.

Sir *John Cope* then continued to say, Whilst the Bread was baking the Officers of the several Regiments were ordered to provide themselves with Baggage Horses and other Necessaries; and as I could not move, without Money to subsist the Troops upon the March, the Country I was going into not being able to supply me with it, I wrote as early as the 3d of *August* for Credit upon *Edinburgh*, and did not receive it till the 17th, and the 19th the Money was paid me in the Morning; I immediately set out for *Stirling*, and arrived there that Night.

On the 20th the Troops marched from *Stirling*, excepting the eight Companies of Colonel *Lascel's* Regiment, who remained there one Day to bring up the Bread and other Provisions, and 1000 Stand of Arms; notwithstanding whereof, some Part of the Bread did not come up to the Army till the 22d at Night at *Amobrie*.

That for want of Horses, great Part of the Provisions could not be got off the Ground at *Creif*, on the 22d, till one o'Clock, which, made it

absolutely necessary for the Army to encamp at *Amobrie* that Night. And our being constantly detained several Hours every Morning waiting for Horses, unavoidably obliged me to make shorter Marches than I would otherwise have done.

This no Precaution could have guarded against; for there was no other Way to get the Provisions carryed but by the Country Horses: And I carried the Lord Advocate and Solicitor General's Orders to the Sheriffs Depute of the Counties the Army marched through to provide them. That by Reason of all these Difficulties and Disappointments, it was impracticable for the Army to get to *Dalwhinny* sooner than the 26th of *August*, at which Time I had Intelligence that the Rebels were already in Possession of the *Corriarrick*.

Major *Talbot*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, being called to inform the Board of what came within his Knowledge, in relation to what Sir *John Cope* has set forth in his Answer, says, That he did receive Orders from Sir *John Cope*, to provide Baggage Horses and other Necessaries; which was done accordingly, as well as the Circumstances would permit; and confirmed the March of the Troops on the 20th, as is above related by Sir *John Cope*; and that Part of the Bread did not come up till the 22d at Night, at *Amobrie*. That the Troops were stopped from their March several Hours every Day for want of Horses; which Major *Mossman*, being now before the Board, also confirms. And Major *Talbot* farther says, He believes that the Difficulties and Disappointments mentioned by Sir *John Cope*, were the Reasons that made it impracticable for the Troops to get to *Dalwhinny* before the 26th of *August*.

Major *Mossman*, of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment, and Mr. *William Jones*, both say, That the Money necessary for Sir *John Cope's* March Northward, did not come up till the 19th of *August* in the Morning at *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *Jones* says, he saw it paid to Major *Mossman* that Day, and that Sir *John Cope* set out in an Hour after.

Mr. *Griffith* being examined as to the Want of Horses at *Creif* the 22d, says, That tho' the Sheriff's Deputy had a whole Day's Notice to provide Horses, and gave positive Assurance of providing them, yet the next Morning above 100 were wanting, and great Quantities of Provisions obliged to be left behind, under the Charge of the said Sheriff-Deputy. In getting of which up to the Army (some in the Night-time, as the Horses came up) there was great Embezzlement and Loss: And says, That there was not a Day's March to *Dalwhinny*, but that he Mr. *Griffith*, was obliged to wait till eleven or twelve o'Clock at Noon for the Horses. And that notwithstanding the Guard that was set upon the Horses, the Countrymen carried them off in the Night-time; and all these Difficulties, he believes, obliged Sir *John Cope* to shorten his Marches.

Lieutenant-General *Guest* was desired to inform the Board what he



knew of the Diligence Sir *John Cope* used after receiving the News of the 9th of *August*, of the Pretender's Son's being landed in the *North Highlands*, with respect to the providing of Bread, and of getting Horses furnished, and making such other Preparations as were necessary for the March of the Troops.

He says, that he was sure it was impossible to get all the necessary Preparations for marching the Troops ready sooner than Sir *John* got them, there being no Magazines of Bread to supply Sir *John*, a Fortnight's Bread having before been taken by General *Guest*, into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which wanted a Supply of Provisions.

#### QUESTION IX.

*What Guard was there in the Night-time, upon the Horses for the Baggage, on the March from Stirling to Dalwhinny?*

Sir *John Cope* says, Officers Guards were always put upon the Bread and Baggage Horses; and where Enclosures could be had, the Horses were put into them; and proper Centries were placed upon them; but there being but few Enclosures to be found through the whole March, the Horses were obliged to be grazed in the open wild Country, which my whole Army was not sufficient to guard; Besides, the Drivers of the Horses used to carry them off in the Night-time (as Mr. *Griffith* hath already evidenced) the Officers being often employed in forcing them back to little Purpose; and when Necessity obliged me to carry them on, I only paid them Part, as a Security for their Stay.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* being called upon to inform the Board of what he knew as to this Point, confirms all that Sir *John Cope* has said above; and further says, That he believes all possible Care was taken by the Officers to prevent the Horses being carried off; but from the Nature of the Country, it could not be prevented.

#### QUESTION X.

*What were your Reasons for not attempting to force the Passes of the Corriarrick? Or not continuing at Dalwhinny to observe the Motion of the Rebels? Or not retreating to Stirling preferable to Inverness?*

To this Sir *John Cope* answered: At *Dalwhinny* I had Intelligence, that the Rebels were then upwards of 3000 strong; at which time, the whole Force I had with me, did not exceed 1400 effective Men: That the Rebels expected every Day to be joined by considerable Numbers more: That they were lying at the Head of the River *Lochy*, North of the *Corriarrick*, and some of them within six Miles of *Fort-Augustus*: That they were determined to meet the King's Army, at the several Passes about *Snugborough*, a Place on the North-Side of the *Corriarrick*, over which lay the direct Road to *Fort-Augustus*, and from which Mountain there is another lying North of it; while another Party of them was to

march through a Glen, on the West-Side of the Mountain, to attack our Rear after we entered the Hill.

I myself, and several of the Officers who were with me, very well knew the Situation of the Ground to be such, that a Body of Men, with Fire-arms, and some Swivel-guns (which I heard the Rebels had with them) by breaking down a Bridge which goes over a deep Hollow, might render it impracticable for regular Troops, more numerous than we were, to force their Way. The breaking down this Bridge would make the Road impassable for Carriages, or even for a single Horse. I had likewise Intelligence of the Disposition they intended to make here; which was, to post Bodies of Men at several different Places, so as to be able to bring most of their Fire to bear upon our Troops, if they attempted to pass, and to rake the Road with their Swivel-guns.

This Intelligence, which was given me by Captain *Sweetnam*, and the Lord President and others, made me believe that I might depend upon it.

Upon receiving this Intelligence, judging it to be of the utmost Consequence to the Service, I resolved to take the Opinion of a Council of War upon it, before I made known my own Sentiments to any of the Officers. I therefore, very early in the Morning of the 27th, called together all the Field-Officers and Commanders of Corps, shewed them my Orders from the Secretary of State, acquainted them with the Situation and Intention of the Rebels, desiring to have their Opinion in Writing.

The Council of War accordingly drew up and signed their Opinion: A Copy of which I sent to the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, and is as follows, *viz.*

*Dalwhinny*, the 27th of *August*, 1745.

SIR *John Cope*, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in *North-Britain*, having thought proper to assemble the Colonels, Field-Officers, and Commanders of Corps, laid before us his present Situation, and asked our Opinions.

Sir *John Cope* having laid before us the Marquis of *Tweeddale's* Letter, signifying, That it was the Lords Justices express Orders, that he should march with the utmost Expedition to the *North*, and engage the Rebels before they came to any considerable Head; and in Consequence of that Order, he had made all the Dispatch possible thus far. But from the Necessity of carrying Provisions for the Troops along with him, which required great Numbers of Horses, as well for that, as for Warlike Stores, &c. he found himself so much retarded in the March, from the want of Assistance from the Country, as not to be able to get here sooner.

That last Night, and this Morning, he had received Intelligence, that the Enemy had divided their Forces, consisting of upwards of 3000,

though by many reported to be more, were in Possession of the Strength of *Corriarrick* and *Snugborough*, with one Half, whilst the other might get into the Rear, by *Glen-Luie* and *Loch-Spey*; and also, that some of the Bridges leading to *Fort-Augustus* were broken down by the Enemy.

In Consequence of which we are unanimously of Opinion, that to march to *Fort-Augustus* by the *Corriarrick* is impracticable without exposing the Troops to be cut to Pieces, or reduced to the Necessity of surrendering themselves Prisoners.

Then Sir *John Cope* having asked our Opinion of what was most proper to be done:

It is our Opinion, that returning to *Stirling* would encourage the Disaffected in the North, who have not yet taken up Arms; besides it would be dangerous, on Account of its Distance, should the Disaffected behind us have broken down the Bridges; or the Enemy, being lightly armed, by short Cuts across the Country, get before us, they might destroy us in the narrow Defiles.

Nor can our staying here, or at *Garviemore*, prevent the Enemy, from going into the *Low-Country*, as they can go by several other Routs besides these; such as the Head of *Loch-Tay*; or farther West, as the *Fort-William* Post goes, both which are shorter to *Stirling* than the King's Road.

That, in our Opinion, it would be more expedient for his Majesty's Service to march to *Inverness*, which would secure *Fort-Augustus*, as recommended by the Marquis of *Tweeddale*; and would also have the good Effect of our being joined by all those Clans in the North, who are in the Interest of the Government.

That by our March to *Inverness*, the Rebels may be intimidated from going into the *Low-Country*, as they must leave their own exposed to be destroyed.

P. Lascells.	Richard Talbot.
Loudon.	James Mossman.
Peter Halket.	Hugh M <sup>c</sup> Kay.
Charles Whiteford.	Æneas M <sup>c</sup> Intosh.
J. Severn.	William Caulfield.

I must beg leave here to observe, that in the Council of War, the returning to *Stirling* was only mentioned by one Officer, and given up immediately, upon his finding every other Gentleman present of the contrary Opinion.

In this Matter Major *Caulfield*, the Quarter-Master-General's Opinion, is of the more Weight, as he must be presumed to be thoroughly well acquainted with all that Country, and the Marches which the Rebels might make, having been employed by Marshal *Wade*, and the succeeding Commanders in Chief, from the Beginning, upon the

Roads through the same. He has actually surveyed these Roads every Year since they were made, as Inspector of them; and is allowed to have a compleat Knowledge both of the general and particular Situation of the Country, and of the Disposition of the Inhabitants, which was the Reason of my appointing him Quarter-Master-General.

When the March Northwards was projected, there was good Reason to think, that, as the Pretender's Son was come with so few Attendants, and without any Foreign Troops, we might have been able to come up with the Rebels before they could get to a Head, and crush the Rebellion in the Beginning. But the Highlanders joined him in greater Numbers, and much sooner than was apprehended. The Intelligence I received of this, put me upon considering it with all the Attention I was Master of.

It was evident to me, from my own Knowledge of the Ground where the Rebels were posted, that it was utterly impracticable to force a Passage to *Fort-Augustus* over the *Corriarrick*, whilst the Rebels lay there to oppose us. To attack them in this strong Ground with our small Body of regular Troops, unassisted by the *Highlanders*, by whom we expected to have been joined, was to expose the Troops to certain Destruction. It is true we had two Companies of Lord *John Murray's Highland Regiment*, and a few of Lord *Loudon's*, but Numbers of them deserted every Night with their Arms; in so much, that of one of the Companies which was compleat, when we began our March, only fifteen remained when we marched into *Inverness*.

It was to no Purpose for us to wait for them where we were, or to advance forward to the Foot of the Mountain; for could we expect, that they would leave the strong Holds they were in to come down to us? Besides, the Want of Bread would not permit me to remain any Time at *Dalwhinny* to observe the Motions of the Rebels; having scarcely three Days Bread to carry the Troops on to *Inverness*; and no Provisions whatever could be had at *Dalwhinny*.

To retreat towards *Stirling*, was not only inconsistent with the Orders of not remaining at *Perth* or *Stirling*, but was departing from all that was now practicable of my Plan of the 10th, *viz.* "That I would march to the Forts which form a Chain from *Inverness* to *Fort-William*, unless I hear any Thing to alter my present Design;" which Plan the Marquis has given me repeated positive Orders to put in Execution as my own. Though I beg leave to take Notice, that I laid in my Claim, to be at Liberty to depart from that Plan, if I found Reason for it: having proposed it under the Reservation, unless I hear any Thing to alter my present Design." And it was also to risk the King's Troops to be cut off by the Rebels breaking down the Bridges, and hemming them in, in a Country where we could not be supplied with Bread. What I have already mentioned, concerning the Bread, in my Answer to the eighth Question, and upon my ordering the Quarter-Master-General, on our Arrival at *Dalwhinny* over Night, to take a Survey thereof, who

reported, that we had not quite three Days Bread left that could be eat, were other Reasons why I could not retreat to *Stirling*.

If the Rebels intended to march South, we knew it was not in our Power to prevent them, for they had Ways to march through the Mountains to the Westward of the *Corriarrick*. by Roads that were practicable for *Highlanders*, though not so for Regular Troops with Artillery and Provisions: and that by the near Rout which they might take, and by their being able greatly to out-march the King's Troops, they would get to *Stirling* before us.

In considering how far it was expedient to march back to *Stirling*, even upon the Supposition that we had Bread enough; that there was no Danger to be apprehended of our having our Retreat thither cut off by the breaking down of Bridges, destroying the Roads in Places where they were carried through Morasses, or of the Rebels getting to *Stirling* before us, there appeared very strong Objections to lie against it; such as the King's Troops retreating before the Rebels, after having been so near them, might be imputed to Fear in them, and prove emboldening to the Rebels. It was apprehended too, that this Retreat would give their Affairs such a Reputation, as might greatly encrease their Numbers, from *Highlanders* who avowedly favoured their Cause, from others who were wavering, and even from Corners of the Country which were looked upon as well-affected: For I had very good Intelligence, that they intended to destroy with Fire and Sword, all who did not join them; and by that Means, if by our Retreat we left them Masters of the Country, they would not fail of forcing great Numbers into their Service; and the more so, that the Retreat must prove very discouraging to all the well-affected Clans in the North, who had been applied to by the President, the Advocate and Me, before I set out from *Edinburgh*, to have their People in Readiness to join the King's Forces; And a Retreat to *Stirling* must have deprived the Government of this Assistance.

At this Time I was in Hopes, that this Assistance which I expected from the well-affected Clans upon our marching Northward, would have been so considerable as to have enabled us to march one Body of them into the Country of the Rebels, to drive their Cattle, and to distress their Families, and thereby force them to return Home; while with the Remainder, joined to the King's Troops, we marched in Quest of the Rebels, wherever we could come up with them.

The Clans, which we had Reason to expect to have Assistance from, if we marched to *Inverness*, were,

The Duke of Gordon's Clan,	Monroe's,
Grant's,	Ross's,
M <sup>c</sup> Pherson's,	Sutherland's,
M <sup>c</sup> Intosh's,	M <sup>c</sup> Kay's,
Frazer's,	Sir Alex. M <sup>c</sup> Donald's,
M <sup>c</sup> Kenzie's, <i>viz.</i> { Fortrose's	M <sup>c</sup> Leod's.
{ Cromartie's	

Major *M<sup>c</sup>Kay* shewed Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* an Association between the Lords *Sutherland* and *Rea*, to stand by the Government; and that the Major said, he could raise 500 of Lord *Sutherland's* and Lord *Rea's* Men, disciplined in the *Dutch* Service, who would be ready to join the King's Forces.

Of these I was in Hopes to have had a considerable Body to join us in a very few Days, and march with the Army wherever the Service required; and the Remainder as they could be brought out, might be usefully employed in prosecuting what Measures should be judged necessary to oblige the Rebels to desert their main Body and return home.

This Measure appeared to be of great Importance to his Majesty's Service, in the Situation we were in at *Dalwhinny*, where we now were, in Consequence of the Orders, which did not leave me at Liberty to stop at *Creif*, where I first found our Expectations of being joined by the well-affected *Highlanders* disappointed. *Inverness* is the most central Place for the most of the well-affected Clans to assemble at.

If the Army did not march to *Inverness*, they would not fail of laying it to my Charge, that I had given up and abandoned their Country to the Rebels, and deprived them of the Opportunity of doing the Service which they had declared they were heartily willing and ready to have done, if the Army had marched to a Place where it was practicable for them to have come to join it: Whereas, by our retreating Southwards, we had left the Rebels absolute Masters of the Country and laid the well-affected under an Indispensable Necessity to remain at home with their People, to defend their own Families and Possessions, and thereby left them exposed to be forced to join the Rebels.

It was far from appearing certain, that the Rebels were at this Time determined to march South: It was true, that upon Intelligence that the King's Troops were upon their March to attack them, they had left *Moydart*, and posted themselves upon the *Corriarrick*; a Place where they judged we should pass, and where, if we did attack them, they were morally certain of getting the better; yet, if they missed of encountering us here, it was most probable that they would not march Southward till they were reinforced by the *M<sup>c</sup>Leans*, and the other Clans, which I was informed they were in Treaty with, to rise in their Favour.

But if they should march South, we judged, that by the Reinforcements of *Highlanders*, which we expected to be joined by at *Inverness*, we should very soon be in a Condition to follow them; and till we could come up with them, we could not apprehend the fatal Consequences that followed upon their marching Southward: For it was impossible to foresee, that *Edinburgh* would have been given up to the Rebels, in the very extraordinary Manner it was. I had left there two Regiments of Dragoons; and from what I had mentioned in my Letter of the 11th of *August* to the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, I was not without Expectation, that the five Companies of *Lee's* from *Berwick*, were sent thither. The City was in the midst of a populous Country, the Inhabitants numerous, and many of them professed a great deal of Zeal: They had Walls about their City, which, with the Assistance of the Castle, they could easily defend against a Body of Men who had no Cannon.

If we had retreated to *Stirling*, and the Rebels had returned back to their own Country, and got considerable Reinforcements, both voluntary and forced, I judged that I could not have answered for it. It was giving them the Command of all the Country where their greatest Strength lay. The marching to *Inverness* we apprehended was the best Way to intimidate the ill-affected Clans, to confirm the undetermined, and to obtain the Assistance of the well-affected *Highlanders*, and the only way left open to us to get into their Country to attack them.

If I had retreated to *Stirling*, contrary to the unanimous signed Opinion of all the Officers I had to consult with I conceived I could not have answered for it.

Which ever Way I considered was the best to be done in our present Situation, I saw great Difficulties, which Events only could clear up.

After carefully examining the Weight of these several Considerations, what put the Matter out of all possible Doubt, and determined me to fall in with the unanimous Opinion of a Council of War, formed after a deliberate Reasoning upon it, by Officers who were, most of them, perfectly well acquainted with the Country, was the Marquis of *Tweeddale's* Letter to me of the 17th of *August* \*; which being so very apposite to the Case, and so important, I must beg Leave, for avoiding Repetition, to refer to, in my answer to the 6th Question, as if the same were here again inserted.

Upon considering the Letter, and our present Situation, I concluded thus:

I have marched thus far in my Way to the Chain, in Obedience to positive Orders; but the Rebels being now Masters of *Corriarrick*, it is impossible to force our Way over that Mountain. The several Letters of the Marquis's, and particularly the one of the 17th of *August* above

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\* Appendix, Numb. 19.

referred to, leaving me no Liberty to remain either at *Perth* or *Stirling*, does not allow me to retreat to either of these Places, and consequently lays me under a Necessity to march to *Inverness*, which is the only Part of the Chain I can come at. Upon the March from *Dalwhinny* on the 27th, towards *Ruthven*, I received a Letter from the Laird of *Grant*, by a Relation of his, giving me full Expectation of being joined by a considerable Part of that Clan. I intreated the Gentleman to return with the utmost Expedition to Mr. *Grant*, who was then at his own House, and beg of him, in my Name, to get his People immediately to march and secure a noted Pass in our Way to *Inverness* called *Slockmuick*, to which Place, this Gentleman told me, Mr. *Grant's* Men could easily come; and assured me, he would send at least 300 Men to the Place, and that he hoped to have the Honour to command them having served in *Flanders*. I expressed myself in the strongest Terms, about the Importance of this Service to his Majesty's Interest in that Part of the Country, and the Seasonableness of it; bidding him tell Mr. *Grant*, that I was persuaded his good Example would induce many more of the King's Friends to give their Assistance, by giving Countenance to and joining the King's Troops, of all which he would have the Merit, as being the first who led the Way. But, to my great Disappointment, when I first came into Mr. *Grant's* Country, I received a Message from him by another Relation of his, letting me know, that his House was threatned by the Rebels, who were getting together near it, that he must therefore keep his Men at Home to guard his House, and could not send any to join the Army.

We reached *Ruthven* the 27th, and passed the *Spay* that Night; I took from thence a Company of *Guise's*, leaving only a Serjeant and 12 Men, and some Invalids in the Barrack.

On the 28th we marched to *Dalrachney*; and from thence, on the 29th, we reached *Inverness*, where all the Bakers in Town were immediately set to Work for a present Supply, and to provide Bread for a March.

In support of the first Part of this Answer, which relates to the Nature or Situation of the Ground on the *Corriarrick*, Lieutenant-General *Guest* was called in, and desired to describe the *Corriarrick*: He says, there are many strong Passes on it; is in general a very strong Place, and if possessed by a few Troops only, is impassable for any others, without a great Superiority of Force. He further described it, having 17 Traverses to ascend the Mountain, each of which may be strongly defended by a small Number of Men. There is, on the North Side of the Mountain, another very strong Pass called *Snugborough*, where there are Bridges flanked by a Wood; which Bridges, if broken down, render the Passage impracticable.

Mr. *Griffith*, and Ensign *Lee* of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment, who was Assistant to the Quarter-Master-General, were asked, whether they remembered what was the Quarter-Master-General's Report at



*Dalwhinny*, of the Quantity of Bread then remaining fit to be eat.

They say, that three Days Bread only was reported to be remaining, the rest having been entirely spoiled. And Ensign *Wilson* further says, that he delivered out the Bread himself, and that it did not hold out for three Days Provision, as it had been reported to be sufficient for.

Major *Severn* of Colonel *Lascells's* and Major *Talbot* of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, being examined, as to the Association between Lords *Sutherland* and *Rea*, say, that Major *M'Kay* did not shew them the said Association, but spoke to them of it; and that Major *M'Kay* said at the same Time, he could raise 500 Men of the Lords *Sutherland* and *Rea's*, disciplined in the *Dutch* Service, who would be ready to join the King's Troops.

Major *Severn*, Major *Talbot*, and Major *Mossman* of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment, say, They were Members of the Council of War held at *Dalwhinny* the 27th of *August* 1745; and that the Proceedings, or Opinion of the said Council, now produced to them in Writings, signed by themselves and the other Members (and whereof a Copy is inserted above in Sir *John Cope's* Answer) was signed by them, and that they saw the other Members subscribe the same: That they were then informed by Sir *John Cope*, that the Number of Rebels were about 2500, at the *Corriarrick*, and 500 at *Snugborough*.

In further Support of what has been alledged concerning the Association between Lords *Sutherland* and *Rea*, and also as to the Intelligence received of the Rebels, and their Intention to attack Sir *John Cope* in the Passes of the *Corriarrick*, Sir *John* beg'd Leave, that the Narrative given to the Board by Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, of Colonel *Cochran's* Regiment, and inserted at the End of these proceedings, might be referred to, Articles 7 and 9.

#### QUESTION XI.

*What further Measures did you take upon your Arrival at Inverness, to obtain Assistance from the Highlanders that were reputed to be well-affected to the Government, and for a Body of them to join you? And how long a Stay did you make at Inverness, and what Reasons induced you to march from thence to Aberdeen:*

To this Sir *John Cope* answered as follows.

The Lord President and I renewed our Application to the well-affected Clans: We sent Gentlemen with Letters to the Earl of *Sutherland*, Lord *Rea*, and the Laird of *Grant*; and applyed to my Lord *Lovat*, Lord *Fortrose*, the Earl of *Cromartie*, and to every Body that we could recollect could be of any Service, to raise their Men and join the King's Forces; but the Applications brought no Reinforcement.

We sent a Message to the *Monroes*, who, to the Number of near 200, commanded by Capt. *George Monroe* of *Culcairn*, joined us the Night before we marched for *Aberdeen*.

At *Inverness* I found three Companies of the Earl of *Loudon's* Regiment, a fourth joined the Army at *Aberdeen*. The *Monroes* agreed to march with the Troops for fourteen Days, upon their having the small Allowance made to them, which had been given them when they joined the Army under General *Wightman*, 1719; they refused to engage for longer Time, on account of their Harvest. By Advice of the Lord President, I accepted of their Assistance upon Terms, and they marched with us to *Aberdeen*.

At *Inverness* I consulted with the Lord President and Lord *Loudon*, what was best to be done for the Good of his Majesty's Service; having received Intelligence there, on the 31st, that the Rebels were come to the South Side of the *Corriarrick*; and we agreed in Opinion, that if we could get such a Body of *Highlanders* to join the Army, as would make it Reasonable for us to march towards the Rebels by Land, and attack them, that was the most adviseable Method to be followed: But if such a Body of *Highlanders* could not be got, the best Way to preserve the Troops, and make them most useful to *Britain*, was to march them to *Aberdeen*, as soon as Bread could be provided, and transport them from thence by Sea to *Leith*, if the Circumstances did not make it adviseable to depart from this Plan. In Pursuance thereof, I immediately dispatched Capt. *Rogers* to *Leith*, with Orders to Lieutenant-General *Guest*, to take up what Transports could be got there, and order them about to *Aberdeen*, to secure what Vessels could be got there and at *Montrose*, lest the others should fail.

The Bread, and what else was wanting, was got ready by the 3d of *September*; and having then got Intelligence, that the Rebels were designing to march Southward with their whole Force, and no *Highlanders* having joined us, but the *Monroes* to the Number of about 200, we began our March from *Inverness* on the 5th. I left Major *M'Kenzie's* of Lord *Loudon's*, and *M'Intosh's* Company of Lord *John Murray's* there, to enable them to compleat them, as their Interest lay in that Part of the Country; and ordered from thence another Company of *Guise's*, and two Field-Pieces and two Cohorns; and hired a Vessel to Coast it along with Provisions for the Army, if there should be Occasion for them, as their March to *Aberdeen* was along the Coast.

The Lord President was desired to inform the Board, of the Pains he and Sir *John Cope* took, and the Applications they made at *Inverness* to the Earls of *Sutherland* and *Cromartie*, Lords *Fortrose*, *Lovat*, and *Rea*, the *Grants*, *Monroes*, and others from whom Assistance was expected, to prevail with them to join the King's Troops with their Clans.

The Lord President said, That upon Sir *John Cope's* Arrival at *Inverness*, Application was made to Lord *Fortrose*, who came to wait upon Sir *John*, and to Lord *Lovat*, by his Son the Master of *Lovat*, who also came, and to the Earl of *Sutherland* and Lord *Rea*, by Major *M'Kay*, who came with Sir *John* to *Inverness*.

That Lord *Lovat*, after using ambiguous Expressions, excused himself; Lord *Fortrose* proposed to furnish 400 Men, to be commanded by Major *McKenzie*; but after some Consideration, said, he could not bring the Men together so quickly as they might be wanted: That Major *McKay* said, he could not undertake to bring Lord *Sutherland* and *Rea's* Men together quickly. That Captain *Monroe* of *Culcairn*, Brother to Sir *Robert Monroe* was sent for; and he readily undertook to furnish 200 Men, that should march for any determined Time with Sir *John*; and accordingly brought the Men and marched with them. What passed between Sir *John Cope* and the Earl of *Cromartie*, his Lordship does not know nor what passed between Sir *John* and Mr. *Grant*. No Application was made to Sir *Alexander McDonald* or to *McLeod*, because the Distance made it impossible to receive any Assistance from them in Time, though the Lord President, upon his first Arrival at *Culloden* (in Prosecution of what he had settled with Sir *John Cope* at *Edinburgh*) wrote to the above two Gentlemen, to have their Men in readiness, when there should be Occasion.

In farther Confirmation of Sir *John Cope's* having applied when at *Inverness*, to be joined by the well-affected Clans, Sir *John* begs leave to refer to Lieutenant Colonel *Whiteford's* Narrative, Article 13th.

#### QUESTION XII.

*At what Time did you arrive at Aberdeen, and when did you embark from thence for the Firth of Forth? and at what Time did you arrive at Dunbar, and afterwards set out from thence to meet the Rebels?*

To which Sir *John Cope* answered: The march to *Aberdeen* was made with all possible Expedition, without a Halt. The Army arrived there on the 11th.

At *Aberdeen* I received a Letter from the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, dated the 7th of *September*; in which his Lordships writes, \* “We had some Days ago Intelligence here, that the *Pretender* with his Army arrived at *Blair*. In this Situation of Matters, you will easily judge it impossible for any Orders to be sent you from this Place; but as you are on the Spot, you must now be left to act as you will judge best for his Majesty's Service, and to pursue such Measures, as may put the speediest End to this Rebellion. All I can do is to suggest, what appears to his Majesty and his Servants here, most conducive to this End.

“It is hoped that you are in the Neighbourhood of many well-affected Clans, who will enter zealously into such Measures as you shall be advised to pursue. And that, should some of these Clans be sent immediately into the Country belonging to the Rebels, to drive off their Black Cattle and Sheep; it is thought many of them, in that Event, would incline to return Home. And it was partly with this View, the

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\* Appendix Numb. 28.

several blank Commissions were sent down, as you will observe by my Letter of the 4th Instant: As also, that some of these well-affected Clans, supported by Detachments from the several Forts, may now secure the Passes, and prevent the Army of the Rebels from returning to the Camp behind the Forts. It is likewise hoped, that the two Regiments of Dragoons in the *Low Country*, on 'this Side the *Forth*, with the *Dutch* Regiment, which by this Time may be arrived from *Holland* at *Leith*, will be able to retard the Progress of the Rebels, should they attempt to march farther in the South Country, till you can come up with them with your Forces. And I must observe to you, by the Bye, that none of our Intelligence makes them to be at most above 2500 strong.

“What I have written above, is only the Opinion of several of his Majesty’s Servants, with whom I have talked on the Subject; and must not be understood by you, as positive Orders given, since, as I have before-mentioned, it must now be left to your own Judgment, to pursue such Measures, as you shall judge best for his Majesty’s Service, according to Circumstances; and you will have the Advantage of the Advice of the Lord President of the Session, who is well acquainted in that Part of the Country.”

Here also I received Letters from the Lord Advocate and General *Guest*, acquainting me of the Rebels March towards *Stirling*; which was confirmed by the Report of some Persons I had employed to get Intelligence. I was also informed, that the Rebels had carried all the Boats on the *Tay* to the South Side of that River.

Upon considering the Time, that must necessarily be taken up, in getting to *Edinburgh* or *Stirling*, even if we found Boats on the North-Side, to carry the Troops over the *Tay* and the *Forth*, we were of Opinion, that transporting the Troops by Sea from *Aberdeen* to *Leith* was the most expedient. And finding the Transports ready for us, no Time was lost in getting Provisions, and embarking the Troops. They sailed on the 15th, which was the first Wind that would serve; and were off the Island of *May* the 16th in the Afternoon: But the Wind being scant, the Fleet made over for *Dunbar*, as the nearest Place to *Edinburgh* on the South Side of the *Forth*, which they could reach.

On the 17th in the Morning, a Messenger, sent out in a Boat from *Dunbar*, came on board, off that Place, and brought me the News that the City of *Edinburgh* was given up to the Rebels. And some Hours after I came on shore, I heard that 500 of them marched in at the *Nether-Bow* Gate, at 5 in the Morning, without any Opposition; that their main Body had taken a Compass about the Town, to the South, and attended the Pretender’s Son to *Holy-rood-house*, where he took up his Quarters; and they encamped in the *Kings-Park*.

The Troops landed on the 17th, and encamped in a Field West of the Town; and that Night most of the Artillery was got onshore.

Here Brigadier *Fowke* joined the Army with *Gardener* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons. On the 18th the rest of the Artillery was got on shore.

The Foot had all along behaved with so much Alacrity and Spirits, thro' the whole of the March, and remarkably so on several Alarms; that I judged I had all the Reason in the World to depend upon it, they would behave exceeding well in Action; and the Army was reinforced with two Regiments of Dragoons. I was now in a Country, where I found a Cheerfulness in every body's Countenance to forward the Service; and was met by the King's Servants, and a great many other Persons of Distinction.

The Army begun their march towards *Edinburgh* on the 19th, and encamped that Night on the North-West of *Haddingtoun*; and march'd from thence on the 20th, intending to take a Camp near *Musselburgh*, where the Dragoons as well as Foot might act.

The Lord President was call'd in, and ask'd by the Board, What Diligence was used by Sir *John Cope* at *Inverness* to provide for his March Southward?

His Lordship answered, that Sir *John Cope* immediately on his Arrival at *Inverness*, after conferring with the Earl of *Loudon* and the Lord President, came to a Resolution, that as the *Highlanders* had taken the Road towards the South, it was necessary, with all the Dispatch imaginable to try to get before them; and that the only probable Way of accomplishing that Design, was to march by Land to *Aberdeen*, as there was no sufficient Quantity of Shipping nearer; and to forward Advices to *Edinburgh* to fetch Shipping from thence to *Aberdeen*, lest there should be a Defect of Transports at this last Place. And accordingly Dispatches were sent different Ways; one particularly by Captain *Rogers* to *Edinburgh*, and another by Lieut. Colonel *Whiteford* to *Aberdeen*, (which Colonel *Whiteford*, being now before the Board and ask'd, confirms and in the mean Time all Care was taken to provide Bread and Meal; which the Lord President found Persons to furnish Sir *John Cope* with. That as soon as what was wanted was got ready, Sir *John Cope* march'd; taking with him the *Monroes*, and such of the Earl of *Loudon's* Companies as were in any Degree compleat; leaving Directions, when some more of them that were expected should come up, to send them after him, if they came in such a Time, as they might reach them at *Aberdeen*.

In consequence whereof, Captain *Alexander McKay's* Company, which came in Time, was sent after him, and join'd him at *Aberdeen*. And the Companies of Captain *MLeod* and Captain *Sutherland*, which came too late to overtake Sir *John*, were detained at *Inverness*.

In further Support of his Diligence at *Inverness* to provide for his March Southward, Sir *John Cope* appealed to Colonel *Whiteford's* Narrative, Articles 14 and 15.

After which, before the Board entered further into the Examination of Sir *John Cope's* Conduct and Behaviour in relation to the Battle, the Witnesses here present being above thirty, who had all been in the said Battle, were asked openly, if they knew whether any others, that were at the Battle, are now in Town, or near that might be called in Evidence? To which it was answered by all, that they knew of none.

Then the Board proceeded to ask Sir *John Cope*,

### QUESTION XIII.

*When and at what Place, did you come up with the Rebels? What Troops had you in the Battle of Preston-Pans? What Disposition did you make? And what was the Nature of the Ground the Battle -was fought upon?*

In answer to which Sir *John Cope* gave in a Narrative in writing, which was read, and is as follows:

Upon the March from *Haddingtoun*, on the 20th of *September*, the Quarter-Master-General, the Earls of *Loudon* and *Home*, and Colonel *Whiteford*, were sent forward to reconnoitre the Ground: When they came near *Musselburgh*, they saw the Rebels in full March towards us. After satisfying themselves, by their Glasses, that it was the whole Body of the Rebels, the Earl of *Loudon* returned to acquaint me of it. The advanced Guard by the Time the Earl of *Loudon* arrived, was got to the East-end of the Plain that lies between *Seaton* and *Preston*.

If we had marched forward by the Road leading to *Edinburgh*, we had Defiles and Inclosures immediately before us, where our Horse could not act, and which we could not get passed before the Rebels might come up to us; and the Ground we were entering into, being very proper for us, I thought it right to take it.

The Field is about a Mile in Length, and three Quarters of a Mile in Breadth. It is bounded on the East by *Seaton*, on the West by *Preston*, on the North by the Sea, *Cockenny* lying on the Shore about the Middle of it, and on the South-side towards *Tranent*. It is guarded on the West-end by the Park Walls of *Preston*, and from thence Eastward to *Seaton* by a Morass, with a deep Ditch between the Plain and it, through which there run two very narrow Cart-ways. On the South of these Park-Walls of *Preston*, there is a Defile leading by Colonel *Gardener's* House; from whence there is a Road leading to the Village of *Preston*, and on the North of them, there is another Defile leading to the same Village, by Mr. *Erskine* of *Grange's* House, and to an open Field lying North and West of it, bounded on the North by the Village of *Preston-Pans*, lying on the Sea shore.

In this Field there is no Ditch except that of the Morass, nor a Bush, Hollow way, nor Marsh. There is not in the whole of the Ground between *Edinburgh*, and *Dunbar*, a better Spot for both Horse and Foot to act upon.

Upon Lord *Loudon's* bringing me this Intelligence, I marched the Troops forward into the Plain, towards the Park Walls of *Preston*, and formed them a little obliquely across the Field fronting Westward, with our Right towards the Sea, and our Left towards the Ditch of the Morass.

The following Order of Battle was delivered to the commanding Officers of the several Corps, by the Earl of *Loudon*, before we left *Haddingtoun*.

GENERAL, Sir *John Cope*.

BRIGADIER, *Fonke*.

Colonel *Gardener*,

Colonel *Lascells*.

2 Sq. Drags. 2 ps. Can. *Murray's*, 2 ps. Can. *Lascells's*, *Lee's* 2 ps. Can. and Cohorns. 2 Sq. Drags.

*Corps de Reserve*.

1 Squad. Drag. Highlanders, Volunteers. 1 Squad. Drag.

The Line of Battle consisted of the following Troops, *viz*:

5 Companies of *Lee's* Regiment on the Right,

*Murray's* Regiment on the Left.

8 Companies of *Lascells's* Regiment, with

2 of *Guise's* in the Center,

2 Squadrons of *Gardener's* Dragoons on the Right, and

2 of *Hamilton's* on the Left.

The *Corps de Reserve* was a Squadron of *Gardener's* on the Right, and a Squadron of *Hamilton's* upon the Left, and five Companies of *Highlanders*, most of them very weak, and Mr. *Drummond*, with the Volunteers, in the Center.

We took up this Ground, to give us the Command of the Outlets from the two Defiles, through which only we could be attacked; and to guard our being attacked in Flank, the Baggage was posted at some little Distance in the Rear.

The Rebels, upon their March, being informed of our Situation, at about half a Mile's Distance from us, turned off to the Right, and marched up to the Top of the Hill of *Fanside*, advancing towards the Village of *Tranent*, where they remained the rest of the Day, marching and counter-marching.

The Rebels chose this Ground, because they could not be attacked in it; it is so much broken by hollow Roads, Coal-Pits and Inclosures, that Horse cannot act there.

Upon our observing this, we changed our Situation, and made the Troops front towards the Rebels, with the Park-Walls of *Preston* a little

on our Right, our Left towards *Seaton*, and the Ditch of the Morass in our Front. The Artillery was posted on our Left, and the Baggage moved in our Rear towards *Cockenny*.

In the Afternoon, the Rebels sent a Detachment down a Hollow that is full of Trees, on the North-west Side of *Tranent*, who took Possession of the Church-Yard, on which we advanced two Field-pieces, which killed some of them, and soon dislodged them.

About an Hour before Sun-set, the Rebels marched a large Body down *Fawside* Hill; by which they seemed to intend, to come to attack us, upon our Right *Flank*, by the Defile lying North of the Park Walls of *Preston*, and the Ground lying North of it. After reconnoitring this Motion, I ordered the Baggage to move towards the East of *Cockenny*, and made the Line front obliquely cross the Field with a South-west Aspect, the Right towards *Cockenny*, and the Left towards the Entry of the Defile leading to Colonel *Gardener's* House. By forming the Troops in this Situation, we could be attack'd no where but in Front, and ordered the Artillery to move towards the Left. As soon as the Rebels saw the Disposition made for their Reception, they abandoned their Design, and recalled their Detachment back to the Hill, which they had possessed all that Day.

Observing this, and as it was now beginning to grow dark, we took up our Night Post, which we did by forming the Line due East and West, and lay upon our Arms all Night, fronting along the Ditch of the Morass, and having the Park-Walls of *Preston* on our Right. Major *Talbot*, Field-Officer of the Day, posted the Out guards, and brought me Intelligence from them frequently in the Night. Two Platoons were posted on our Right, in the Road that leads by Colonel *Gardener's* House. The Quarter-Guards lay considerably advanced; and the Picquets were ordered to support them. Upon our Right a grand Guard was ordered of 100 Dragoons, with a Captain and two Subalterns, near the Defile which lies North of the Parks of *Preston*; and another on the Left, from which the Cornet was to advance with 30 Dragoons near to *Seaton*, the Lieutenant with the same Number, to support him, posted on the Side of the Morass, and the Captain and Quarter-Master at the Entry of one of the Roads leading into the Morass, with 40 Dragoons to support him. These Parties patroll'd all the Night a-cross the Morass, and near to the Rebels, who lay upon the Ground South of the Road which comes up *Fawside* Hill to *Tranent*. Here, to do the Dragoons Justice, they were very alert, and their Patrols brought good Intelligence the whole Night, of every Motion the Enemy made.

The Baggage, and the Military Chest of the Army, were ordered to the Rear; and, in order to put into the Ranks as many of the other Men who were guarding it as possible, our *Highlanders*, were posted on it. And for our Security on that Quarter, the Squadron of Colonel *Gardener's* Regiment, which was in the second Line, was posted towards



*Preston-Pans*, with advanced Parties before them, to prevent any Body of Troops from coming that Way. And the Squadron of *Hamilton's*, that was in the second Line, was posted towards the Point of the Plain, which ends between *Seaton* and the Sea, with advanced Parties before them, to prevent a Surprize that Way.

We remained in this Position all Night. About three in the Morning, the Patrols reported, that the Rebels were moving towards the East. This Report continued till about Four. Then an Account was brought us, that they were moving Northward, down towards *Seaton*, to come by the East-End of the Plain, to attack us upon our Left Flank: Upon which I immediately ordered the Line to change its Situation. The Disposition continueing the same as the Day before, and form fronting Eastward, towards where the Enemy was advancing. The Artillery on our Right, dress'd straight with the Line. The Artillery Guard consisting of 100 Foot on the Right of it. The Outguard of the Foot, being about 300, were formed upon the Right of *Lee's* five Companies. There was not full enough Ground left for Colonel *Gardener's* Squadron; they therefore formed in the Rear of the Artillery-Guard, a few Paces behind, ready to sustain it.

There being no Gunners and Matrosses in *Scotland*, before my setting out from *Edinburgh*, I applied to have some sent down. I heard at *Aberdeen*, that they were come to *Edinburgh*, and wrote from thence to have them in Readiness to meet me at my Landing. I wrote for them from *Dunbar*, and likewise sent Lieutenant *Craig* of *Winyard's*, a Volunteer, the Day before the Battle, to *Edinburgh* Castle to General *Guest*, to hasten them. This Officer, seeing the Distress we were in for want of Gunners, frankly offered to risque himself to carry this Message, and executed it. General *Guest* immediately dispatched them from, the Castle; but they did not reach the Army, and thereby we had no Gunners; and the few Cannon shot we fired upon the Rebels, were fired by Lieut. Colonel *Whiteford's* own Hand; while Mr. *Griffith* fired the Cohorns. And the Gunners not coming to us, was the Reason why our Cannon were not divided to the different Parts of the Line in forming it, as they are disposed in the forementioned Order of Battle, but were posted on the Right.

After Orders were given for the posting of the Artillery, and forming the Line upon the Right, I went in the Front of the Line to the Left, and brought *Hamilton's* Dragoons up to their Post. Observing the Rebel Army advancing, and seeing that they out-flank'd our Left, I sent Major *Mossman* to the Right, to Colonel *Whiteford*, for Cannon immediately to annoy them; but the Horses being gone off, he could not comply with my Orders.

I returned again the same Way to the Right, encouraging the Men, as I went along the Line, to do their Duty. My returning to the Right, was occasioned by my observing, with the very little Light we then had, the Rebels running on towards our Right in an oblique Direction. They

still kept advancing, form'd in several Bodies; whereof that upon the Left, we judged to be at least 20 in Front, and 30 in Depth. This Body continued running till they came opposite to our Artillery, which was then firing upon them, and did some Execution; which our Troops observing, huzza'd. The Rebels returned it, immediately got again into Order, and came directly up in the Face of our Cannon, continuing to fire in an irregular Manner as they advanced, whilst their other Bodies moved towards us, but not near so far advanced. When they came near, Colonel *Whitney* received Orders, by Lord *Loudon*, as there were no other Troops to disturb him, to march his Squadron out of the Line, in order to attack them in Flank, before they came up to the Cannon. On which he immediately marched out, and wheel'd his Squadron, and got within Pistol-shot of their Flank; when, on a few Shots coming from the Flank of the *Highlanders*, the Men stopt and could not be got along any further, notwithstanding all that Lord *Loudon*, Colonel *Whitney*, and the other Officers could do, and immediately the Rear Rank began to run away, and the rest followed. Here Colonel *Whitney*, who led on his Men very gallantly, received a Shot, which disabled his Sword-Arm. Colonel *Gardener's* Squadron behaved no better The Artillery Guard of Foot, falling into Confusion upon the first Approach of the Rebels, the Adjutant General informs me, that at this Time Colonel *Gardener* received Orders to attack this Body, after they were broken with running over the Cannon and Artillery Guard, for the most of them kept directly on; but upon that Squadron's receiving a few Shot from the Rebels, they rein'd back their Horses, and went off likewise.

The Dragoons upon the Left, about the same Time went off also without ever being attacked, and so did the two Squadrons, which made up our *Corps de Reserve*; and all of them so much at the same Instant, that it's difficult to say, which run first. Both Regiments were stopt for some Minutes in their Flight, by the Walls of Mr. *Erskine's* Inclosures in our Rear. There they stood with their Croops to the Enemy; and here they received a good many Shot; but they could not be prevailed upon, by all that their Officers could do, to rally.

Seeing the Dragoons go off in this Manner, I went to the Foot, to try by their Means to retrieve the Affair. The other Bodies of the Rebels kept advancing, obliquely, towards us, in the same Manner that the Body upon the Left did. Our Foot gave them their Fire; but the right Flank being exposed, by the going off of the Dragoons, and attack'd by a large Body of the Rebels, broke from the Right. The Motion of the Rebels was so very rapid, that the whole Line was broken in a very few Minutes. The Pannick seized the Foot also, and they ran away, notwithstanding all the Endeavours used by their Officers to prevent it. All possible Methods were taken to bring them back, from the first Instant they began to run. I endeavoured all I could to rally them, but to no Purpose. When they could not be brought to their Ground again, it was try'd to get them into a Body for their own Safety; when that

would not do, Endeavours were used to get them to load again, in Hopes that they would then be brought to make a Stand; but that was likewise ineffectual. By this Time the Rebels were mixed with them. The Foot dispersed and shifted for themselves all over the Country. I then rode back to the Dragoons, who remained yet at Mr. Erskine's Park-Walls, and did all I could to get them to rally, but there was no prevailing on them to turn their Faces to the Enemy. The Morning was become light; they found their Way into the Defile, and broke away from us.

Seeing almost all of them got into the Defile, and having nothing left but to try to get to the End of the Village of *Preston* before them, and there endeavour to stop them, I made my Way through the Dragoons by the South Defile; Lord *Loudon*, and Lord *Home* had judged in the same Manner. Lord *Home* got first to the Head of the Dragoons at the West End of the Village. There I found him, with his Pistol in his Hand, and Lord *Loudon* turning the Dragoons into a Field, adjoining to the Road leading to the Village; and lying South of it; and with the Assistance of the said two Lords, Mr. *Drummond*, Majors *Mossman* and *Singleton*, Captain *Weemys*, Captain *Forbes*, and the Officers of the two Regiments, we got about 450 of them gathered into it; and by the Time one Squadron of them was form'd, the other being in two Bodies, a Body of the Rebels presented themselves at the End of the Village, and halted upon their seeing the Dragoons form'd. Upon which it was proposed to attack them with the Squadron that was formed, seeing they stood in awe. But they could not be prevailed upon to stir one Foot: Upon which we thought it necessary to move them still further off; and as soon as the March began, the Men immediately began to gallop off. And it was found, that there was no other Way of getting them to make a decent Retreat, but by keeping upon their Head in order to keep them back. I consulted with the principal Officers, and it was agreed upon by all of them, that the best Way left us, was to march to *Berwick*, by the *Channel-Kirk* Road. In Consequence of which we turned South, and halted at *Lauder* to refresh the Men; from thence I sent such an Account of this unhappy Affair to the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, as I could then give. We quartered that Night at *Coldstream* and *Cornwall*, and reached *Berwick*, the next Day.

The exact Numbers of the Troops present in the Battle, cannot be determined with absolute Certainty, their Returns being lost: By the best Accounts that could be got, we were about 600 Horse, and 1400 Foot, besides a small Number of the *Highland* Regiment; and the Rebels were about 5500 in the Field.

As to the Account that is here given of the Action, I could not see the whole of it myself, by Reason of the Day's not being fully broke when it began, and the Attack beginning in a very short time after we were form'd: But what I did not see is taken, from the Adjutant-General, and other Officers and Gentlemen, who were

Eye-Witnesses of the Facts they gave an Account of.

My Lord *Loudon* is at *Fort-Augustus*, the Service does not admit, of his leaving his Post. But he and my Lord *Drumore* sent me their Accounts of the Battle, so far as their Situation allowed them to see of it. And as in the Account which I have given of it, I have taken some Circumstances from thence, I beg Leave to deliver in to the Board, for their further Satisfaction, their Lordships Letters to me,\* and likewise a Letter of Lord *Home's* wrote from *Lawder* (where we first halted with the Dragoons) to the Duke of *Argyle*: and the Earl of *Stair's* Account of a Letter of my Lord *Loudon's* to his Lordship, wrote also from the same Place on the Day of Battle. I have here Letters which I have received from several of the Officers who were present in the Battle, and are now upon Duty in the Country, relating to what they saw of my Behaviour in the Action; but as. there are Officers enough in Town who were Witnesses to it, I am unwilling to give the Board the Trouble of reading them.

After having read this Narrative, Sir *John Cope* was desired to explain to the Board, by whom the Orders were given, which he has therein mentioned to have been received by Colonel *Gardener*, to attack that Body of the Rebels after they were broke with running over the Cannon and Artillery Guard.

Sir *John Cope* says, That not being present at that Instant, in that Part of the Line where the Earl of *Loudon* was, and his Lordship not being now here to inform the Board, he begs Leave to refer to his Lordship's Letter, † who makes use of these Words, “*Colonel Gardener then received Orders to attack this Body, after they were broken with running over the Cannon and Artillery Guard.*”

Sir *John Cope* was farther ask'd by the Board, Why, by the Order of Battle, that was deliver'd to the Commanding Officers of the several Corps, Colonel *Lascells* was posted on the Right of the Line, which was out of his natural Post.

Sir *John Cope* says, That he had appointed Colonel *Lascells* on the Right, and Colonel *Gardener* on the Left, to act in Capacity of Brigadiers.

Then Sir *John Cope* produced his Witnesses in Support of the several Matters alledged in his above Narrative; and the Board proceeded to the Examination of the said Witnesses, and first,

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, before named, was desired to inform the Board of what he knew concerning the Conduct and Behaviour of Sir *John Cope*, from the breaking out of the Rebellion till the End of the Battle of *Preston-Pans*.

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\* Appendix, Numb. 29, 31, and 32, examined with the Originals.

† Appendix, Numb. 29.

Whereupon he said, That having drawn up and sign'd a Paper, on which he had set down what he had been able to recollect of this Matter, he desired the same might be read as his Answer; and accordingly was read out publickly, and is as follows.

Article I. My Duty to his Majesty, and the Personal Regard I had for Sir *John Cope*, made me readily comply with his Request of my attending him when he went North, to quell the late unnatural Rebellion. I had the Honour of being about him, from the Expedition to its last fatal Period. By his Order I kept a Journal, but having lost every thing on the unhappy Day of the Action, I have only my Memory to trust to: so may have forgot many Circumstances, that would be material now.

Art. II. On the first Notice of the Pretender's Son's landing, he consulted with those employed by the Ministry; wrote circular Letters to the well-affected Gentlemen of Interest, to raise their Clans to join him; got his Troops assembled at *Stirling*, and prepared every Thing to take the Field with the utmost Expedition. Bread was ordered to be baked, and Stores of all Kinds, that were necessary, were got ready with all the Dispatch possible.

About the 10th, I think, was his first Notice, and by the 19th one Regiment of Dragoons, two Companies of Lord *John Murray's Highlanders*, (without Broad Swords) five Companies of *Lee's, Murray's* Regiment, and eight Companies of *Lascells's*, assembled at *Stirling*, with four Cohorns, four Gallopers, Provisions, &c. The other two Companies of *Lascells's* were thrown into the Castle, and *Hamilton's* Dragoons into the Suburbs, to defend the Town of *Edinburgh*. The Country, through which he was to march, not being practicable for Dragoons to act in, he left *Gardener's* Regiment at *Stirling*; and knowing the Country to be barren and uninhabited, which obliged him to carry Provisions, and every thing he had Occasion for, along with him, he forbid all useless People to follow the Camp; and gave Orders to carry no more Baggage than was absolutely necessary.

Art. III. On the 20th he marched to *Creif* with all except *Lascells's* Corps, who required a Day's Stay to get their Tent-Equipage, &c. in Order. Spare Arms were also carried to *Creif*: Upon the Duke of *Athol* and the Lord *Glenorchy's* telling him, they could bring no-body out, he sent the Arms back to *Stirling*.

Art. IV. On the 21st, *Lascells's* joined him, and the 22d he marched to *Amobrie*. Having a greater Demand for Horses than could be easily provided, from the Weakness of them, and the Backwardness of the Country People, who used to rip up the Sacks, destroy the Provisions, and run off with Horse Loads entire into the Woods, (which was impossible to prevent, the Passes being narrow, and vast Crowds of People) the Days Marches were short at first.

Art. V. On the 23d to *Tay-bridge*. Here he gave Orders again to lighten the Baggage, and Part was left: He made a Disposition for his

Army in case of being attacked by the Rebels; and on his March kept always *Highlanders* advanced, extended to the Right and Left, with trusty Officers who were to make Signals, in case of the Enemy's lying lurking on the Hills, whose quick Motions in that Ground would not admit of his forming in the ordinary Way. He, by this, was in Order to receive them in three Minutes.

Art. VI. The 24th at *Trinifuir*, the 25th to *Dalnacardoch*, the 26th to *Dalwhinny*.

Art. VII. At *Dalwhinny* Sir *John Cope* was met by *Cluny M<sup>c</sup>Pherson*, a Captain in Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, whom he ordered to join him the next Day with his Company, but he never came. He had also Information by Sir *Patrick Murray*, who had sent some of his own People among the Rebels for Intelligence, of the Enemy's being in Possession of the strong Passes of the *Corriarrick* and *Snugborough*, with their Disposition, which was reported to him (Sir *John*) by good Authority to be, that, in hollow-Ways or Water-Courses, they had Bodies of Men posted to flank him as he was to attempt to mount the Hill, which required seventeen Traverses to make it accessible. These were also lined with Men and sleeping Batteries of 24 one Pounders, Brass Guns; on the Top of the Hill, they had another Body; and at the Foot 800 were to lie concealed, as were all the rest till he entered on the Mountain. These Numbers were believed to amount to 2500; besides, the Bridge betwixt *Corriarrick* and *Snugborough* was said to be broken down, where they had another Body of upwards of 500. Captain *Thomson* and Lieutenant *Ferguson*, and some other Officers of the *Royal*, who had been made Prisoners by the Rebels, on their Return informed him, that they say the above Guns, and 2500 of the *Highlanders* reviewed some Time before, and heard them say, they were resolved to wait for Sir *John* in some of these Passes.

Art. VIII. On this Emergency he assembled the Field-Officers and Commanders of Corps for their Opinion; to whom it appearing, that he had positive Orders to march to *Fort-Augustus*, which as the Enemy was posted there, was unanimously thought impracticable; then it came under Consideration, what was best to be done for his Majesty's Service. It appeared, from the Information of the Gentlemen, who knew the Country, that the Rebels, lightly armed, and free of Baggage, could easily get before them into the *Low Country*: Or, if they had a Mind, should he attempt to retreat the Way he came, to *Stirling*, they had only to break down the Bridges, destroy the Roads before and behind him, so render it impossible either to advance or retreat, there being Rivers to repass vastly rapid, the Banks perpendicular, on each Side of the Road generally a Morass, and so many strong Passes, that, had the Enemy posted a few Men in them, and taken these Advantages, we must have been all destroyed. This was exposing the Army to utter Ruin; which was a great Part of the Troops at that Time in *Great Britain*: That it would, by a Retreat, intimidate our Friends, and

raise the Spirits of the Rebels: To stay at *Garvymore* was impossible; there being but three Days Bread left. Besides, by his advancing to *Inverness* he secured the Forts in the North, kept all the Waverers from joining the Rebels, and gave an Opportunity to the King's Friends to join him; which, from the Measures he had taken, and the Assurances given him, he had great Reason to believe would be the Case.

Art. IX. Major *McKay* shewed an Association between Lords *Sutherland* and *Ray*, and promised from these Clans 500 Men, disciplined in the *Dutch* Service to be led by himself. The Companies of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, the *Grants*, *Monros* and others, were thought to be too considerable, not to give them any Opportunity of joining. The Impossibility of retreating to *Stirling*, the Folly of staying at *Garvymore*, and the Assurance of an Augmentation to his small Army, determined his March to *Inverness*.

Art. X. But as he was sure, by the constant Desertion of the *Highlanders* from him, that the Rebels were too well informed of all his Motions, he, by a Feint to *Garvymore*, in order to pass the *Corriarrick*, made them continue in their Post; and filing off to the Right, by a forc'd March passed the *Spey*, and encamped that Night at *Ruthven*, out of which he took Part of a Company of *Guise's* Regiment, leaving only a Serjeant's Command to defend the Barrack.

Art. XI. On the 28th, by another forced March, he got to *Dalrathney*, so escaped being attacked in the strong Pass of *Slockmuick*.

Art. XII. On the 29th, by another forced March he arrived at *Inverness*. The Provisions being much wasted and expended, his Demand for Horses was less; so by Feints and forced Marches, he deprived the Enemy of using the Advantages the Ground gave them in numberless Places, where a few Men rightly disposed might stop a great Army.

Art. XIII. On his arrival at *Inverness*, he, with the Lord *Loudon*, and the President, used his utmost Endeavours, (as indeed he had done all along on the March) to get the well-affected Clans to join him; but, the Fear of exposing their own Country to the Fury and Resentment of the Rebels, proved too strong for his Arguments. Two hundred of the *Monros* came to him; and they only for a Fortnight, pretending the Necessity of their being at Home for their Harvest. The *McKays* and *Sutherlands* were at too great a Distance, and his Impatience to be South was too strong to admit of his waiting their coming up.

Art. XIV. On his first Arrival at *Inverness*, the whole Bakers were employed in preparing Bread with the utmost Expedition; and, as he saw the Necessity of being soon in the South, and the Impossibility of getting to *Edinburgh* before the Rebels, he resolved, and sent to *Leith* for a Number of Transports, to carry his Army by Sea; that being the only Means left to get there before them; which, had the Wind been favourable, as his Diligence was great, would have been the Case,

having marched Part of the Army from *Stirling* to *Inverness*, and from thence to *Aberdeen*, without one Day's Halt.

Art. XV. In order to shorten (as it greatly would) the Navigation, and save Time as much as possible, after he got his Bread for the March, (which Precaution was necessary, *Glenbucket* with his Men being in that Country) he set out from *Inverness* the 4th of *September*, taking with him one Company of General *Guise's* and Part of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, with two more 5½ Inch Shells, and two more Gallopers, leaving behind him the Sick, Major *M'Kenzie* and *M'Intosh* with their Companies. He sent me forward to *Aberdeen* to secure Transports there and the adjacent Ports, in case of an Accident to these from *Leith* (done too without any additional Expence to the Government) to provide Bread and Shoes for the Men, should the Motion of the Rebels oblige him to march by Land. In that Event, I had his Orders to provide Boats, in order to enable him to pass the *Tay*. Thus he was provided to follow the Method, the most expedient for his Majesty's Service.

Art. XVI. On the *Wednesday* the Army arrived at *Aberdeen*, and the Transports from *Leith* in the Bay, but did not get in to the Harbour till *Thursday*: That Day, and *Friday*, Stores, Provisions, and Baggage, every Thing being ready provided, were embarked. *Saturday* the Men marched down to embark; but the Wind proving contrary, and as it would consume the Provisions to have the Men on board, he ordered them back to the Camp that Night.

Art. XVII. On *Sunday*, in one Tide he embarked the whole Army, even against the Opinion of the Sea People, and got out of the Bay; but the Ebb-Tide coming on, he could not proceed till seven that Night. On *Monday* it proved sometimes calm, and sometimes the Wind contrary; so that he did not reach the Firth till Night; where he got the melancholy News of *Edinburgh's* having capitulated.

Art. XVIII. This obliged him to land at *Dunbar*; which he did on *Tuesday*, and encamped there, joined by *Gardener's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons, without their Tents and Picquets, having made a precipitate retreat from *Edinburgh*.

Art. XIX. *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* were employed in landing the Stores, &c. and holding a Council of War; but the Day was too far spent to allow him to march, though he proposed it. He made a new Order of Battle, and having no Horse to oppose him; drew up his Dragoons only two deep, being determined to fight the Rebels as soon as possible. He also sent out Boats to Sea, with eventual Orders for the Commander of the *Dutch* Troops.

Art. XX. On *Thursday* marched to *Haddingtoun*, being obliged to stay there on Account of want of Water further on. Here, on a false Alarm, that the Rebels were coming to attack him, the Line turned out, and was immediately formed; Sir *John* thanked them for their Alertness; and



they returned him an Huzza. At *Dunbar* and *Haddingtoun*, he had various Informations of the Rebels; and was joined by a small Body of Volunteers, under the Command of Mr. *Drummond*, one of the Commissioners of the Excise. These he thought proper to employ, as being acquainted in the Country, to bring him constant Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions.

Art. XXI. On *Friday* he marched again, intending to encamp to the Westward of *Musselburgh* that Night, in order to have but a little Way to march the next Day, before he attacked the Rebels; so he sent to the Quarter-Master-General, Lord *Loudon*, and me, to mark out the Ground. On our Way, we saw the Rebels marching towards us; on which we returned, and gave him immediate Notice; he drew up the Army in order of Battle in the *Preston Pans*.

Art. XXII. This Field had to the West, a Stone-Wall; to the South, a Ditch and Morass; to the East, *Seaton* House and Parks; to the North, *Preston-Pans*, *Cockenny*, and the Sea; without any Break in the whole Field: The Rebels reconnoitred him; but did not think proper to attack him then, in that Situation, so they marched Eastward, and took Possession of *Tranent* Church-Yard; out of which, after changing his Front, he dislodged them with his Cannon. They then made several different Motions; which obliged him to do so too. In the Evening they returned Westward, and lay on the Hill South from him, which Way he fronted, and lay on his Arms all Night. He took Possession of Colonel *Gardener's* House, and secured the Pass on the South-west Angle of the Field. There were no other Ways for the Rebels to get in, but by two Defiles on the Southeast, and one on the North-west Angles. These he guarded by the two Squadrons of Dragoons from the *Corps de Reserve*, who had Orders to continue patrolling constantly, and to bring him Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions. He would have thrown Cohorns in the Night; but by the Experiments he had made, he found that few of them bursted; which he apprehended, if they perceived, would take off their Fear of them.

Art. XXIII. He regretted the Want of Gunners, and got some Men from the Men of War, to supply their Place and sent General *Guest* for the Engineer and Gunners from *Edinburgh* Castle: who, unluckily missing their Way, never reached him: He also concerted with General *Guest*, that he should beat down a Part of the Town-Wall, should the Rebels keep within it, in order to admit his Army.

Art. XXIV. After he had secured all the Avenues and posted Troops wherever it was possible for the Enemy to come in upon him, he ordered the whole Army to lye on their Arms all Night. Then I went to the Cannon, and had not the Honour of speaking to him from that Time.

Art. XXV. In the Night three large Fires were made, and one Shell was thrown. In the Morning when it was reported that they were in

Motion; he had his Front to change from South to East. For want of Gunners, he was obliged to keep the Cannon altogether in the Right; though about the Beginning of the Action, I received his Orders to send some Pieces to the Left; which was not done, occasioned by the Horses being taken off and gone away.

Art. XXVI. The Rebels were drawn up in two Lines, consisting (as I was informed by some of the Chiefs of them) of 5500 Men, three deep: But on my firing the Cannon, the first Line opened in the Center, formed a Column to the Left, and advanced on me with a Swiftness not to be conceived.

Art. XXVII. When I saw them, as I thought, in Confusion, I called to Colonel *Whitney* of Colonel *Gardener's* Dragoons, that now was his Time to attack them: He gave Orders to march, and his Squadron moved a little Way towards them; but on a few dropping Shot from the Rebels, the Dragoons immediately turned their Backs, and ran off with the greatest Precipitation. Their Pannick communicated itself to the Foot; and all ran shamefully away, without making the least Resistance, few having fired more than once.

Art. XXVIII. As I had often heard Sir *John* express his Sentiments, his Intentions, and the Motives that induced him, at the different Periods, to follow the Measures he did; I hope I shall not be thought troublesome if I sum them up, as far as my Memory serves me. On the first Notice of an Insurrection, his whole Time, Night and Day, was employed in consulting with the Administration in *Scotland*, providing every Thing that was necessary, and assembling his small Army, composed of the last raised Troops in *Great Britain*. When he proposed going North and attacking the Rebels, their Numbers were small; and he thought he might be with them before they came to any considerable Head, so nip them in the Bud. I am sorry to say too, that his commendable Zeal and Diligence, by the Art of the Disaffected, became the Subject of most People's Mirth, few crediting so romantick an Enterprize. When he found the Hopes he had conceived of being joined by the well-affected frustrated, and the Number of the Rebels so considerably increased, he would have continued to cover the South Country, had he not had positive Orders to march North and attack them. Thus no Latitude being left him, in Obedience to Orders, he set forward from *Creif*. At *Dalwhinny* his Concern was not to be expressed, on his Information of the Situation and Numbers of the Rebels. The bad Consequence that attended either advancing or retreating, appeared strong both Ways, and liable to great Objections, which the Event could only justify; but the Danger to the common Cause by Retreating, joined to the unanimous Opinion of the principal Officers, the positive Orders from Court, the assured Junction of so many of the well-affected Clans would be such an Addition of Strength to the King's Forces, and which he must have been deprived of if he had not gone North; and as he was persuaded by the Gentlemen who knew the

Country, that the Rebels could get South before him at any Rate, he could not excuse himself not giving the Clans an Opportunity of joining him, then to return and attack the Enemy on better Terms. That he failed, was what he regretted extremely; but certainly it was not his Fault; all the Arguments possible being used by him, in vain, to persuade them. Then he marched from *Inverness* to *Aberdeen* with such Expedition, and by his Precaution had every Thing there in such Readiness for his Embarkation, that he landed at *Dunbar* the very Day the Rebels took Possession of *Edinburgh*. On his Arrival there, the News of the Rebels Success gave him the utmost Pain: They were elated, and daily joined by Numbers; so that to delay attacking them, was to fight at a greater Disadvantage. All along on the March, by riding through the Ranks, and encouraging the Men, he had raised their Spirits to such a Degree, that all expressed the strongest Desire for Action; even the Dragoons breathed nothing but Revenge, and threatned the Rebels with nothing but Destruction. On the other Hand, the *Dutch* Troops were expected, but uncertain. Delays were dangerous, Orders positive; Regular Troops superior to Militia, and his Zeal for his Majesty's Service so strong, that he thought he could not too soon put an End to the Rebellion; which would have been the Case in all Probability, had the Behaviour of the Troops answered the Expectation of the General: The Rebel Army having broke in such a Manner, that a Regiment of Dragoons must have cut them to Pieces.

He took such Care of his Troops on the March, that he never suffered the Country to impose upon them by raising the Markets, although they attempted it; and kept such exact Discipline in his Army, that no Outrage was committed by the Soldiers, nor was there one Complaint from his going North till his Return.

Signed,

*Charles Whiteford.*

After reading the above Narrative of Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, Majors *Severn*, *Talbot* and *Mossman* (which last was Aid de Camp to Sir *John Cope* in *Scotland*;) Captain *Leslie*, *Reid*, *Blake*, *Pointz*, *Anderson*, *Collier*, *Forrester*, *Drummond*, and *Forbes*; Lieutenants *Dundass*, *Greenwill*, *Swinny*, *Gordon*, *Cranston*, *Stone*, and *Cooney*, (which last was also Aid de Camp to Sir *John Cope* in *Scotland*;) and Ensigns *Whitland* and *Cox*, who are all Officers belonging to the several Corps under the Command of Sir *John Cope* in *Scotland*, or Volunteers, and were with them on the Marches, and in the Action at *Preston*; and were present at this Board, and heard the above Narrative of Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* read openly, were asked by the Board, Whether the same was according to their respective Knowledge of the several Masters therein related? They each answered, That as far as came to their respective Knowledge, the said Narrative was true; and believe the other Part of it also to be true, having nothing to say in Contradiction to it.

Then the Board declared openly to all the Persons present, That if they knew any thing to contradict what had been said by Colonel

*Whiteford*, or any other of the Evidences, or if any Person had any thing to object, or to contradict what Sir *John Cope* had offered in his Vindication, they were required to inform the Board of it, and their Evidence should be received; and they might depend upon the Protection of this Board, to whatever should be just. But no one appeared that had any thing to offer against any Part of what had been read.

After which, Sir *John Cope* produced a Letter to him from the Earl of *Loudon* who is now in *Scotland*, and whose Duty there cannot be dispensed with, and who had acted as Adjutant-General under Sir *John Cope*) dated the 5th of *October* 1745, \* enclosing an Account of Sir *John's* Proceedings from the 17th of *September* last till after the Battle was over at *Preston*, with the several Incidents that happened, (which Account was proved by the Earl of *Home* to be all of the Earl of *Loudon's* own Hand-writing) and confirms in Substance the Narrative Sir *John Cope* has given for the same Space of Time. A Copy of which Account of the Earl of *Loudon's* is annexed in the Appendix, Numb. 29.

Then Sir *John Cope* produced a Letter to him from Major *Caulfeild*†, (who is also in *Scotland* on his Duty, which does not permit him to attend this Board, and who had acted as Quarter-Master-General under Sir *John Cope*) dated at *Fort-Augustus* the 12th of *August* last, containing an Account, which confirms in Substance the principal Circumstances of Sir *John Cope's* Conduct and Behaviour, from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the End of the Battle, as the same has been related by Sir *John*, but does not make any particular Mention of the Disposition of the King's Troops, immediately preceding the Action: Which Letter was proved by Major *Talbot* to be all of Major *Caulfeild's* own Handwriting. The Copy of which is annexed in the Appendix, Numb. 30.

Read a Letter to Sir *John Cope*, sign'd by the Earl of *Stair*, (which was proved to have been so sign'd by his Lordship) dated the 17th of *August* last, in which his Lordship says, "I am very sorry I have not been able to lay my Hands upon the Earl of *Loudon's* Letter, wrote to me immediately after the Action, giving me a full and circumstantial Account of the Affair at *Preston-Pans*; but do very well remember, that the Earl of *Loudon* speaks very advantageously both of the Disposition, and of Sir *John Cope's* Personal Behaviour at that Occasion; and says particularly, That Sir *John* was very alert all the Night before the Battle, and changed the Disposition of his Troops according to the several Movements made by the Enemy. Of this, I think myself obliged in Justice to give an Account, and shall on all Occasions be ready to testify the Truth of it."

Read also a Letter from Lord *Drummore* to Sir *John Cope*, dated at

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\* Appendix, Numb. 29, examined with the Original.

† Appendix, Numb. 30. examined with the Original.

*Alnwick* the 24th of *October* last, \* which was proved by the Earl of *Home* to be Lord *Drummore's* Hand-writing, and confirms in Substance, the Nature of the Ground the Battle was sought on., and that on which the Rebels had posted themselves near *Tranent* the Day before the Battle, as the same is set forth by Sir *John Cope*; and also the Situation of the King's Troops before the Battle, which were perfectly formed before they were attacked by the Rebels, and likewise the Dragoons running away. A Copy of which Letter is annexed in the *Appendix*, Numb. 31.

The Earl of *Home* being examined, confirms his being sent forward with the Earl of *Loudon* and Colonel *Whiteford*, to reconnoitre the Ground; that he saw the Rebels, and that the Earl of *Loudon* went back to acquaint Sir *John Cope* of it. He also says, that the Situation and Nature of the Ground on which the Battle was fought, was as the same is described by Sir *John Cope*, and that there was no Ground that Sir *John* could form upon, when the Rebels advanced towards him, but that which he took; in which were the two Defiles, as Sir *John* mentions.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* confirms what the Earl of *Home* has said, as to being sent forward with him, seeing the Rebels, and all other Parts of his Lordship's Declaration, as above set forth. He also confirms the Order of Battle of the King's Troops, to have been given by the Earl of *Loudon* to the Commanding Officers of Corps, as the same is set forth by Sir *John Cope*.

Major *Severn* of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, also confirms the above Order of Battle.

Adjutant *Ker*, of (late) Colonel *Gardener's* Regiment, who was posted on the Right:

Major *Talbot*, who led the Line, and was posted on the Left:

Adjutant *Cowse*, of General *Hamilton's* Regiment, who was also posted on the Left:

Major *Severn*, above named, who was posted on the Center of the Line, with Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, were severally asked, Whether the Line was fully formed at their respective Posts, before the Attack begun?

To which each of them answered in the Affirmative.

Captain *Blake*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment;

Captain *Collier*, of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment:

Captain *Drummond* of the same Regiment:

Who were all on the Out-Guard of the Foot (which Consisted of about 300 Men) were severally asked, If these Out Guards were fully formed on the Right of the Line of Foot, before the Attack began? To

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\* Appendix, Numb. 31, examined with the Original.

which they each answered in the Affirmative.

Captain *Blake*, above-named:

Captain *Corbet*, of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, who were posted near the five Companies of *Lee's*, which were on the Left of the Out-Guards; and,

Ensign *Wilson*, late Serjeant-Major of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment, who was with those five Companies,

Were severally asked, whether those five Companies were fully formed in the Line before the Attack began? And they each answered in the Affirmative.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* proved the Artillery to have been posted on the Right of the Line, and dressed straight with it, on the Rebels moving Northward to come into the Plain, to attack the King's Troops . And,

Lieutenant *Cranston*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiments, who was on the Artillery Guard, being asked, declared to the Board, that that Guard was formed before the Attack begun.

Captain *Singleton*, of Brigadier *Fowke's* Regiment, who acted as Major of Brigade, being asked if the Squadron of *Gardener's*; on the Right of the *Corps de Reserve*, was fully formed before the Attack began; answered, that it was.

Captain *Clark*; of General *Hamilton's* Regiment being asked, declared, that the Squadron of this Regiment which was under his Command, and posted on the Left of the *Corps de Reserve*, was fully formed there before the Action began.

*Mr. Griffith*, Conductor of the Train, was asked, if there were any Gunners or Matrosses in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, when Sir *John Cope* marched Northward?

He says, There was only one old Man, who was a Gunner, that had belonged to the old *Scots* Train, and also three *Scots* Soldiers of the Invalid Companies in the Castle, whom *Mr. Griffith* took with him to be Assistant to him in the Business of the Train.

*Mr. Griffith* was then asked, If these Men were of any Use in the Day of Battle?

He says, That they did serve as Matrosses, in using the Handspikes, &c, but could not serve as Gunners; and that he fired all the Cohorns and Royals himself; and Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* the Cannon.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* was asked, Whether the old Gunner before-mentioned by *Mr. Griffith*, and the three Invalid Soldiers were useful enough to be employed as Gunners?

He says, so far from it, that as soon as the Action began, they ran

away with the Powder Flasks; which hindered him from firing so many Cannon as he would have done.

The two last Witnesses say, That the Artillery consisted of six Field-Pieces 1½ Pounders, four Cohorns, and two Royals: They each fired one Round of these Pieces, except Colonel *Whiteford*, who for Want of Priming could not fire the sixth Cannon.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* further says, That six Gunners who were borrowed from the Men of War, were generally drunk upon the March: and upon the Day of Action, ran away before the Action begun; and he could never have any Dependence upon, them during the two Days they were with him.

Lieutenant *Craig*, of Major-General *Winyard's* Regiment, who went as a Volunteer with Sir *John Cope*, was asked, Whether he was sent from the Field of Battle by Sir *John Cope* to General *Guest* in *Edinburgh* Castle, with a Message to the said General, to send Sir *John Cope* the Chief Engineer, and some Gunners from thence?

He (the Witness) says, That seeing, the Day before the Battle, that Sir *John Cope* had only a few Sailors with him, in the stead of Gunners, offered himself to go to Lieutenant General *Guest* at *Edinburgh*, to ask for some Gunners, and accordingly arrived at the Castle about eleven o'Clock at Night. Sir *John Cope* had desired he (the Witness) would bring the Chief Engineer along with him, whom he accordingly asked of General *Guest*; who answered, he could not spare the Engineer; but (after making some Difficulties) he gave the Witness a Bombardier and four Gunners, all of whom the Witness having disguised like Tradesmen, he got a Countryman to lead to Sir *John*; they having left the Witness at about two o'Clock of the Morning, after which they might have got to Sir *John* in Time; but they did not come at all, for what Reason the Witness cannot say. He says, he could not conduct them himself, he being well known by the Rebels, who would not fail of suspecting his Business, and so might have prevented him in bringing up those Men.

The Earl of *Home*, who was a Volunteer with Sir *John Cope*, was desired to give the Board an Account of what he saw at the Action.

His Lordship says, He was with the Squadron with Brigadier *Fowke* and Colonel *Gardener*, which was formed in the Rear of the Artillery, just before the Action began. He (Sir *John Cope*) came along the Front of the Line to the Right; and soon after his Lordship saw him return to the Left. And as to the Disposition of the Rebels, and their Manner of advancing, his Lordship says to the same Purport as Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* has declared in his Narrative, Articles XXVI. and XXVII. That Colonel *Gardener* and his Lordship were together when the Attack was begun by the Rebels, upon the Dragoons on the Right of the King's Army. The Artillery Guard soon fell into Confusion, and crowded a little upon that Squadron; which

ran away the Instant, the Rebel Fire began. The same Pannick his Lordship saw communicated to the Foot; the Dragoons upon the Right were persuaded to halt before they got the Length of Mr. *Erskine* of *Grange's* Park-Wall; but, upon some of the Rebels coming up, and firing some dropping Shots, the Dragoons again fled through the Defile betwixt Mr. *Erskine's* Park-Wall and Colonel *Gardener's* Inclosure.

The Dragoons halted afterwards, in a Field betwixt the West of Mr. *Erskine's* Wall and the Village of *Preston*; but his Lordship observing, that it was every Way surrounded with Walls, and the Ground too narrow for them to act upon; he advised them to march through the Village of *Preston*, to join what Troops could be picked up on the West of that Village, to make head against; the Enemy. But this his Lordship did not advise, till he plainly saw that the Dragoons would have left him, had he endeavoured, to make them stay in the above-mentioned Field. When his Lordship came to the West of that Village, he met Sir *John Cope* and the Earl of *Loudon*; and confirms what Sir *John* had said on that Meeting. His Lordship says, he saw Captain *Cochran* and Lieutenant *Cranston*, who commanded the Artillery Guard, give a very irregular Fire in the Action.

The Earl of *Home* having ended, Sir *John Cope* desired Leave to produce a Letter from his Lordship to the Duke of *Argyle*, dated, at *Lauder* on the Day of Battle \*; which Letter now produced, his Lordship did acknowledge to be his; and confirmed the Contents. of it, and desired it might be read; which accordingly was read. It informed his Grace, in general, of the Defeat of the King's Troops, and of the Ground they had taken up; together with, some of the Motions of the Rebels the Day before; and then adds, "That, in his Opinion, the Disposition by Sir *John Cope* the Night before the Battle, and all the Variations of that Disposition, occasioned by the Enemy's different Movements, his (Sir *John Cope's*) Precautions against an Attack in the Night, and last of all, his (Sir *John's*) Disposition to receive them in the Morning, will, when they shall come to be known, be approved of. And further adds, that he (Lord *Home*) can, in a few Words, account for the Misfortune, which are as follows.

"The Foot, from the most unheard of Fatality, could with Difficulty be prevailed upon to give one Fire, and that a bad one; and when that was over, broke, not to be rallied again. The Dragoons did no better; so that in three Minutes, a Battle of so great Consequence to our King and Country was lost." A Copy of the said Letter is annexed in the Appendix, Numb. 32.

Major *Talbot*, who was Field-Officer of the Day, was asked what he saw of the Battle?

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\* Appendix, Numb. 32.



He says, That as he was leading the Line, he saw the Rebel Army extending their Line towards the Sea. As soon as the King's Troops were thoroughly formed, and the Rebel Army had faced them, our Cannon began to fire upon the Right; whereupon the Rebel Army broke to the Right and Left, and formed several Columns, which made an Opening, just before *Murray's* Regiment; where he perceived another Body coming up in their Rear. Those Columns, which the Rebels had formed themselves in, pushed in obliquely towards the Right and Left of the King's Troops, and soon after, he heard a Fire upon the Right of our Army; he could not easily see what passed there, but that in a very little Time, he perceived the Dragoons running off in great Confusion: And, as it appeared to him, as he was on the Left, he believes the Rebels came upon the Right Flank of the Foot, on the going off of the Dragoons; for he saw the breaking of the Foot come on regularly, as it were by Platoons, from the Right to the Left. He, and the rest of the Officers, did every Thing in their Power to stop the Men from running away, but to no Purpose. And by this Time, the Rebels having almost surrounded the Troops where he (the Witness) was, the Dragoons on the Left of the Line having, as soon as the Rebel Columns had approached, and fired a few Shot, given Way precipitately, he was in a very few Minutes taken Prisoner by the Rebels.

Major *Severn*, before named, being asked the same Question as the last two Witnesses were, says, his Post was in the Center of the Army; but that, by the little Light there was, he did not see the Rebels till the Firing of our Cannon, at which time, he perceived them breaking from their Center to the Right and Left; which Opening was soon after filled up by the second Line, as he supposes, who fired upon the King's Troops at such a Distance, as to make but very little Execution. A large Body of their Left rushed on obliquely on our Right Flank, and broke the Foot as it were by Platoons, with so rapid a Motion, that the whole Line was broke in a few Minutes.

Adjutant *Ker*, of the Regiment of Dragoons late Colonel *Gardener's*, was asked the same Question as above. He says, his Post was on the Right of the King's Army, with the Right Squadron of Colonel *Gardener's* Regiment, where Brigadier *Fowke* took his Post; and the Witness saw a Column of the Rebels rush on to attack the Artillery: upon which the Artillery Guard fell into Confusion; and Brigadier *Fowke* called out to them to face their Enemy, and give a continual Fire; and the Guard did thereupon give a very irregular one; and by falling back broke the Squadron of Colonel *Gardener's* that was in the Rear, who immediately went off in the Manner as the Earl of *Home* has mentioned. He farther says, he saw Sir *John Cope* in the Front of the Line, just before the Action began, giving his Orders, as he believes to Earl of *Loudon*. That upon the going off of the Artillery Guard, and the Squadron of Colonel *Gardener's* Dragoons, the Rebels broke in on the Right Flank of the Foot, and soon after the whole Line was broke and

went off.

That on the Troops retreating in this Manner, he saw Sir *John Cope* endeavouring to rally both the Dragoons and Foot; but to no Effect.

The Dragoons having stoped at the Corner of Mr. *Erskine* of *Grange's* Park-Wall, could not be prevailed upon by Sir *John* to rally and charge again; and he (the Witness) says; that the Dragoons going off through the Defile between that Wall and Colonel *Gardener's* Enclosures, he assisted the Earls of *Loudon* and *Home*, at some Distance from thence, in rallying about 300 of them, of which one Squadron formed. In a few Minutes after Sir *John Cope* came up, and consulted with the Officers, and then, gave Orders to the Dragoons to fall in by Fours, and march towards *Lauder*.

Adjutant *Covse*, of General *Hamilton's* Regiment, being asked the same Question as this last Witness, says his Post was on the Left of the Army; and that a little before the Rebels approached the King's Troops, he saw Sir *John Cope* come to the Left of the Line, to give Orders, as he believes; the Rebel Army advancing, stretched the Right Wing about a hundred Yards beyond the Left of the King's Army, and wheeled in upon our Flanks, and threw in an irregular Fire, which killed some Dragoons and Horses. At which time, the Firing began on our Right, where the Army thereupon began to break and go off, and continued so to do, quite on to the Left. He followed the Dragoons to Mr. *Erskine* of *Grange's* Park-Wall, and confirms what the last Witness hath said upon that Occasion, as also their going off from thence to a Field at some Distance but that on the Approach of a Body of Rebels, they went off from this last Place.

Being again examined as to his Certainty of the Rebels having wheeled in upon the Left Flank of the King's Army, and thrown in an irregular Fire; which Evidence is different from that of the other Witnesses; He confirms the Certainty of this his Knowledge, adding in particular, that a Corporal of General *Hamilton's* Regiment was killed upon the Spot, at the Left of all, before the Dragoons broke.

Captain *Clark*, of General *Hamilton's* Regiment, being asked to the same (Question as the last Witness, says, He commanded the Squadron of this Regiment, which was in the *Corps de Reserve*; and when the Fire began on the Right of the Front Line, he saw the Dragoons there in Motion, and imagined it was in Pursuit of the Enemy; but was quickly undeceived, the whole Line being immediately in Confusion. He called to his own Squadron to stand fast, and let the Crowd pass, and they, the Squadron, should be able to ride down the Rebels; but this Squadron immediately quitted their Officers and fled. He confirms the Retreat, and Sir *John Cope's* Endeavours to rally the Troops, as related by the two last Witnesses..

The Board having been informed, that *David Bruce*, Esq: who had been present at the Battle, could give an Account of what passed there,

called upon him, to inform them of what he knew on that Occasion.

*David Bruce*, Esq; says, That he was a voluntary Spectator in the Field of Battle, in which he arrived just at Day-Break, and kept in the Rear of the Left of the King's Troops till they were routed: That, during the Time he staid there, he did not see General *Cope*, Brigadier *Fowke*, or Colonel *Lascells*; and that he did not perceive any Misconduct or Misbehaviour in the General, or any of the Officers: That immediately after the Troops going off, he (the Witness) went on to *Edinburgh*.

He says, That the King's Army appeared to him as being regularly drawn up before the Battle began; and farther says, That he heard one Mr. *Baillie*, Steward to Mr. *Dundass*, the late Solicitor-General, who had been in among the Rebels, having been sent there by Mr. *Dundass* to get Intelligence, report the Night before the Battle, in presence of Sir *John Cope*, Colonel *Gardener*, and other Officers, that he computed the Number of the Rebels to be about 5000.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, Major *Severn*, Major *Talbot*, and Captain *Leslie*, were asked, What they knew, or had heard, of the Number of the Rebels?

The first of these Gentlemen says, That when he was taken Prisoner at the Battle, he was told by the Person calling himself the Duke of *Perth*, and by the Lords *George Murray*, *Elcho*, and *Nairn*, that the Number of the Rebels was 5500.

Majors *Severn* and *Talbot* say, That having been taken Prisoners by the Rebels, the same pretended Duke of *Perth* told them both, That by the Returns he had had the Night before the Battle, the Number of the Rebels were 5500.

Captain *Leslie*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, says, He was also made Prisoner by the Rebels, and that the same pretended Duke of *Perth* told him, the Number of the Rebels were 5500.

Lieutenant *Craig*, of Major-General *Winyard's* Regiment, being also asked as to the Number of the Rebels, says, He went to reconnoitre them the Day before the Battle, and saw them between One and Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, going up *Fawside* Hill, and to the best of his Judgment they seemed to be more than 5000.

Major *Severn* and Major *Talbot* of the Foot; Captain *Clark*, Adjutant *Ker*, and Adjutant *Cowse* of the Dragoons were examined as to the Number of the King's Troops at the Action of *Preston*.

The two first of these Witnesses say, That to the best of their Recollection, the Numbers were about 1400 Foot, and 600 Dragoons.

The other three Witnesses say, The Number of Dragoons was 600, according to the best of their Recollection.

Major *Mossman* was required to inform the Board of what he knew of Sir *John Cope's* Personal Behaviour at the Action.

He says, He was Aid de Camp to Sir *John Cope*, and constantly attended him; that he went down with him to the Left of the Line, after it was formed, before the Action began; when Sir *John* observing there the Rebels to outflank the King's Army very much, he ordered the Witness to go to Lieutenant Colonel *Whiteford*, who was with the Artillery on the Right, to send down two Pieces of Cannon to the Left. In Order thereto, the Witness did go to Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* for the Cannon; but none could be brought, for the want of the Artillery Horses which were all gone away; and on that Instant the Action began on the Right of the King's Army: And he (the Witness) returning to Sir *John Cope*, to report to him what he had done, met Lieutenant *Cooney*, Sir *John Cope's* other Aid de Camp, who told him Sir *John* was come to the Right. He (the Witness) was then coming back to the Right, to find Sir *John*; but the Dragoons breaking away, the Witness could with Difficulty get from among them; but after he did get out, he looked towards the Foot, and saw the whole Line breaking; and some time afterwards, he saw Sir *John* coming from the Place where the Line of Foot had been drawn up; when the Witness joined him, and went on with him to overtake the Dragoons, in Order to rally them at Mr. *Erskine's* Park Wall, where some of them had made a Stand, as has been before set forth by the other Witnesses.

Captain *Leslie* being asked to the same Question as the last Witness, says, He saw Sir *John Cope* riding from the Right to the Left of the Line, speaking to the Men, and encouraging them to behave well, and to keep up their Fire.

Captain *Forbes* of Major-General *Read's* Regiment, being asked as to the same Question as the last Witness, says, He was a Volunteer with Sir *John Cope*, and kept with him the whole Time; that he saw Sir *John* ride from Right to Left, giving his Orders to the Troops, and returning frequently backwards and forwards in the Front of the Line, and endeavouring to rally the Troops when they were breaking.

Captain *Blake*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, who was towards the Right of the Line:

Lieutenant *Greenwell*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, who was posted on the Right of the Line.

Captain *Reid*, of the same Regiment; Captain *Collier*, of Colonel *Lascells's*; who were on the Left of the Line:

Captain *Anderson*, of Colonel *Lascells's*; Captain *Forester* of the same Regiment; Lieutenant *Swinney*, of the same; Cornet *Wheatland*, late Ensign of the same; Captain *Pointz*, of General *Guise's* Regiment; who were all posted towards the Center of the Line:

These nine last named Witnesses were also required to inform the Board of what they knew of Sir *John Cope's* Personal Behaviour at the Battle. They say, they saw Sir *John Cope* from their different Posts, ride

along in the Front of the Line, just before the Attack began; giving Orders as he went along speaking to the Men and encouraging them: And after the Troops had broke, they saw him endeavouring to rally them again; and particularly Captain *Forrester* says, He saw Sir *John* ride in among the Men, when they were broke and try to rally them: And Captain *Pointz* also says, that when the Foot began to break after the first Fire, Sir *John Cope* called out to them, *For Shame, Gentlemen, behave like Britons, give them another Fire, and you'll make them run.* And Lieutenant *Greenwell* also says, that after the Foot had given one Fire, they faced to the Right about, and Sir *John Cope* immediately rode up and called to them to halt, saying, *For Shame, Gentlemen, don't let us be beat by such a Set of Banditti:* But notwithstanding all that Sir *John Cope* and the rest of the Officers could do, the Men all dispersed; and Captain *Anderson*, Lieutenants *Greenwell* and *Swinney*, and Cornet *Wheatland* also say, they saw Sir *John Cope* at Mr. *Erskine's* Park Wall, where some Dragoons had made a Halt, endeavouring to rally them, and bring them back, as has been before related by other Witnesses.

#### QUESTION XIV.

*What Number of Officers were with the King's Troops in the Action?*

To which Sir *John Cope* says; As soon as I knew that an Examination was to be made of my Conduct, Behaviour and Proceedings, I did in Obedience to the Secretary at War's Orders, procure Returns signed by the Commanding Officers of each Corps, of the Names of all the Officers who were present at the Action of *Preston*, or absent; as also, of all Volunteers and others, who were Witnesses of my Conduct and Behaviour; which Returns were accordingly transmitted to the Secretary at War's Office.

The Secretary of the Board was ordered to go to the Secretary at War's Office; which he did, and brought from thence an Extract of the Returns certified by

A Copy of which is annexed in the Appendix, Numb. 35.

#### QUESTION XV.

*What Orders were given with respect to the Troops firing?*

Sir *John Cope* answered, I recommended it to the Men to keep up their Fire, and be attentive to their Officers.

#### QUESTION XVI.

*What Guard was there on the Train-Horses at the Action, and what Orders were given to that Guard?*

To this Sir *John Cope* answered, My Number of Men being small, I could spare none for that Service, as it was weakening my Force; so no

Guard was appointed, consequently they had no Orders; but the Drivers had Orders to keep with their Horses, and to be ready at a Call; instead of which they ran off with them, as Lieutenant Colonel *Whiteford* will attest.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* being called upon, as to the said Orders being given to the Drivers, and their going off, notwithstanding, with their Horses, confirms what Sir *John Cope* has said above.

Sir *John Cope* then informed the Board, he had some more Witnesses present, whom he was ready to call upon to testify to his Behaviour, as all the others have done; and likewise had several Letters in his Hand to the same Purpose, from several Officers of the Army, whose Duty in *Scotland* did not permit them to come to Town, to give their Evidence Personally; which Letters, he said, he was ready to produce to them: But the Board declaring themselves satisfied, as to this Point, by the Evidences that had already been brought to them, Sir *John Cope* rested the Matter there; but beg'd he might be allowed to observe to this Board, that as soon as he knew that his Conduct and Behaviour were to be examined into, he acquainted the Secretary at War, that he should be glad, if possible, to have every Person, who was an Eye Witness to any Part of his Conduct, summoned. To which it was answered, that it might be inconvenient to his Majesty's Service to have some of them, such as Lord *Loudon* and others, called off from the Duty they were on. That then, he (Sir *John*) requested all such, who could be spared, might be summoned; and accordingly they were: And then Sir *John Cope* desired the Board, that all Persons present might again be asked, if they had any Thing to offer against what he had set forth in his Answers, or by the Evidence in support of them; which was accordingly proposed openly: But no one appearing, who had any Thing to alledge to invalidate any Part of what had been said, Sir *John Cope* desired, leave to give in to this Board, his Conclusion of all that had been offered in Vindication of his Conduct, Behaviour, and Proceedings; which accordingly was received and read; and is as follows:

Give me leave to conclude, Sir with observing to you, that if my Journal had been preserved, wherein I entered every Day's Transactions, my Answers would have been more compleat. This Journal, with a great many other Papers, in which I took down Memorandums, and Observations, while I was travelling through the *Highlands* the Year before, and upon the March this Year, fell into the Hands of the Rebels; for want of them, the Answers are drawn up from Memory partly, and from the best Helps that could be got.

I have also been at a very great Loss in preparing them, for want of the Earl of *Loudon*; his Lordship having acted as Adjutant-General during the Whole of this Expedition, was advised with in every one Article relating to it, and by the Post in which his Lordship acted, he was necessarily informed of every Order that was given, and of every

Step that was taken.

I beg leave, Sir, to add to the Trouble which I have already given the Board, that from what has been laid before you, I am hopeful it will be evident to you.

That from the Moment I had Reason to believe, that a Rebellion was breaking out, I set about the proper Measures necessary for crushing it, before it got to a Head with all possible Dispatch.

That I gave the utmost Attention and Application to forward those Measures; and did not lose a Moment's Time in executing them.

That I had Reason to expect to be joined by a Body of well-affected *Highlanders*, upon my March towards the Rebels, and *proposed the March in that Expectation, unless I heard any Thing to make me alter from it.*

That the positive Orders I received to execute the same, did not leave me at Liberty to retire back to *Stirling*; when at *Creif* I found these my Expectations disappointed.

That a Retreat Southward from *Dalwhinny*, where we received Intelligence, that the Rebels had taken Possession of the *Corriarrick*, must have been attended with Consequences very detrimental to the King's Affairs. That so it was judged unanimously by a Council of War held there, consisting of all the Field-Officers and Commanders of Corps. That they were also unanimously of Opinion, that to force our Way over the *Corriarrick* was impracticable; and that we had no other Measures to follow but to march to *Inverness*, because the positive Orders I was under, neither to remain at *Stirling* or *Perth*, left me no other Party to take, in the Situation I was then in.

I had likewise strong Assurances, of being joined by a considerable Number of well-affected *Highlanders*, on my March to, or at *Inverness*.

That at *Inverness* I did all I could to get a Body of the well-affected *Highlanders* to join the King's Troops.

That I lost no Time in setting out from thence.

That marching to *Aberdeen* by Land, and transporting the Troops from thence by Sea to the Firth of *Forth*, was a proper Measure.

That I marched from *Dunbar* to attack the Rebels as soon as I possibly could.

That it was risking too much to attack the Rebels, upon the Ground which they had possessed themselves of on the Day before the Battle; because the Dragoons, which were a great Part of our Strength, and of whom the received Notion was, that the *Highlanders* were afraid, could not act up it.

That the Ground we were attacked upon was well chosen, the Disposition of the Troops good, and they were fully formed before they were attacked, and consequently were not surprized.

That the whole of the Misfortune was owing to the Soldiers not doing their Duty.

And that my own Conduct in the Battle, in forming the Line, encouraging the Troops, by calling them to do their Duty, not posting myself in any particular Part, but keeping in constant Motion in the Front of the Line, from their beginning to form till they were broke and run, and then endeavouring to rally both the Foot and Dragoons, while there was any Possibility of retrieving the Affair; and when that was become impracticable, the making a Retreat with the Troops that could be got together, has been, I hope, made appear by a sufficient Number of Witnesses, who were posted in different Parts of the Line, to the Satisfaction of this Honourable Board.

Sir *John Cope* was then desired to acquaint the Board, from what Cause he imagined, or conceived, the shameful and scandalous Behaviour of the Soldiers proceeded?

To which he answered, that no other Reason appeared to him for such their Behaviour, than their being seized with a sudden Pannick.

Then the Board enquired of Sir *John Cope*, whether the several Letters referred to in his Answers, as having passed between the Marquis of *Tweeddale* and him, included the whole Correspondence?

He informed them, that there were several others, which he offered to produce; but as he did not think they were immediately relative to the Matters in question, he had not troubled the Board with them. But the Board were of Opinion, no Part of that Correspondence should be omitted being read. Whereupon Sir *John Cope* delivered to them a List signed by *Andrew Mitchel*, Esq; late Chief Secretary to the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, certifying the same to be .a compleat List of all the Letters, with their respective Dates, that passed between the said Marquis of *Tweeddale* and Sir *John Cope*, from the 2d of *July* to the 21st of *September* 1745, a Copy of which certified List is annexed in the Appendix, Numb. 36; and then the said Letters were produced and read, and are contained in the Appendix, Numb. 37 to Numb. 61. inclusive.

Afterwards, the Board proceeded to examine into the Conduct, Behaviour and Proceedings of Colonel *Peregrine Lascells*, as by your Majesty's said Warrant is directed; who being come before the Board, and your Majesty's said Warrant read, was asked Whether he did concur with Sir *John Cope* in all the Measures that were taken, from the Time of his joining the Army till their landing at *Dunbar*?

To which Colonel *Lascells* answered in the Affirmative; but says, That at the Council of War held at *Dalwhinny*, he was of Opinion at first, that the Army should march back to *Stirling*; But upon his finding every other Member of the contrary Opinion, and for the Reasons they alledged, he immediately receded from his, and concurred with theirs, and accordingly signed the Council of War.



He was then required to inform the Board, at what Time he joined the Army under Sir *John Cope*, and to give them an Account of his Conduct, Behaviour and Proceedings, from that Time till the Action was over at *Preston*.

To which he answered, That as soon as his Health would permit him, which was not till the 23d of *August*, he joined his Regiment, which was with Sir *John Cope* then at *Tay-bridge*, and continued doing his Duty as Colonel, from thence, under Sir *John Cope's* Orders.

He then presented to the Board a Paper, which contains an Account of his Conduct and Behaviour at the Battle of *Preston*; which he desired might be read, and accordingly is as follows.

Upon the 20th of *September*, the Army under Sir *John Cope* marched from the Camp at *Haddingtoun*, and about Noon reached a large Field near *Preston*, very proper for the Dragoons to act in, where the Army immediately formed in order of Battle.

The Operations of the Rebels obliged the General to change his Ground several Times, which the Troops performed with great Spirit, and the utmost Exactness. I was on Horseback the whole Day at the Head of the Line, except when I attended the General reconnoitring.

About the Time it was dark, there was a pretty brisk Firing about Colonel *Gardener's* House, where the General had posted a Subaltern's Guard. Upon which he immediately ordered an Officer to march with two Platoons, and post himself at the End of the Lane leading to it. I considering the Importance of that Post, and the Danger the Guards were in of being surprized, as there were thick Hedges, and several small Inclosures upon the Left of it, offered my Service, saw the Centries posted, and gave them and the Officers such Orders as I thought proper, and immediately returned to my Post.

About nine of the Clock that Night, all the Dogs in the Village of *Tranent* began to bark with the utmost Fury, which, it was believed, was occasioned by the Motions of the Rebels. Upon which I visited some of the most advanced Guards and Centries, and found all very alert, but could see or hear nothing but the barking of the Dogs, which ceased about half an Hour past ten; in which Time the Rebels had removed from the West to the east Side of *Tranent*.

In returning to the Line, I met Major *Talbot*, Field-Officer of the Picquet, finishing his Rounds with him, and posted a Guard by the Ditch of the Inclosure, in the Center betwixt the Foot and Dragoons.

About half an Hour past two in the Morning of the 21st of *September*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Halket* and I walked along the Line, near the Inclosures, and by means of a large Fire advanced in our Front, saw the Earl of *Loudon*, and attended him to the General, acquainting him with what I had done; and after desiring to know his Commands, Lieutenant Colonel *Halket* and I returned to our respective Posts.

I soon after ordered the Line of Foot to stand to their Arms.

Upon coming to the Ground where we engaged, I gave Directions for putting the Line of Foot immediately in Order: And as there was not Time to send the Men of the Out-Guards to their respective Corps, drew them up as fast as they came in, upon the Right of Colonel *Lee's* five Companies, by which Means, the Line of Foot was formed in perfect good Order, to attack or receive the Rebels. After which I dismounted, and took my Post at the Right of the Line of Foot.

Soon after the Left Column of the Rebels attacked the Artillery and Dragoons: upon which, Lieutenant-Colonel *Whitney*, by the Earl of *Loudon's* Order, wheeled the Squadron he commanded to the Right, to secure his own Flank, and fall upon that of the Rebels. Upon which I attempted to wheel some Platoons, to assist the Dragoons in their Charge, and to cover the Right Flank of the Foot, which I was obliged to stop immediately, as some Files of the Platoons upon the Right; were crouching and creeping gently backwards, with their Arms recovered; which was occasioned by a continued irregular Fire over their Heads; which I soon set to Rights by my Example and Reproaches, and kept them firm, by continuing at their Head as long as their Fire lasted; which the Earl of *Loudon*, who was within twice his Horse's Length, was a Witness of.

Upon the Dragoons going off, the Left Column of the Rebels broke, and pursued them Sword in Hand as fast as they could run, except about 150 of the Rear, who halted upon the Right of the Artillery, and near upon a Line with it, till the other two Columns of the Rebels began to fire upon the Foot, when they moved with a seeming Design to attack our Right Flank, which I intended to guard against, by wheeling some Platoons, but was prevented by their going off.

Colonel *Lascells* then prayed Leave to call his Witnesses in Vindication of his Conduct and Behaviour: And first,

Major *Severn*, of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, being required to inform the Board of what he knew, concerning the Conduct and Behaviour of Colonel *Lascells*, says, That, from the Time of the Colonel's joining the Regiment, he (the Colonel) was very diligent in doing his Duty at all Times, and in all Places. He further says; that about Three o'Clock in the Morning of the 21st of *September*, he walked with Colonel *Lascells* at the Head of the Line of Foot when the Colonel (*Lascells*) ordered the whole Line of Foot to Hand to their Arms, which, as far as the Witness could see, was accordingly done.

Major *Mossman*, who was Aid de Camp to General *Cope*, was called upon to the same Question as the other Witness; he says, that he saw Colonel *Lascells* constantly every Day; and that he always did his Duty without any Neglect or Remissness.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, of Colonel *Cochran's* Regiment, being

asked the same Question, as the last Witness; says, Colonel *Lascells* did his Duty as Colonel; and does not know, nor ever heard, that he neglected to do what he had been ordered.

Major *Talbot*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, was asked the same Question as the other Witnesses; he says, That from the Time Colonel *Lascells* joined the Army, he always saw him doing his Duty very diligently and punctually: That he (the Witness, being Field Officer of the Day, as he was posting the Night Guard the 20th of *September*, he met Colonel *Lascells*; who went with the Witness to post a Guard, between Colonel *Lee's* Piquet, and the Guard that was at the Entrance of Colonel *Gardener's* Enclosures, and saw the posting of some Centries, and afterwards returned with the Witness and visited several Posts with him.

Colonel *Lascells* produced a Letter from Lieutenant *Kennedy*, of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment, to him, which was certified by Major *Mossman*, of the same Regiment, to be Lieutenant *Kennedy's* Handwriting; which Colonel *Lascells* desired might be read, Lieutenant *Kennedy* not being in *London* to give his Evidence Personally; which Letter was accordingly read, and is as follows:

*Edinburgh*, 12th *August*, 1746.

“IN Answer to yours to Major *Mossman*, all that I remember is, that about eight the Night before the Action at *Preston-Pans*, there was a pretty smart Firing by the Rebels, who then lay at the South East Side of Colonel *Gardener's* House, in which an Ensign and some Men of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment were lodged. Upon that Firing, Ensign *Leslie's* and my Platoons were ordered from the Right of our Line, to march from the narrow Road that led from Colonel *Gardener's* to our Line; and that you went there, and give Directions in case the Rebels should attempt to come to that Road; and that you looked about the Hedges and Inclosures, and pointed out the proper Places for the Centries to be posted; which after seeing done you retired to the Line.”

Adjutant *Gordon* of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, says, That about Day-break of the 21st of *September*, he received Orders from Major *Severn*, to make the Line of Foot stand to their Arms, which the whole of them accordingly did.

Captain *Corbet*, and Captain *Anderson* of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment confirm, that this Regiment did stand to their Arms, by Order, about Day-break.

Captain *Collier*, of the same Regiment, was asked, what he saw or knew of Colonel *Lascells's* Behaviour: He says, That having been posted at an Out-guard, the Night before the Battle, Major *Talbot* ordered him, in the Morning, to call in his Centries, and join the other Guards he should find drawn up on the Right of the Line, which he did; drawing up on the Left of those Guards, at some Distance from Colonel *Lee's*

Companies; and Colonel *Lascells* being there, asked the Witness what he did there, for that was the Ground for the Dragoons; and the Witness answering, he was ordered there by Major *Talbot*; Colonel *Lascells* then ordered him (the Witness) to face to the Left, and call upon the Officers of the other Guards to do the same, and join Colonel *Lee's* Companies, which was immediately done.

Lieutenant *Cox*, of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, says, He had been posted, the Night before the Battle, on a Quarter-Guard; and in the Morning Captain *Drummond*, of the same Regiment, ordered him to join his Piquet, which he did; and they were presently after joined in the Line by Colonel *Lascells*, this Witness says to the same Effect as Capt *Collier*.

Captain *Blake*, of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, being also examined, says, He was posted on the Right of the Line, and saw Colonel *Lascells* on Foot at the Head of the Line, at his Post as he believes, when the Enemy was coming down upon the King's Troops, and after the Attack begun; but that he (the Witness) being knocked down by the Enemy soon after, he did not see Colonel *Lascells* any more.

This Witness was then asked, whether Colonel *Lascells* did on Colonel *Whitney's* attempting to wheel the Dragoons, give the Word of Command to the Foot, to wheel some Platoons in Order to support him; He answers in the Affirmative, but says, that the Wheel was not effected.

Captain *Drummond*, of Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, says, He saw the Colonel at the Head of the Line, just before the Action began.

Cornet *Wheatland*, of the Second Troop of Horse-Guards, late Ensign in Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, says the same as Captain *Drummond*.

Colonel *Lascells* produced to the Board, a Letter to him from Lieutenant-Colonel *Halket*, of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment, which was certified by Major *Mossman*, of the same Regiment, to be the said Lieutenant-Colonel *Halket's* Hand-writing; which Colonel *Lascells* desired might be read, as Lieutenant Colonel *Halket* was not in Town to give his Evidence Personally, which was accordingly read, and contains as follows:

“After the Men of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment had taken up their Ground in the Line that was forming, you called to me to divide into Platoons and Firings. The Piquets and Quarter-Guards, whom you had ordered to fall upon our Right, at that Time you was on the Right, and on Horseback; what you ordered me to do, prevented my seeing you after that; but I was told you dismounted, and Captain *Blake*, who was near to the Right of the Piquets, and Quarter-Guards, told me yesterday, that you did dismount soon after I left you.”

Colonel *Lascells* was then required by the Board to inform them,

Whether he was made Prisoner by the Rebels, at what Time, and in what Manner, and how he got away from them.

He answered, that the Rear of the great Column, upon the Left of the Rebels, halted upon the Right of the King's Artillery for a very short Time, until the next two Columns attacked the Front of the King's Army: Upon which they moved, with Rapidity, to attack the Right Flank of the King's Troops, which he intended to guard against, by wheeling three Platoons, that were not engaged; but he was prevented by their going off. He says, that, in moving fast to direct the wheeling, he had the Misfortune to fall; and tho' he rose again as quick as possible, he found an Officer of the Rebels, with sixteen Men, just upon him, who told him, he was his Prisoner, and directed him (Colonel *Lascells*) to deliver his Arms to a Man the Officer pointed at, which he was obliged to submit to; and they that Instant left him and pursued the Foot; by which Means, he (Colonel *Lascells*) unexpectedly escaped to *Seaton*, between the Remainder of the left Column of the Rebels, and that next to it, which were at a considerable Distance from one another. That having got a Horse at *Seaton*, he rode off to *Haddington*, and thus made his Escape.

Being asked, If he had any Evidences to produce in Confirmation of what he had now offered in this Point? He said, That as his being made a Prisoner happened at a Time when the Troops were running off, he had no-body to call upon that could confirm what he had said upon this Head, and that he had nothing farther to offer; and added, that he hoped he had made his Conduct and Behaviour appear to the Satisfaction of the Board.

Then the Board asked publicly, Whether there were any Persons present that could object to any Part of what had been said by Colonel *Lascells*, or any of his Evidence, to invalidate the same; that they were required to inform the Board what they knew, in which they might be assured of the Protection of this Board, to what should be just; but no one appearing,

The Board proceeded to examine into the Conduct, Behaviour, and Proceedings of Brigadier-General *Thomas Fowke*, as by your Majesty's said Warrant is directed.

And the said Brigadier-General *Thomas Fowke*, being come before the said Board, and your Majesty's said Warrant read, he delivered in to them a Paper in Writing, containing an Account of his Conduct, Behaviour and Proceedings, for the Time mentioned in the said Warrant; which he desired might be read, and which was accordingly read, and is as follows.

I. On *Sunday* the 15th of *September*, in the Evening, I arrived at *Edinburgh*, where I found Lieutenant-General *Guest*, with his Majesty's Servants the Lord Justice Clerk, the Advocate and Solicitor, the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, and several other Persons of Distinction, at my

Lord Justice-Clerk's House; where many things being said upon the Condition and Circumstances of the Town towards making a Defence, should the Rebels advance to attack it; I asked the Provost's Opinion, Whether, by bringing in some Part, or the whole of the Dragoons, such a Measure might not contribute to their Preservation. Who answered, That as they had not two Days Provisions for themselves, it would be a Means of rendering useless so many of his Majesty's Forces. I then addressed myself to General *Guest* and the Gentlemen present, to know, in what Manner the Dragoons might be made useful for the King's Service. After some little Consultation, it was agreed, and Lieutenant General *Guest* accordingly gave his Orders, to have them continued upon their Posts at the West-Port on the Field near the *Colt-Bridge*.

II. On *Monday* the 16th, early in the Morning, I went out at the West-Port with Lord *Home*, Lord *Napier*, the Honourable *Charles Hope*, and several other Gentlemen, where, on reviewing the Dragoons, I found many of the Horses Backs not fit to receive the Riders, many of the Mens and some of the Officers Legs so swelled, that they could not wear Boots; and those who really were to be depended upon, in a manner overcome for want of Sleep. This being the first time I had ever seen the two Dragoon Regiments. The same Day, before the Rebels had advanced with their whole Body towards *Edinburgh*, Colonel *Gardener* had acquainted me that from the Condition the Men and Horses were in, and in our Situation, it would be extremely right not to wait for Night-Work; and that it was absolutely necessary, before it became dark, to retire towards *Leith*, that we might gain a Passage through, and by the different Stone Walls, during the Day-light. Upon this Representation, I thought myself obliged to call together Colonel *Gardener* with all the Field-Officers, when it was their unanimous Opinion, that any Night-Work might be our Ruin, but that by retiring to *Leith* there was a Possibility of finding Ground, so as to be at Liberty of providing Means to refresh our Men and Horses. And as this their Opinion was agreeable to the Orders I had received that Morning from General *Guest*, in a Message sent by the Major of Brigade, I had the less Difficulty of putting it in Execution. And the Quarter-Masters were accordingly sent off to take up the Ground, provide Necessaries, and other Conveniencies, both for Men and Horses.

III. Our advanced Guard, consisting of an Officer and thirty Men, had my repeated Orders, sent by Adjutant *Ker* and another Officer, to retire slowly and without Confusion, upon the Approach of the Rebels, moving in a whole Body; which they now began to do, at a little before Four. I march'd off slowly towards *Leith* with Colonel *Gardener* and the Dragoons, when; ordered the Brigade Major to see that the Rear Squadron moved off in Order and without Hurry, as there were several Defiles and Stone Walls. On our March Colonel *Gardener* acquainted me, that the Quarter Masters were returned, and had

reported to him, they had not been able to find wherewithal at that Place, to provide for both Men and Horses. It was then proposed by Colonel *Gardener*, to continue our March towards *Musselburgh*, which we accordingly did.

IV. At *Musselburgh* I received certain Accounts of Sir *John Cope's* being off of *Dunbar*, with the Troops he was bringing about from *Aberdeen*. I then thought it necessary to have some Person dispatched with this Account to the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*. Accordingly I dismounted and halted the Dragoons for above an Hour, whilst I went up to Mr. *Hugh Forbes*, one of the principal Clerks of the Session's House, where I found the Lord *Advocate*, the *Solicitor*, and Mr. *Grosset*, Collector of the Customs at *Alloa*, and they jointly dispatched Mr. *Grosset* with this Intelligence to the Lord Provost, with an Offer to march in to the Town, the whole, or any Part of the two Regiments of Dragoons, if he desired it, and General *Guest* would send his Orders so to do. This Proposal, as Mr. *Grosset* has since informed me, was made to him whilst he was in the Council-House, with a good many Members of the Town-Council about him; and in the Presence of *George Drummond*, Esq; and *Archibald M'Aulay*, Esq; late Provost of *Edinburgh*; but the Offer was not accepted of; and not receiving any Return of the Message, we continued our March that Evening, with a Design to lie on our Arms all Night, upon a Piece of Ground Colonel *Gardener* would order to be mark'd out for us near his own House; who being very ill, and extremely weak, desired to go there; and as Colonel *Gardener* was perfectly acquainted with the Situation of that Part of the Country, I could have no Reasonable Objection to the Place he pitch'd upon: And after halting there some Time, we proceeded on our March to *North-Bernick* and *Dunbar*, and arrived at the last mentioned Place about eleven o'Clock on *Tuesday* the 17th in the Forenoon, and join'd Sir *John Cope*, who by this Time had landed Part of his Troops.

V. Sir *John Cope* halted that Day, and the next. On *Thursday* the 19th, the Whole marched to *Haddington*, there encamped that Night; and the next Morning the March continued to *Preston-Pans*, where Sir *John Cope* took up his Ground.

VI. As the Rebels had this Day march'd from a very strong Camp they had possessed near *Edinburgh*, to attack the King's Forces, and were arrived at the high Ground about *Tranent*; they had obliged Sir *John* by their different Motions to change his Situation several Times; and during *Friday* Night, and the succeeding Morning, I frequently visited the Out-Posts.

VII. On *Saturday* the 21st of *September*, and before Break of Day, the Rebels were perceived moving with their whole Body; whereupon immediately I gave Orders for the Dragoons to mount, and the proper Out-guards to be called in.

VIII. At this Time the Earl of *Loudon* came to me with Sir *John Cope's*

Orders to march the Dragoons, and draw up on the Right of the Line of the Foot, who had by this Time changed their Ground, and form'd a Front to receive the Rebel Army.

IX. During the small Time we had for joining the Foot, I took an Opportunity of assuring the Squadrons, that I had not the least doubt, but their Behaviour would that Day do us Honour; and that our Success would, in a great Measure, be owing to their Conduct.

X. On my coming up to the Right of the Line of the Foot, with the two Squadrons, where were with us Colonel *Gardener*, his Officers, Lord *Home*, and Lieutenant *Weemys*, I was surprized to find that the Guard of Foot upon the Train, consisting of 100 Men, had left the Ground where they had been posted, on the Right of the Artillery: and found them in great Confusion, placed a few Yards distant just in our Front; and as the Cannon was upon the Right of the Front of our Squadron, and these Foot directly In our Front, I call'd to Colonel *Gardiner* to incline his Squadron nearer to that of Colonel *Whitney* on the Left. On this, I immediately, with the Brigade-Major endeavoured to put the Artillery Guard in some Order, the first Rebel Column being by this Time advanced very near us.

XI. By the Assistance of some of the Serjeants we form'd a Front Rank, who in great Confusion gave a straggling Fire, and in a Moment fell back with the rest of their Body, and took to Flight; when turning my Horse's Head to look for the Squadron, most of them had in like Manner took to Flight. By the Time I had got up to the Middle of the Field, towards *Grange's Wall*, I perceived a Body of Dragoons seeming to make a Stand. I put myself between them and the Rebel Column, which had then made a small Halt, and called to the Dragoons to fall on and take their Revenge; but in place of so doing, they immediately faced to the Left, and went off to a Man. The Rebel Column seeing this, moved on and gave them their Fire.

XII. I then called out to the Brigade-Major, Where was Sir *John* and the Foot? And on hearing a good deal of Fire in my Rear, I gallop'd back, in Hopes it was our own Foot had continued to engage the Rebels. When hearing a Voice call out to me, saying, *These were the Rebels*; and being then close upon the right Flank, I had only Time to face my Horse to the Left, and make towards the Sea, where I met Captain *Christie* of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, who informed me that our Foot were entirely routed and fled. Seeing then no Prospect or Expectation of retrieving our Loss, with the Assistance of Captain *Christie* for my Guide, I thought my most prudent Measure would be to make the best of my Way to *Bernick*, and use my utmost Endeavours to prevent the *Dutch* Battalion from going up the *Forth*; which happily effected, by Means of Mr. *Temple*, Collector of the Customs at *Bernick*, who sent out several Boats, that had the good Fortune to meet the *Dutch* Transports at Sea, and brought them safe into *Bernick*; at which Place; continued under the Command of Sir *John Cope* for 30 Days;



acting to the best of my Power, according to the Orders I received, for the Preservation of that Place.

After the said Account was read, the Board observed that Sir *John Cope* had said in his Narrative, or Answer to the 13th Question, that the Earl of *Loudon* had mentioned in his Letter to Sir *John*, that Colonel *Gardener* received Orders, after the Rebels were broken with running over the Cannon and Artillery-Guard, to attack that Body of them.

Brigadier *Fowke* was asked, Whether he knew by whom that Order was given; he being then at that Part of the Line?

The Brigadier says, He does not know by whom the said Order was given; and had heard nothing of such an Order to Colonel *Gardener* but by Sir *John Cope's* Narrative; for being with the Artillery-Guard, which was then running in Confusion, by the Time he (the Brigadier) turn'd his Horse to look after the Dragoons, he found they were most of them gone, and the rest going off.

Then the Board asked Brigadier *Fowke*, Whether he had any Witnesses in support of what he had offered in his said Account? Whereupon

*George Drummond*, Esq; being called upon, was asked, Whether he knew any thing of the Orders given by General *Guest*, for the Dragoons to continue at their Post in the Field, near *Colt-bridge*?

He says, he was present in the Room with Brigadier *Fowke* and his Majesty's Servants, at the Time the Brigadier asked them, In what Manner Dragoons might be made useful for the King's Service? That General *Guest* did thereupon give the Orders above-mentioned.

The Earl of *Home* to the same Question, says, he was informed by General *Guest* himself, and by several other Gentlemen who were then in the Room above mentioned, that the Orders were given, as is above said.

Captain *Singleton*, Major of Brigade, was asked, What he knew of the Conduct and Behaviour of Brigadier *Fowke*, from the Time he got to *Edinburgh*, on the 15th of *September*, until the Brigadier joined Sir *John Cope* on the 17th?

He says, That on *Monday* the 16th of *September*, about four o'Clock in the Morning, Brigadier *Fowke* ordered him to go to the Lord Provost, and try if he would consent to let 100 of the Town-Guard march out of the *West-port*, in Order to take Possession of *Colt-bridge*. The Provost very readily complied; but said, he must first consult with the rest of the Magistrates, and was pretty sure they would consent to their staying there all the Day Time; but by no Means could spare them in the Night; and accordingly they went out to the *Colt-bridge*,

That soon after the Brigadier, with Lord *Napier*, Lord *Home*, Mr. *Hope*, Lieutenant *Weemys*, and the Witness, went out at the *West-port*, to

the Field near the *Colt-bridge*. About an Hour after the Brigadier had reviewed the Dragoons, he ordered the Witness to go to the Castle to General *Gnest*, and to acquaint him, that both the Men and Horses were in great Want of every thing; that he would be pleased to give his Directions for some body to wait on the Lord Provost, for his Orders to have them supplied. At the same Time the Witness told the General, he found the Brigadier was desirous, if the Rebels advanced, to attack them, provided he approved of it, and the Dragoons were in a Condition to do it to the Purpose.

The General replied, He could not give them any Orders upon that Head; he (the General) thought it, however, better not to have any more Night-work; but in the bad Ground and Condition they were in, to retire from thence, where they might be of more Service in joining Sir *John Cope* at his landing, which he had Reason to expect every Hour. The Witness returned to the Brigadier directly, who ordered several People out to reconnoitre the Rebels. Colonel *Gardener* represented to the Brigadier very strongly, and repeated many times, in his (the Witness's) Hearing, the bad Condition his Regiment was in; in particular, being harassed and fatigued for eleven Days and eleven Nights, little or no Provision for the Men, or Forage for the Horses; and that many of the Men had their Legs so swelled, that they were obliged to cut their Boots off; and that if they stayed another Night on that Ground, it was to be feared his Majesty would lose two Regiments of Dragoons: But added, the Brigadier might do as he pleased; for his Part he had not long to live.

Upon this all the Field-Officers, with Colonel *Gardener*, being called together, they did unanimously agree with Colonel *Gardener's* Opinion, that they had no Chance by staying upon the same Ground that Night.

As about this Time the Rebels began to march with their whole Body, the Quarter-Masters were ordered to *Leith-Links*, about a Mile from *Edinburgh*, in order to mark out the Ground, and to provide Forage for the Horses, and Straw for the Men to lye on: A little after three o'Clock, the Gentlemen who were out reconnoitring, returned, and said the Rebels were near: And as our advanced Guard, which consisted of an Officer and 30 Dragoons, had, by this Time, retired to their Corps, the Brigadier ordered the Witness to go to *Colt-bridge*, and tell the Captain of the Town-Guard to march his Men back to *Edinburgh*: At the same time, the Brigadier and Colonel *Gardener* marched the Dragoons very slow by the Back of the Town, desiring that the Witness would take care that the Rear Squadron came off slow and in Order, there being on the March several Defiles inclosed with Stone-Walls.

When the Dragoons came towards *Leith Links*, the Brigadier was surprized to find, that the Quarter-Masters had done nothing; but it seems they had reported to Colonel *Gardener*, that neither Forage, nor other necessaries, were to be had there. The March was continued to

*Musselburgh*, about four Miles from *Edinburgh*, where the Brigadier met with an Express from *Dunbar*, giving an Account that Sir *John Cope* was arrived, and was either to land at *North Berwick* or *Dunbar*. The Brigadier made the Dragoons to halt about an Hour and an Half, when he went into a Gentleman's House to dispatch a Letter to Sir *John Cope*, and at the same time another Messenger was employed back to the Provost of *Edinburgh*, to acquaint him of these Particulars, and some other Matters.

Colonel *Gardener* being very ill, had desired to go forward to his own House, and would give Directions for a proper Field near that Place, where the Dragoons might take up their Ground; and that Forage and other Necessaries should be provided: Accordingly the March was continued to the Ground: After some Halt, the March was continued to *North-Berwick* and *Dunbar*, where they found Sir *John Cope* the next Day.

Adjutant *Ker*, of the late Colonel *Gardener's* Regiment, was asked what he knew of any Advice being given to Brigadier *Fowke*, and by whom, to leave the Post at *Colt-bridge*?

He says, That he knows very well it was advised by Colonel *Gardener*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Whitney*, Major *Peterson*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Wright*, and Major *Bowles*, of General *Hamilton's* Regiment, to retire from the Post at *Colt-bridge* to the *Links* of *Leith*. That Colonel *Gardener's* Regiment of Dragoons had been so harassed and fatigued for eleven Days and eleven Nights, before the Brigadier took upon him the Command, that he believes that was the Reason why the said Advice was given and followed; but that it having been found, that the Regiments could not encamp at the *Links* for want of Necessaries, it was resolved to take up their Ground near Colonel *Gardener's* House.

Adjutant *Comse*, of General *Hamilton's* Regiment, was examined to the same Question as Adjutant *Ker*.

He says, That at *Colt-bridge*, Brigadier *Fowke* called the Field Officers together, who considered the Situation of the Dragoons, and the Nature of the Ground they were upon, which was full of Defiles, inclosed by Stone-Walls, and quite unfit for Dragoons to act upon, it was advised to retire from thence, and go to the *Links* of *Leith*, as Adjutant *Ker* has already said.

*Walter Grosset*, Esq; Collector of your Majesty's Customs at *Alloa*, was desired to inform the Board, what he knows of the Message Brigadier *Fowke* sent by him from *Musselburgh* to the Provost of *Edinburgh*, upon hearing Sir *John Cope* was off *Dunbar*; and what Answer he (*Walter Grosset*) received thereupon.

He says, That he was desired at *Musselburgh* by Brigadier *Fowke* and the Lord Advocate, to carry a Message from them to the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, to acquaint him, that General *Cope* was off of *Dunbar* with

the King's Troops; and that if he intended to defend the Town, and that the Regiments of Dragoons would be of any Use, the Whole, or any Part of them he should desire, should be sent him; which Message he (the Witness) did carry, and arrived at *Edinburgh* about seven at Night: And the Answer he received from the Lord Provost was, that two of the Magistrates having gone out to treat with the Rebels, it was too late to call in the Assistance of the Dragoons.

He further says, it was too late before this Answer was given him, being about twelve at Night, and the Rebels came in five Hours after, that he could only carry this Answer to Lord Justice-*Clerk* who was then at his own House, about four Miles from Town, and did not send any Message to Brigadier *Fowke*.

*George Drummond*, Esq; being asked whether he was present at the Council House, when Mr. *Grosset* delivered the above Message to the Lord Provost?

Says, He was, a short time after Mr. *Grosset* had come there; and confirms what had passed on that Occasion, as has been above related by Mr. *Grosset*.

Brigadier *Fowke* was asked, whether he had any Evidence to prove, that his Retreat or March from *Colt-bridge* to *Dunbar*, was effected in good Order, and without Precipitation? He called Captain *Clark*, of General *Hamilton's* Regiment, who, being examined, says, The Retreat from *Colt-bridge* to *Preston-Pans* was regularly performed; but at the last Place, by a false Alarm, the Dragoons were thrown into great Confusion: And afterwards, on their March from thence, by the Darkness of the Night, Part of the Dragoons went to *North-Bernick*, and some to *Dunbar*.

Adjutant *Cowse*, before named, being also examined to the same Question, says. That upon first hearing of the Alarm mentioned by this last Witness, Brigadier *Fowke* came up, and gave Orders for the Dragoons to mount; that he (the Witness) had Orders to form a Rear-Guard, and he (the Witness) afterwards enquired of the Country People of the Truth of this Alarm, that the Rebels were coming; who told him, that it was a false Report made by some other Country People, with Design, that the Dragoons taking the Alarm, might go off, by which means they would save their Forage.

That several of the Dragoons mounted, as he believes, before they had received any Orders.

The Witness farther says, that he continued in the Rear, to form a Rear-Guard, which he did by the Help of Major *Singleton*, and then marched in the Rear of the whole to *Dunbar*.

Adjutant *Ker*, before named, was asked how near he was to the Dragoons, when they mounted in that disorderly Manner, and whether they did so of their own Accord?

He says, that some of the Dragoons who were bringing in Forage in the Night, from a Field at a small Distance from their Ground, came in, and said, they had heard by some of the Country People, that the Rebels were coming; which Report, the Witness was afterwards assured, by Colonel *Gardener's* Gardener, who lived upon the Spot, was industriously spread by some of the Country People to save their Forage. The Alarm went among the Men from Right to Left, to bridle up, which occasioned a great Confusion among them. On which Brigadier *Fowke* came to the Head of the Regiments, and ordered them all to mount and march off in good Order. The Witness says, he went with a Serjeant and six Men, to fetch off Colonel *Gardener* from his own House, where he was sick, and upon his Return to the Regiments, found them mounted, marching in good Order; but the Night being extremely dark, the Troops separated, and Part went to *North-Bernick*, and Part to *Dunbar*.

This Witness being asked, says, that upon the Regiments coming to their Ground at *Preston-Pans*, he received Orders from Brigadier *Fowke* to post the Out-Guard, and see the Vedettes placed properly; which he accordingly did; and the Alarm was made soon afterwards.

The Board then asked Brigadier *Fowke*, why he separated himself from the Dragoons, at Mr. *Erskine* of *Grange's* Park-Wall, after having endeavoured to rally them there?

He says, That seeing this Body of Dragoons was again taking to Flight, he could have no further Hopes of their attempting to make any Resistance; and on hearing a good deal of Firing in the Rear, he believed the Foot had still continued to engage the Rebels, or at least some Part of the Foot; this induced him to return, when he fell upon a Body of the Rebels, who were marching in pursuit of the King's Troops, till he heard a Person call out, Those were the *Highlanders*; which gave him an Opportunity immediately of turning his Horse to the Left, and riding towards the Sea, where he met Lieutenant *Christie*, of Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, who told him the Foot were intirely routed.

The Brigadier then produced a Letter from Captain *Christie*, late Lieutenant in Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, who being on the Expedition with General *St. Clair*, could not appear Personally, dated in *London* the 17th *January*, 1745-6, and directed to General *Cope*, which was proved by Captain *Reid*, of the same Regiment, to be of Captain *Christie's* Hand-Writing; which Letter was read, and is as follows.

“As you desire me to give you in Writing the Account I gave you about Brigadier *Fowke*, I take the Liberty to do it; and what I write I am ready to confirm upon Oath. It was as follows:

“When the Pannick seized our Line of Foot, and made them run away, a Minute or two after we were deserted by the Dragoons. I ran with the Crowd at first about 300 Yards, towards Mr. *Erskine's*

Inclosures. The Rebels were pursuing us close. I then returned to the Right, and run out of the Crowd towards the Sea. I met with an Officer's Servant, who had continued in the Left on our Rear, with his Master's Horse in his Hand, which I mounted: By this Time all the Dragoons were got into the Defiles on the Right and Left, and out of my Sight and the Rebels were continuing the Pursuit towards the Inclosures. Just as I got on Horseback, I saw Brigadier *Fowke*, with his Sword drawn in his Hand, galloping out of the Crowd of our Foot running away; and the Rebels running forward in Pursuit of them, he rode up to me, and asked me, Which Way we had best take to avoid the being made Prisoners? I told him, "As the Rebels were pursuing Westwards, our best Way was to ride to the Sea-side, and make the best of our Way along the Coast Eastward, and I would be his Guide, as I knew the Country. We did so, and the few of the Stragglers of the Enemy who remained on the Field, suffered us to go off unmolested. We staid some Time at *Belton Ford*, and got to *Berwick* that Night."

Captain *Singleton*, Major of Brigade before-mentioned, was examined as to what he knew of Brigadier *Fowke's* Conduct and Behaviour, from the Time he joined Sir *John Cope* until after the Action.

He says, That at the Time the Brigadier had found Sir *John Cope* in *Dunbar*, the 17th of *September*, he (*Sir John*) had landed Part of his Troops, and both the Dragoons and the Foot halted that Day and the next.

On *Thursday* the 19th they marched to *Haddingtoun*, and encamped that Night; next Morning to *Preston-Pans*, where Sir *John Cope* took up his Ground.

The Enemy, by their different Motions, obliged Sir *John* to alter his Situation four or five Times. The Witness says, he was with the Brigadier all that Night on the Ground, upon the Right of the Front of Colonel *Gardener's* Dragoons; where were with them, Colonel *Gardener*, Lord *Home*, and Lieutenant *Weemys*.

In the Night the Brigadier visited all the Out-Guards, three or four several Times. In the Morning about Four o'Clock he thinks, when the Rebels began to march down the Hill towards the Field, the Brigadier ordered all the Right to mount, and ordered all the Out Guards and Centries on the Right to be called in. He rode to the Front of the Dragoons, and said to them, "My Lads, this is the Day, in which, I doubt not, your Behaviour will do us Honour."

This Witness farther says, He was with the Brigadier at the Head of the Right Squadron of *Gardener's*; just behind the Artillery, he thinks about four Yards before Colonel *Gardener*, when the Cannon began to fire.

By this Time, he says, the Rebel Column which attacked, was popping and firing, and the Squadron thereupon began to be a little

shy, reining back their Horses; which the Brigadier observing, called out to them aloud, "What do you mean Gentlemen, by reining back your Horses? Advance up to your Ground; have you any thing to fear? We shall cut them in Pieces in a Moment." And at the same Time desired Colonel *Gardener* to incline his Squadron to the Left, that they might have Room to Advance: And the Brigadier observing at this instant the Artillery-Guards falling into Confusion, having left their Posts and come directly in the Front of the Dragoons, he called out to the Witness, "I'll go to the Right of these People, do you go to their Left; they are in Confusion, and in our Way." On which I got to the Left, where there was only Lieutenant *Cranston* and about 20 Men, who were making off from their Officers. Three or four of these Men were shot, on the Witness's Right-hand.

This Witness further says, That by this Time he saw the Brigadier exposed, between the Fire of the Column of the Rebels and that of the Front Rank of Part of the Artillery-Guard; which, made the Witness call out to him; "Sir, these Men will do nothing, you'll be knocked on the Head to no Purpose." And upon this the Brigadier turning his Horse's Head to the Squadron, he and the Witness saw many of them had made off, and the rest were following. The Column that had attacked the King's Troops was within 15 Yards at that Time; and they (the Brigadier and the Witness) immediately rode up to the Dragoons, and about the middle of the Field towards *Grange's* Wall, found about 30 of them stoped for a Minute or two. When the Brigadier observing the Rebel Column to make a small Halt, called out to the Dragoons, "Now Lads take your Revenge." But as the Rebel Column approached pretty near, and gave a Fire, away the Dragoons all ran, ducking their Heads at every Pop. The Witness then heard the Brigadier ask aloud, "Where is Sir *John* and the Foot?" And at this Time the Witness lost the Brigadier, and followed the Dragoons to *Grange's* Wall, where he met with Sir *John Cope*, Lord *Loudon*, Lord *Home*, and others, using their Endeavours to make the Dragoons rally, but to no Purpose. The Witness afterwards followed the Dragoons, with Sir *John* and the rest of the Gentlemen last mentioned, thro' the Defile to a Field beyond Colonel *Gardener's* House, at the West-End of the Village of *Preston*; where Sir *John*, Lords *Loudon* and *Home*, and their Officers again endeavoured to draw up about 450 Dragoons; but could not prevail upon them, either by Persuasions or Threatenings, to shew the least Disposition that way, notwithstanding the utmost Efforts were made use of, in every Shape, and this at a Time, when only very few of the Rebels appeared at the Corner of the Wall, making a few popping Fires, and then it was fair Daylight.

On the March to *Berwick* the Witness met Captain *Wedderburn*, who had acted as a Volunteer in the Action; while the Witness was regretting the Brigadier, whom he looked upon as killed or taken Prisoner, Captain *Wedderburn* told the Witness, that at the Time he said that he (the Witness) had lost the Brigadier, he (Captain *Wedderburn*)

saw him riding towards the Rebel Column, who were going on in the Pursuit, and firing as they advanced, and called out to him aloud, "Sir, these are the Enemy before you," which made the Brigadier turn his Horse to the Left, and ride off towards the Sea.

Adjutant *Ker* before named was then asked, What he knew of the Conduct and Behaviour of Brigadier *Fowke* at the Action?

He says, that the Night before the Battle the Brigadier was constantly at the Head of the Squadron he (the Witness) belonged to, except at such Times as the Brigadier went to visit the Out-Posts. Before the Rebels appeared the next Morning, the Brigadier gave Orders to the Squadrons to wheel to the Left, and form upon the Right of the Foot in the Line of Battle; and gave him (the Witness) Orders to call in the Out-Guards, and make them fall into Squadrons; which was accordingly done. He farther says, that he soon after saw the Artillery-Guard in Confusion, upon the coming down of the Rebels; on which Brigadier *Fowke* called out. Why did not they face the Enemy and keep a continual Fire? They thereupon did give an irregular Fire, and turned back; and thereby occasioned the Right Squadron of the Line to break, where Brigadier *Fowke* took his Post, and often spoke Words to spirit up the Dragoons to behave well. He likewise saw the Brigadier stay at that Post in the Action, until the Squadron was quite broke; and does not remember that he saw the Brigadier afterwards; he (the Witness) having been obliged to ride forwards, by Colonel *Gardener's* Orders, to stop the Dragoons; and added, that he does not believe, any Body could behave better than the Brigadier did.

The Earl of *Home* was desired to inform the Board, what he knew of Brigadier *Fowke's* Behaviour at the Action.

His Lordship confirms what Adjutant *Ker* had already said, of his Lordship's being with Brigadier *Fowke* the Night before the Battle, and likewise of taking up of the Ground by that Squadron that Mr. *Ker* belonged to, and was commanded by Colonel *Gardener*. His Lordship says, he remembers to have seen the Brigadier till after the Word of Command was given to the Dragoons to draw their Swords, by Colonel *Gardener*; which occasioned Colonel *Gardener's* Horse to be a little troublesome; upon which his Lordship went to the Colonel, and advised him to take another Horse, and never saw the Brigadier after. His Lordship also says, he remembers the Brigadier having often spoke, to encourage the Dragoons to do their Duty, both before, and at the Time they took up their Ground.

Brigadier *Fowke* then produced a Letter from Lord *Napier* to him dated at the Camp at *Vigimont*, 5th *September*, N. S. 1746. which is proved by the Earl of *Home* to be of Lord *Napier's* Hand-Writing; which was read, and is as follows:

"Hearing from others, and from yourself, that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint some General Officers to examine into your



Conduct, during the Time of your commanding some of his Forces, when the Rebels marched from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh* in *September* last, I think myself bound in Honour and in Justice to you Brigadier *Fowke*, to declare in general what I saw and observed at that Time, I wish I could have been present to have given my Testimony; but as that is impossible, I give you the Trouble of this Letter, to be laid before the Board of Officers, or not, as you think proper.

“I shall not pretend to enter into the Particulars that happened, from the Time that I met with you at the *Stock-Bridge*, on *Monday* the 16th of *September* last, till we came to *Dunbar* next Day about 12 o’Clock; for all the Motions of the Regiments of Dragoons under your Command, are sufficiently known; nor shall I presume to give my Opinion, Whether the marching from *Edinburgh* was a right Measure or not? For I am not knowing enough in Military Affairs, to venture to determine in so nice a Case; but I will say, that all the Time I was present with you, you gave your Orders with a Sedateness, Calmness of Temper, and Intrepidity, becoming a Man, a Soldier, and an Officer, whose Mind appeared to be quite undisturbed, shewing only a prudent Concern for the right Management of the Trust committed to him by his Master, and a decent Care of the two Regiments under his Command; believing, that they, when joined with some Infantry, might be able to oppose the Enemy; but that without Foot they were not sufficient to engage with so large a Body, as the Rebels were presented to be, even at that Time.

“This I have always said relating to your Conduct in that Affair, and thus I will always speak of it; because I saw and observed it. I will also add, that tho’ some People have said, that the March you made from *Preston* (as I think it is called) to *North-Berwick*, was too precipitate, I cannot join with them, when you only left that Place at eleven o’Clock at Night, upon the Alarm given, and came to *North-Berwick* between seven and eight the next Day, the Distance being only eleven Miles or so.”

Brigadier *Fowke* also produced a Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel *Clayton*, of Colonel *Murray*’s Regiment, to him, dated at *Fernhill* the 25th of *August* 1746, which was proved by Captain *Laurence*, of Brigadier *Price*’s Regiment, to be of Colonel *Clayton*’s Hand-Writing; which was read, and is as follows:

“As the very bad State of Health I labour under at present, may in all Probability prevent my attending at your Examination, to which I am summoned the \_st of *September* next, I think myself obliged in Justice to your Conduct, to take this Occasion of declaring, that in the Whole of that most unfortunate Command, you did every thing that could be expected, in regard to your own Personal Behaviour, becoming an Officer, a Man of Honour, and the Rank you held. This, to the best of my Knowledge, I upon my Honour declare.”

Captain *Singleton* before named, being then desired to give the Board

an Account of what he knew of Brigadier *Fowke's* Behaviour at the Action? He says, that the Brigadier's Behaviour in the Whole, both before and at the Battle, was executed with infinite Pains; and does not believe, that any Person could have done more, than he did, in all Respects.

Captain *Clark* before named, being examined to the same Question, says, that being upon the Left of the Line, he cannot give any Account of what was doing in the Right where the Brigadier was.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, Major *Talbot*, and Major *Mossman* were required by the Board to inform them, What they knew of Brigadier *Fowke's* Behaviour at the Action.

The first of these Witnesses says, that his Attention being taken up totally with the Care of the Cannon, he did not observe Brigadier *Fowke* the whole Time of the Action. Major *Talbot* says, he was Field-Officer of the Day, and ordered my Lord *Loudon* to lead on the Left of the Line; and therefore he did not see Brigadier *Fowke* who was on the Right; And lastly, Major *Mossman* says, that being Aid de Camp to Sir *John Cope*, he did notice Brigadier *Fowke* but once, which was just before the Action began on the Right, not having been near enough afterwards; and consequently, had no Opportunity of seeing the Brigadier. All these three Witnesses being asked, say, they never saw nor heard of any Misconduct or Misbehaviour of Brigadier *Fowke* in the least, during the Action.

Brigadier *Fowke* said, that he had nothing further to offer to the Board; but that he hoped from what he had laid before them, by his own Answers, and from the Evidences he had produced, that he had made his Conduct, Behaviour and Proceedings, appear to the Satisfaction of the Board.

Then the Board ask'd publickly, Whether there were any Persons present, that could object to any Part of what had been said by Brigadier *Fowke*, or any of his Evidence, to invalidate the same, that they were required to inform the Board of what they knew, in which they might be assured of the Protection of this Board to what should be just; but no one appearing that had any Thing to say, the Board withdrew, and adjourned to *Wednesday* the 24th of *September*.

*Wednesday* 24th of *September*, 1746.

THE Board having been informed that Mr. *Richard Jack*, a Mathematician of *Edinburgh*, was with the King's Troops before and at the Action, and could give a very particular Account of it, ordered him to be summoned; who being come before the Board, was required to inform them of what he knew of the Conduct, Behaviour and Proceedings of Lieutenant-General Sir *John Cope*, Colonel *Peregrine Lascells*, and Brigadier General *Thomas Fowke*.

And the said Mr. *Jack* accordingly informed the Board, that he knew

nothing of Colonel *Lascells* or Brigadier *Thomas Fowke*; but as to Sir *John Cope* he gave an Account, which being contradictory to many Parts of what had been offered by Sir *John* and his Witnesses, the Board re-examined Sir *John Cope* and several of his Witnesses, upon Mr. *Jack's* Evidence, Article by Article, the Proceedings whereupon were as follows:

*Mr. Jack's Evidence.*

That he is a Professor of Mathematicks, and had made some Improvements in Gunnery.

That he took Arms as a Volunteer, and was employed by the Magistrates to review the Fortifications of *Edinburgh*.

That he was sent by the Lord Advocate of *Scotland* and Sir *John Inglis*, to inform himself of the Number of the Rebels.

That he found the Rebels at the Brow of *Arthur's-Seat* Hill, on *Thursday* the 19th of *September*, two Days before the Battle, and saw them at their Exercise, at which time he counted their Numbers to be 2740, whom he had counted to a Man; and were all armed with Fire-locks. And he reported this to Sir *John Cope*, at *Haddingtoun* the same Day, at 7 o'Clock in the Evening, who detained him there; and said, he must manage the Cannon for the King's Troops, declaring he had no one to whom he could trust the Direction of it; which the Witness thereupon agreed to take upon him, after asking as to the Goodness of the Powder, the Quantity of Cartridges, and the Number of Hands to work the Guns; to which he was told, all was in good Order.

*Sir John Cope's Answers and Evidences.*

At *Haddingtoun*, some Person, whom I cannot recollect, told me, there was one, who was something of an Engineer, and had been employed as such in placing the Cannon on the Walls of *Edinburgh*. I desired he might be brought to me, and told him, I would be glad of his Assistance, as I was in great Want of Gunners, or Words to that Effect; but cannot charge my Memory with any other Discourse I had with him; and am positive I gave him no Orders to manage the Cannon; nor could I tell him there were Numbers of Hands to work the Guns, being but too sensible of the contrary.

*George Drummond*, Esq; being ask'd what he knew in relation to Mr. *Jack*, or of his having been employed by Sir *John Cope*, says, He (the Witness) was acquainted by the Provost and Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, that they had committed the Care of repairing the Walls of the City, and putting them in a Posture of Defence, and planting Guns where they could be most serviceable, to Mr. *Colin McLaurin*, their Professor of Mathematicks. That he (the Witness) was one of a Committee of Gentlemen, to whom the Town-Council delegated their Authority, to oversee the carrying on these Fortifications, and assist Mr. *McLaurin* therein, Mr. *McLaurin* being ordered to correspond with, and report to this Committee: In consequence thereof, he (Mr. *Drummond*) with others of this Committee, accompanied Mr. *McLaurin* once and again round the Walls, particularly while the Cannon were planting; but does not remember to have seen Mr. *Jack* at any Place where the Work was carrying on, upon any of these Occasions. All he (the Witness) remembers about Mr. *Jack*, is, that on Mr.

*McLaurin's* coming into the Room where the Committee was sitting, attended by three or four People, a Night or two before the Rebels got Possession of the City, the Witness observing a Face he was unacquainted with, asked Mr. *McLaurin* who it was. Mr. *McLaurin* told him, he was one *Jack*, a private Teacher of Mathematicks in Town, one of the People he employed in what Affairs he was charged with, and who is the same Mr. *Jack* now before the Board.

*Walter Grosset*, Esq; Collector of the Customs at *Aloa*, being also examined in relation to Mr. *Jack*, says, He knows nothing of his being employed to fortify the Town of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *McLaurin* being the only Person, that, to his Knowledge, was, before the Battle of *Preston*, employed in that Way. That Mr. *Jack* is no Professor, but a private Teacher of Mathematicks. That, on the March from *Haddingtoun* to *Preston*, Mr. *Jack*, told the Witness, that he was to assist in managing the Train; that he understood the Theory, but not the practical Part of Gunnery.

Mr. *Griffith*, Conductor of the Train, says, That on *Friday* Afternoon, before the Action, Mr. *Jack* came to him, and told him, Sir *John Cope* had sent him to give all the Assistance he could to the Artillery: That he was a Mathematician. The Witness asked him, if he knew any Thing of the Artillery Service? Mr. *Jack* said, he knew the Theory of Gunnery, but knew nothing of the Practice; and desired the Witness to shew him the Method of loading the Cohorns; which he did accordingly, and loaded them before him; which Mr. *Jack* owned he had never seen before.

To this Sir *John Cope* reply'd: By my intended Order of Battle, the Cannon were to be in three Divisions, as appears by the one I made before I saw Mr. *Jack*, whose Proposal I never heard of, nor was any such Movement of the Artillery in two Parts ever made.

That, on the Day before the Action, he marched with the Army to the Field of Battle.

That, the first Situation of the Army, the Day before the Action, was

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, and Mr. *Griffith*, say, That on the Day before the Action, they were with the Cannon in the first

fronting Westward, with all the Artillery on the Left, which he objected to, as being disadvantageously posted, and proposed dividing the Artillery in three Parts, which would thus have flanked every Part of the Rebel Army: and upon informing Lord *Loudon* of this Proposal, the Artillery was ordered to be divided in two Parts, to the Right and Left, which was executing, but countermanded before the three Guns that had been ordered to the Right were brought there.

*Mr. Jack's Evidence.*

That he was present at the two Pieces of Cannon which dislodged the Rebels from *Tranent* Church-Yard, which were fired by his Advice, instead of the Cohorns, that had been at first proposed to have been fired, which, he had been told Mr. Griffith were faulty.

Position of the Army: and never quitted it till the Action was over; and that they never knew nor heard of any such Proposal of Mr. *Jack's*, of dividing the Artillery in three Parts; nor, consequently, was such a Movement of sending 3 Guns to the Right ever made, no such Orders having been sent to the Artillery.

*Sir John Cope's Answers and Evidences.*

Sir *John Cope*, in Answer to this, said as follows:

I did send Mr. *Jack* to Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* to be assisting in managing the Guns; but they were not fired either by Mr. *Jack's* Advice or Direction.

Lieutenant Colonel *Whiteford* being examined as to this Article, says, That Mr. *Jack* did come to these two Pieces of Cannon; and he (the Witness) to see what Mr. *Jack* could do, let him try to point these two Cannon; but the Witness finding Mr. *Jack* so awkward at levelling them, and that he did not understand it, turned him off, and never suffered him to meddle with any of the Cannon afterwards; nor did the Witness ever see Mr. *Jack* after that Time, which was about four o'clock in the Afternoon, of the Day preceding the Action.

Mr. *Griffith* says, That the Pendulum of the Quadrant for the Elevation of the Cohorns being broke, he desired Mr. *Jack* to put a new Plummet to it; and he and the Witness adjusted by it the Elevation of the Cohorns, the Afternoon before the Action; which was all the Service that this Witness knew Mr. *Jack* performed. Mr. *Grosset* being examined, says, That after the Army got to *Preston*, Mr. *Jack* went so awkwardly about what was necessary to be done with respect to the Train, that Colonel *Whiteford* set him aside, and fired all the Cannon himself.

That, in order to observe the Situation of the Rebels, he (the Witness) going a second Time up a hollow Way on their Right, that leads thro' the Town of *Tranent*, was surprised by a Party of them, who lay concealed in the Church-yard on one Side of the said hollow

Way, and a Thicket of Wood on the other; and from whence they fired on the Witness, after they had got him fairly betwixt them, in the said hollow Way; but as they all misled him, he (the Witness) upon his Return, proposed to dislodge them, by throwing some Cohorns among them. These Mr. *Griffith* said were faulty; but Colonel *Whiteford* undertook to dislodge them with the Cannon, which was done accordingly; but Mr. *Jack* gave no Assistance therein; these Cannon being pointed and fired by Colonel *Whiteford* and Mr. *Griffith*, with the Assistance of the Sailors.

Sir *John Cope* answered as follows:

Mr. *Jack* could not possibly see the Time he says he did, it being dark, and a Hedge and large Morass in the Front. The King's Army was certainly not attacked in Flank, nor was the Artillery placed on a Rising-Ground, the whole Field being a flat Plain. Nor do I remember that I spoke to Mr. *Jack*, or saw him, after the Cannon were fired the Day before at the Rebels in the Church-yard of *Tranent*.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* being examined in relation to these several Matters, says, He had the Direction of the Artillery, and he did not see Mr. *Jack* at any Post near the Artillery, in any Part of the Day of Action. And that, at the Time Mr. *Jack* says he saw the Rebels coming on, it was impossible, at the Distance the Artillery then was, and considering it was not yet Day-light, for any body to perceive the Rebels at all. And as to any Attack on the Flank of the King's Army, there certainly was no such Thing at this Time.

He further says, That in the whole Field of Action there was not any Rising Ground.

Sir *John* answered to this Article as under:

I cannot learn, That Mr. *Jack*, or any of the Under-People employed about the Cannon, were seen after the Action began: Supposing Mr. *Jack* was there at all, which is denied, it was impossible for him to see any Files of the

That, in the Morning of the Action, his Post was with the Artillery.

That, the Night before, the Situation of the King's Army was fronting South, with the Cannon on the Left, and continued so all Night, till about 5 o'Clock in the Morning, when the Rebels were discovered; moving like a Cloud, towards the Pass, between *Seaton* and the Morass and broad Ditch that were on the South-Side of *Seaton*; and had stolen their March at about 100 Yards only from the Out-Posts of the Dragoons.

At the Desire of Capt, *Cochran*, who commanded the Artillery-Guard, this Witness, got on Horse-back, about a

Quarter of an Hour after five, and advanced a little in the Front of the Artillery, to see if the Rebels were approaching; and he did discover them coming on, and told Captain *Cochran*. of it. Upon this Sir *John Cope* came to the Artillery; and this Witness told Sir *John* the King's Army was attacked in Flank, and ask'd him what he (the Witness) should do?

Whether he should instantly fire the Cohorns?

Sir *John's* Answer was, That the Witness should go with the Artillery up to the high Ground, where Sir *John* intended to draw up the Army fronting East, in order to receive the Rebels. This new Position of the Army was executed in 15 or 16 Minutes, or thereabouts, and the Cannon was then found on the Right of the Army.

That in this Position the Witness pointed one of the Guns himself, and directed another to be pointed by a Sailor; both which were on the Left of the Artillery; and the Witness, stood by while they fired twice, and which were worked by four Sailors that had been employed for that Purpose. And, in Order to discover the Effects of these two Guns, he got on Horseback to raise himself, and he saw several Files of the Rebels thrown down by this Fire, which parted the Rebels Lines, who were then drawn up three or four deep; which he is certain of, having seen them pass him after they had run over the Artillery, and obliged them to advance in small Parties.

He further says, There were four other Cannon, at a little Distance, on the Right of the above two, which four Cannon were managed by Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, who

Rebels thrown down by the Cannon, from the Distance and want of Day-light.

I think it has been fully proved, That the Rebels were many more than three or four deep when they attacked; and after they passed the Artillery, they ran into Confusion, without observing any Order at all.

The Cannon were not divided, but all the six kept together at equal Distances, and fired only by Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*; and the Cohorns were regularly placed, and some of them fired by Mr. *Griffith* only, Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* being examined to these Articles, positively denies Mr. *Jack's* pointing any of the Guns, it having been already said, by this Witness, That Mr. *Jack* was not seen, at all, near the Artillery, in any Part of the Day of Action; and believes, That if Mr. *Jack* had been there, this Witness could not but have seen him. He says, That all the six Cannon were together, at equal Distances from each other, of near six Feet; and the Cohorns in the same Line on the Right of the Cannon, in the same Order as the Cannon and Artillery-guard were on the Right of and the Cohorns; the whole dressed in a straight Line.

And as to the Nine Sailors (four of whom, Mr. *Jack* says, were with him, and five with this Witness) Colonel *Whiteford* says, he did not see any one of them near the Cannon, from the first of the Action; but, on the contrary, he wanted them, and they were not to be found. He also says, he fired five of the Cannon himself, and is very sure no body else fired any other; and that he could not fire the sixth, the Gunners having gone off with the Priming.

Mr. *Griffith*, being also examined, says to the same Effect as Colonel *Whiteford* has above declared: And adds, That the Artillery guard was about ten Yards to the Right of the Cohorns were discharged by himself (the Witness); but whether all the Shells broke or not, he cannot say, they having been long in Store in *Edinburgh* Castle, prepared, and many

had five Sailors with him, and two Gunners of *Edinburgh* Castle, and Mr. *Griffith*, and that three of them were fired.

The Cohorns were all in a Confused Position, no Body with them, and there was not one of them fired.

of the Fuses damnified.

Adjutant *Ker*, of (late) Colonel *Gardeners* Regiment, being examined, says, That he was posted on the Front of the Right Squadron, very near Colonel *Gardiner*, in the Rear of the Artillery, which was drawn up in a Line, at equal Distances, and not in two Divisions.

That he plainly saw every, one of the Gunners, or Assistants, run away from the Artillery at the Beginning of the Action, and left Colonel *Whiteford*, who fired five Cannon, and endeavoured to fire the sixth.

In Answer to this Paragraph, Sir *John Cope* says as follows: The Dragoons did not go off before the Rebels had fired one Shot. Mr. *Jack's* malicious Conjecture, That I was one of the three Persons, whom he saw galloping to the Pass, is fully proved to be false, by the Testimony of many Gentlemen, who saw me in one Part or other in the Front of the Line of Foot till it was broke, and with it even afterwards; whose Evidence has been taken down in the foregoing Part of the Proceedings, on their Examination to my Personal Behaviour, and which, I beg Leave, may be here again repeated, in Confutation of the Personal Aspersion Mr. *Jack* has most unjustly thrown upon me; and which said Evidences are as follows, Major *Mossman* says, He was Aid de Camp to Sir *John Cope*, and constantly attended him; that he went down with he him to the Left of the Line after it was formed, before the Action began, when Sir *John* observing there the Rebels to out-flank the King's Army very much, he ordered the Witness to go to Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, who was with the Artillery on the Right, to send down two Pieces of Cannon to the Left. In order whereto, the Witness did go to Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* for the Cannon; but none could be brought for want of the Artillery-Horses, which were all gone away; and at that Instant the Action began on the Right of the King's Army: And he (the Witness) returned to Sir *John Cope*, to report to



him what he had done, met Lieutenant *Coony* (Sir *John Cope's* other Aid de Camp) who told him, Sir *John, Cope* was come to the Right, he (the Witness) was then coming back to the Right, to find Sir *John*; but the Dragoons breaking away, the Witness could with Difficulty get from amongst them; but after he did get, out, he looked towards the Foot, and saw the whole Line breaking: And, some Time afterwards, he saw Sir *John* coming from the Place where the Line of Foot had been drawn up, when the Witness join'd him, and went on with the Dragoons in order to rally them at Mr. *Erskine's* Park Wall, where some of them had made a Stand, as has been before set forth by other Witnesses.

Captain *Leslie* says, He saw Sir *John Cope* riding from Right to Left of the Line, speaking to the Men, and encouraging them to behave well, and to keep up their Fire.

Captain *Forbes* says, He was a Volunteer with Sir *John Cope*, and kept with: him the whole Time; that he saw Sir *John* ride from Right to Left, giving his Orders to the Troops; and returning frequently backwards and forwards in the Front of the Line, and endeavouring to rally the Troops when they were breaking.

Captain *Blake*, who was towards the Right of the Line;

Lieutenant *Greenwell*, who was posted on the Right of the Line;

Captains *Reid* and *Collier*, who were on the Left of the Line;

Captains *Andersen* and *Forrester*, Lieutenant *Swinney*, Cornet *Wheatland*, Captain *Pointz*, who were all posted towards the Center of the Line;

That upon a facing to the Right about of Colonel *Gardeners* Squadron of Dragoons, which was upon the Right of the Line in the Rear of the Artillery, and before the whole Dragoons going off (which was before the Rebels had fired one Gun, and before the Foot broke), the

These Nine last named Witnesses say, They saw Sir *John Cope*, from their different Posts, riding along the Front of the Line, just before the Attack began, giving Orders as he went along, and speaking to the Men, and encouraging them. And after the Troops had

Witness saw three Men on Horse-back galloping towards the Pass, between *Preston Pans* and Mr. *Erskine's* Park-Wall; one of whom he believes to be Sir *John Cope*, by all Appearances, (but cannot be positive it was Sir *John*) and he does not know, who the other two Persons were, one of whom he believes, was an Officer, but what the other was, cannot say, having on a coloured great Coat; and at this Time, it was very near Six o'Clock in the Morning.

broke, they saw him endeavouring to rally them again; and, particularly, Captain *Forbes* says, he saw Sir *John* ride in among the Men when they were broke, and try to rally them; and Captain *Pointz* also says, That when the Foot began to break, after the first Fire, Sir *John Cope* called out to them, "For Shame, Gentlemen, behave like *Britons*, give them another Fire, and you'll make them run." And Lieutenant *Greenwell* also says, That after the Foot had given one Fire, they faced to the Right about; and Sir *John Cope* immediately rode up, and called to them to halt, saying, "For Shame, Gentlemen, don't let us be beat by such a Sett of *Banditti*;" but notwithstanding all that Sir *John Cope*, and the rest of the Officers could do, the Men all dispersed. And Captain *Anderson*, Lieutenants *Greenwell* and *Swinney*, and Cornet *Wheatland* also say, They saw Sir *John Cope* at Mr. *Erskine's* Park-Wall (where some Dragoons had made a Halt) endeavouring to rally them, and bring them back, as has been before That related by other Witnesses.



That after the Dragoons were gone clear off, this Witness saw no Officer on Horseback in the Place of Action; except Colonel *Gardener* and another Person whom he did not know, but took to be Lieutenant-Colonel

In Support of the first Part of this Answer, in which Sir *John Cope* asserts that the Dragoons did not go off before the Rebels had fired one Shot, he called Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford*, Adjutant *Ker*, and Adjutant *Conse*, who being severally

*Whitney*. And after the Dragoons were so gone, the Foot stood and made three different Fires, one from the Left, another from the Right, and a third from the Center; which Fires were very regular, and they kept their Ground till the Rebels gave their second Fire, and then they broke. During all which Time the Witness was in the Rear of the Line, and saw Colonel *Gardener* pass by him on Horseback, from the Left to the Right, wounded in the Leg; but before he reached the Right the Infantry broke; upon which he (Colonel *Gardener*) called out, *O my God, all is gone!*

examined; the first of these Witnesses says, That the Squadron of Dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Whitney*, moved up towards the Rebels, in order to charge, and received some Shot before that Squadron went back.

Adjutant *Ker*, who, belonged to Colonel *Gardener's* Squadron, says, That this Squadron received the Rebels Fire, and several Horses were killed and wounded, before the Squadron went off, particularly Colonel *Gardener* wounded. And Adjutant *Cowse*, of Major-General *Hamilton's* Regiment, says, That the Rebels fired some dropping Shot upon the Dragoons on the Left of the Line, (where he was posted) which killed some Men and Horses, after which, and not before, the Dragoons went off.

To this Paragraph Sir *John Cope* answered:

After the Dragoons went off, neither Colonel *Gardener* nor Lieutenant-Colonel *Whitney* were in the Place of Action. That the Foot made three different regular Fires after the Dragoons went away, is a groundless Assertion, the direct contrary having been proved by all the Gentlemen who were there.

That Colonel *Gardener* did pass from the Left to the Right is also as groundless, seeing it has been proved he never was on the Left.

Adjutant *Ker* being again examined, says, That being posted on the Front of the Right Squadron, very near Colonel *Gardener*, in the Rear of the Artillery, he is very sure Colonel *Gardener* did not leave the Right Squadron where he posted himself, till the Action was over, where he received his Wounds, which were as follows, *viz.* Two Gun-Shots in the Right-Side, and six Cuts on the Head; which was certified to the Witness by Mr. *Cunningham*, Minister of *Tranent*, (in whose House Colonel *Gardener* died) the Surgeon then dressed his Wounds, and his Body Servant. Colonel *Gardener* was dismounted in receiving the two Gun-Shot Wounds, and had no Horse near to remount him, nor a Servant;

This Witness further says, that the

Rebels gained the Field of Battle through the above mentioned Pass near *Seaton*, in great Confusion, as it appeared to him, They then formed a little to the Westward in one Line, but in three Divisions. That on their Left, fronting the King's Artillery, appeared in Front to be near four times the Length of either of the others; and were appeared to the Witness, three or four deep only, as on his having left the Artillery to go to the Rear of the Center of the Line, which he did on Horse-back; but the other two Divisions seemed to be of about equal Numbers with each other; but he cannot say how deep Order they were drawn up in: It appeared as if they were only 3 or 4 deep. And in this Order, the great Division attacked the King's Artillery, by running up to it, a considerable Time before the other Divisions attacked, and keeping a continual Fire upon the Artillery. The Artillery-Guard (which the Witness apprehends was posted at too great a Distance behind the Artillery) fired twice upon the Rebels after they had passed the Cannon: And he apprehends, that these Fires of the Artillery-Guard were at too great a Distance also from them; so that these Fires did but very little Execution. And he believes, that at the Time the Rebels had run over the Artillery, their Fire did no Execution on the Artillery-Guard.

and instantly after the Rebels came on, who (this Witness concludes) gave him the Cuts on his Head: From all which Colonel *Gardener* could never have gone from the Right of the Line to the Left, on Horseback; as he must have done for Mr. *Jack* to have seen him pass by him, at the Time he says he did, on Horseback, from the Left to the Right, wounded in his Leg.

Major *Mossman*, Major *Severn*, Major *Talbot*, and Mr. *Drummond* affirm, there were no such regular Fires as Mr. *Jack* has mentioned: That the Foot did make a short Stand after the Dragoons were gone off, but not a sufficient Time to make those regular Fires.

Sir *John Cope* says, That Mr. *Jack* being near half a Mile distant from the Place when the Rebels entered the Field, and it being at that Time dark, he could not possibly distinguish their Confusion.

That when they formed in a Line, a little to the West of *Seaton*-House, it is proved by good Authority, that they did not do it in three Divisions, but were in a Line entire, without any Interval, and did not break till the firing of the Cannon. And their Division on the Left appearing to be but three or 4 deep, is also proved to be a Mistake. Mr. *Jack* is positive the other Divisions were of equal Number, yet he cannot say how deep Order they were drawn up in, but it appeared to him as if they were only 3 or 4 deep; so that two Divisions appeared plainly to be of equal Numbers: He only conjectures their Depth, yet Length and Depth must be certainly known to determine Numbers.

That this Division ran upon the Artillery is certain; but the Artillery-Guard, the Witness apprehends, being posted at too great a Distance, is a Proof he did not see it, as it was certainly posted on the Right of the Cohorns, near to them, and did not stay till the Rebels passed the Cannon, as appeared to all who saw them.

The Inconsistency of Mr. *Jack's* pretended

Service is obvious; in that he, who claims the Merit of having had some Care of the Artillery, should leave it, and go to the Rear of the Center of the Army, where he could not possibly be of any Use. Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* says, as to the Disposition of the Rebels, That at their first coming into the Field, they form'd in two Lines, three deep each; but upon the firing of the given while the Rebels King's Cannon, they broke from the Center to the Right and Left; and form'd in several Columns, of which, that one which attacked the Artillery, was about 40 or 50 deep, and about 20 or more in Front. Major *Severn*, Major *Talbot*, and Major *Mossman*, being examined, confirm what Colonel *Whiteford* has said above.

This Witness also says, that when he was in the Rear of the Center of the Line, one of the small Divisions of the Rebels fronted it, by whose Fire he saw about 16 or 18 Men of the King's Troops fall; and immediately upon that the whole of the King's Troops broke, and went off in the utmost Confusion; and thereupon the Witness went away.

He further says, That though Sir *John Cope* had told him at *Haddington* (upon his enquiring into the Order the Cannon and Ammunition were in) That there were hundred Rounds of Cartridges, and Shot for each Cannon; yet the Witness found at the Action, that for some there were not above ten Rounds, and for others about 15; and the Quadrant for the Elevation of the Cohorns was useless, till it was put in order again by this Witness; and there were but few Shells, and those in bad Order, and not fit to be trusted to, as Mr. *Griffith* told him.

Adjutant *Ker* says, that the Artillery-Guard was drawn up close on the Right of the Artillery, and in a Line with it; but by falling into Confusion, came into the Rear of the Artillery, Mr. *Griffith* says, that the Artillery-Guard was posted at about 10 Yards on the Right of the Cohorns.

Sir *John Cope* answered: I never told Mr. *Jack* that there were hundred of Cartridges and Shot. And at the Action there were forty Rounds for each Cannon. The Quadrant, I am informed, wanted a Plummet, which Mr. *Jack* supplied the Afternoon before, and which could have been done by any other as well as by him. There were Plenty of Shells; but by the Experiments that had been made, it was found that many of them did not burst.

Mr. *Griffith* being examined to this Article, says. That he has been thirty Years Master-Gunner of *Edinburgh* Castle; and a Proportion of Ammunition for the Cannon was made up from the Castle, which was 40 Rounds of Powder for each Cannon (a great part of them made up into Cartridges) and 40 Rounds of Shot: Which Rounds were not diminished, but carried entire into the Field of Battle. Part of them were in the Lockiers of each Cannon, and the rest in Train Waggons, which, were in the Rear of the Artillery: And

all the Cannon was of the same Caliber, being 1½ Ponders. And as to the Plummet of the Quadrant, this Witness observed he had already said, He that it being broke, he did desire Mr. *Jack* to put a new one to it, the Afternoon before the Action, and which was all the Service the Witness knew Mr. *Jack* performed.

To this Paragraph Sir *John Cope* says, That the Number of the Rebels, by all the Evidences that has already been offered to the Board, appears to have been 5500; which Circumstances also make probable, by the Rebels out flanking the King's Army, without Interval, and being drawn up in two Lines, as it is proved they did.

He also says, that the Whole of the Rebels, in the Field of Battle upon the Attack, he is sure, were not above 16 or 1800 Men at the most, as he judges by the Ground they took up; and they did not outflank the Left of the King's Army at all.

Major *Talbot* was examined as to this, and says, that he was upon the Left of the King's Army; that before the Rebels formed themselves from their Line into their Columns, they greatly outflanked the King's Army; and upon their opening, in Order to form into Columns, he plainly saw a second Line behind, which was advancing.

Mr. *Drummond*, who was on the Left with the Dragoons, says, the Rebels did greatly out-flank the Left of the King's Army.

Adjutant *Cowse*, who was upon the Left of the whole Line, says the same as Mr. *Drummond*.

Major *Mossman* says, he was Aid de Camp to Sir *John Cope*, and was with him at one Time upon the Left, what the Rebels were formed in two Lines; and Sir *John* observing the Left of the King's Army to be greatly out-flanked by the Rebels, this Witness went, by Sir *John Cope's* Orders, to Lieutenant-Colonel *Whiteford* for some Cannon, to be sent down directly to annoy the Enemy; but the Train-Horses being gone off, it could not be done.

He likewise says, there was a Corps of Rebels, but he cannot say their Numbers, posted in Mr. *Erskine* of *Grange's* Inclosures, behind the Park-Walls whom he saw fire upon

This, Sir *John Cope* says, could exist only in Mr. *Jack's* Imagination, Captain *Clark* and other Gentlemen being Witnesses to the Contrary.



the Dragoons, upon their running from the Place of Action towards that Wall.

Captain *Clark*, Mr. *Drummond*, Adjutant *Cowse*, and Adjutant *Ker*, say, they were all with the Dragoons that stop'd at Mr. *Erskine's* Park-Wall, and they did not see any Part of the Rebels in Mr. *Erskine's* Inclosures behind those Walls, and deny they were ever shot at from thence.

To this Sir *John Cope* answered, as follows:

Is it probable, that the Officers who commanded the several Corps, should not know their Numbers? From their Report I concluded my Strength to be as mentioned in my Defence. There were 80 Voluntiers in the Field on *Friday*, who were to receive their Arms from the Train next Morning, which were ready to be delivered to them.

Major <i>Mossman</i> ,	} of the Foot,
Major <i>Severn</i> , and	
Major <i>Talbot</i> ,	
Captain <i>Clark</i> ,	
Adjutant <i>Ker</i> , and	} of the Dragoons,
Adjutant <i>Cowse</i> ,	

positively deny Mr. *Jack's* Assertion of the Number of the King's Troops to be just; for that they were only about 1400 Foot, and 600 Dragoons.

Mr. *Drummond* says, there was a Corps of between 80 and 90 Volunteers, who came with Sir *John Cope* from *Dunbar* to the Field of Battle, who had Arms delivered to them; they were appointed by Day-break to be on the Ground allotted for them in the Line of Battle; but the Action beginning before Day-break, they did not come there.

Mr. *Griffith* says, he did deliver 80 Stand of Arms to Mr. *Drummond*, for the Use of the above Volunteers.

This Witness being asked, If he knew any thing of the Number of the King's Troops in the Action? says, he is very sure there were between 17 and 1800 Foot, and near 700 Dragoons; and that there was no Corps of Voluntiers in the King's

Sir *John Cope* beg'd leave to conclude with observing, that upon the Whole of Mr. *Jack's* Evidence, he (Mr. *Jack*) had advanced a Number of Facts both false and malicious supported by no Evidence but his own Assertion; and as the contrary of what Mr. *Jack* has advanced, has been fully proved by a

Army, either before or at the Action.

The Witness was asked by the Board, Whether he had any thing further to say, in relation to the Action, or the Conduct and Behaviour of Sir *John Cope*? That if he had, his Duty to his King and his Country required of him, on this Occasion, to inform the Board of it; that his Evidence should be received; and he might be assured of the Protection of this Board.

He answered, he had nothing further to offer.

The several Examinations being finished, all Parties attending were dismissed. Whereupon we the said Field-Marshal, and other General Officers before named, having duly weighed and considered the several Matters laid before us, upon our Examination into the Conduct, Behaviour, and Proceedings of Lieutenant-General Sir *John Cope*, Col. *Peregrine Lascells*, and Brigadier-General *Thomas Fowke*, contained in the foregoing State thereof, *Do*, in further Obedience to your Majesty's said Warrant, most humbly *Report*, That having made all the Enquiry we could after proper Persons who were able to give us any Information relating to the Matters aforesaid; and having examined all such as could be brought before us (there being several others, whose Duty, on your Majesty's Service in *Scotland*, would not admit of their leaving it to come before us:) *It doth appear to us, and we are unanimously of Opinion*, That Sir *John Cope* made all the proper and necessary Preparations for the Support of the Troops, with as much Dispatch as he was able, both at *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*.

That he also made the proper Applications to the Chiefs of the Clans, that were reputed to be well-affected to your Majesty and Government, for them to join your Majesty's Troops.

That he used all possible Diligence and Expedition before, and in his March to *Dalwhinny*, considering the Difficulties and Disappointments he met with.

That his attacking the Rebels, on the *Corriarrick*, with any Prospect of Success, was impracticable.

That his March to *Inverness* is justified by the unanimous Opinion of the Council of War, and by the repeated Assurances of being joined on the March, and at *Inverness*, by the Clans that were reputed to be well-affected to your Majesty and Government; of which he afterwards found himself disappointed, except by two hundred *Monroes*, who marched with him from *Inverness* to *Aberdeen*.

great Number of Gentlemen of undoubted Character, he hoped, that what Mr. *Jack* has said, will be of no Weight.

That his going to *Aberdeen*, and then by Sea to *Dunbar*, was the only proper Measure he had left to take.

That Sir *John Cope's* Disposition of his Body of Troops, in the Field of Action, was judicious: and the Ground, on which they were engaged, (according to the Plan and Description of many Officers who were present) appears to have been well-chosen.

That he did his Duty as an Officer, both before, at, and after the Action: And that his Personal Behaviour was without Reproach.

And that the Misfortune, on the Day of Action, was owing to the shameful Behaviour of the Private Men; and not to any Misconduct or Misbehaviour of Sir *John Cope*, or any of the Officers under his Command.

As to Colonel *Peregrine Lascells*: It does not appear to us, That any Misconduct, or Misbehaviour, can be laid to his Charge; he having plainly proved, that he was at his Post, both before, and at the Action.

As to Brigadier-General *Thomas Fowke*, we are of Opinion: That his March from *Colt-Bridge* to *Dunbar*, was right; and the Offers he made twice to the Lord-Provost of *Edinburgh*, to march into the City with the Dragoons for its Defence, tho' refused, were commendable.

And that his Personal Behaviour in the Action, was also without Reproach; and that he did not quit the Field of Action, before the Troops were entirely broke and dispersed.

Upon the whole: We are unanimously of Opinion, that Sir *John Cope's* Behaviour has been unblameable; and that there is no Ground for Accusation against the said Sir *John Cope*, Colonel *Peregrine Lascells*, or Brigadier-General *Thomas Fowke*.

All which is humbly submitted to your Majesty.

*George Wade.*

*Cadogan.*

*John Folliot.*

*Richmond, Lenox and Aubigny.*

*J. Guise.*

THE  
APPENDIX.

Numb. I.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

*Edinburgh, 2d July, 1745.*

My LORD,

LORD President came to me this Morning, and read a Letter, which he received last Night from a Gentleman in the *Highlands* of some Consideration, acquainting him with a Report current there that the Pretender's Eldest Son was to be landed somewhere on the Coast of the *Highlands* this Summer, in order to attempt an Insurrection. This Report, the Gentleman says, he gives no Credit to, as he is convinced, that young Man would find no Gentleman of Consequence in the Northern *Highlands* to join him; but said, he thought it his Duty to acquaint the President with this Rumour, and promised to enquire farther after it; and if he could discover there was any thing in it, to give Notice by Express. The President agrees in Opinion with the Gentleman, that it is most probable, that this is no more than a groundless Report: But as it is possible, the *French* Court may take a Fancy to fling away some Money, and a few Men, upon a desperate Enterprize, which might, at least, give an Alarm; he thought it necessary to acquaint me with these Circumstances.

I beg leave to observe to your Lordship, the State the known Friends of the Government in the *Highlands* represent themselves to be in, in case any Invasion should take Place. That, undoubtedly, Arms will be brought over, to be added to those already in the Hands of the disaffected Clans; whereas the other Clans have no Magazine of Arms in those Parts to supply them. The Arms in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, are far from being too many for the Service of this Part of the Country, in case Necessity should call for them. I therefore submit it to your Lordship's Consideration, if it would not be proper, that Arms should be sent from the Ordnance, to be lodged in some of the Garrisons of the *Highlands*, to answer the Service of the Government, in case of any sudden Attempt being made there.

I am informed, the Person commonly called the Duke of *Perth*, has not been at his own House for some Time, but is moving from one Place to another, in the *Highlands*, upon Account, as it is said, of Fishing and Hunting.

I have Reason to think, I shall soon be able to acquaint your Lordship, with the *Highland* Officers of Lord *John Murray's* Regiment, having performed what is expected from them: And I have employed some of Lord *Loudon's* Officers, now setting out for their respective

Quarters, for recruiting, to procure me Intelligence, and secure any Persons, they shall be certain are acting against the Government; so that proper Warrants may be issued to bring them up here, for Examination, by the King's Servants. I am, with the greatest Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. II.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale's Letter to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 9th July, 1745.*

I HAVE received yours of the second of *July*, giving me an Account of the Information you had that Day received, that a Report is current in the North Country, that the Pretender's Eldest Son is expected in *Scotland* this Summer. Whether this Report be well or ill-founded, it is proper the Government should be on their Guard; and therefore I make no doubt, but you will keep a strict Eye on what may be passing in those Parts, and that you will forthwith transmit to me any Intelligence you may think material.

I laid before the Lords Justices what you suggest of its being proper, that Arms should be sent from the Ordnance, to be lodged in some of the Garrisons in the *Highlands*, to answer the Service of the Government there, in case of any sudden Attempt; but their Excellencies came to no immediate Resolution on that Matter.

I am glad to find by yours, that you give us so good Hopes of the *Highland* Officers of Lord *John Murray's* Regiment performing what is expected of them. I have wrote to the Lord Advocate, the Contents of which he will communicate to you.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE,

Numb. III.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 9th July, 1745.*

LORD Advocate shewed me your Lordship's Letter to him, received last Night. This Morning we met, with the rest of his Majesty's Servants, to consider jointly what Steps would be proper to be taken, in case our Misfortunes abroad should raise the Spirits of the ill-designing People in this Country, so as to attempt the Disturbance of it.

I have ordered the Dragoons, whose Horses are at Grass, to be in Readiness to take them up, and march at a very short Warning. I have called in as many of the Out-Parties, as conveniently I could in order to

draw the Troops together in case of Necessity. I have ordered General *Preston*, whose Health has permitted him to come here two or three Times this Year, to repair forth with to his Command of *Edinburgh* Castle, which Place I look upon to be of the greatest Importance of any in this Country.

Arms for two of the additional Companies of Lord *John Murray's* Regiment, came by the last Convoy, and are now at their respective Quarters; but finding the Arms for the third Company were not come, a Letter was immediately written to the Agent to know the Cause of it, who writes they shall be sent by the next Convoy. I have ordered Captain *M'Intosh's* Company, which is that without Arms, to march immediately for; *Perth*; and if by the Time of their Arrival there, their Arms should not be come here, I shall lend them Arms out of *Edinburgh* Castle till their own arrive.

I did design to set out this Week to review some of the few Troops we have in this Country; but at this present Juncture, I think it more for the Service to stay here, till Affairs have a better Prospect.

A small Encouragement from Abroad would, in my Opinion, give Rise to disaffected Persons in these Parts to disturb the Government, especially if we have not Troops sufficient to discountenance any such Attempts.

And as I know more Troops cannot be expected to be sent here, I hope, at least, none will be taken from us, to endanger this Part of the King's Dominions.

I submit it to your Lordship, if it would not be proper at this Time to obtain an Order from the Regency, for every Officer absent from *Scotland*, to repair forthwith to his Post, notwithstanding any Leave to the contrary: And if such an Order should be published in the *Gazette*, I beg Leave to say it is absolutely necessary, it should be inserted in the other News-Papers, especially in all the Evening-Posts; by which Means no one concerned can avoid being acquainted with it.

I must observe to your Lordship, that the Post comes in much later than it used to do: Last *Saturday* it was Ten a-Clock before it arrived, by which Means I did not receive the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 2d Instant, till *Sunday* Morning. What relates therein to Mr. *Drummond*, Lord Advocate has taken into his Care. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. IV.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 18th July, 1745,*

I Have received both yours, of the 9th and 11th of *July*, which I have laid before the Lords Justices.

I have often recommended it to his Majesty's Servants in *Scotland*, to keep a strict Look-out at this Juncture, which indeed is absolutely necessary; but it has not been recommended to me by his Majesty or the Lords Justices, to give any further Orders; which, no Doubt, would have been done, had they apprehended any immediate Danger. I am therefore very glad you did not proceed any further, in ordering the Dragoons Horses from Grass, &c'. since that would have tended to have alarmed the Country too much.

I am sorry to find, that by some Neglect or other, Arms have not been sent down to the three additional Companies of Lord *John Murray's* Regiment; and to be sure, what you propose of furnishing them, in the mean time, with Arms out of *Edinburgh* Castle, till their own arrive, is right.

His Majesty will be very well pleased to find that you have no Doubt, but by so many People (both Civil and Military) employed, a Check, if not an entire Stop, will be put to the enlisting Men for the *French* Service, and to any other illegal Practices. I thought it absolutely necessary to send you that enclosed Extract of the Letter, not only that you should make an Enquiry into it, but also that you be thinking of stationing some of the Troops for the Protection of the Country, as you shall judge most proper to prevent the Abuses hinted at in the Letter.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. V.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 25th July, 1745.*

I Hope this will find you returned to *Edinburgh*. I am persuaded his Majesty will be pleased with the Accounts I have had the Honour to transmit to him, of your Zeal and Activity at this Juncture; and I hope you will continue to have a strict Eye on what may be passing, and to keep the Forces under your Command in such a Disposition, as you shall judge most proper for frustrating the Attempts any Persons may make, to disturb the Peace and Quiet of his Majesty's Government: But at the same Time you will do this with the greatest Caution, to prevent the alarming his Majesty's Subjects too much. I believe it was in this View, that the Lords Justices did not think proper to issue an Order, for every Officer absent from *Scotland* to repair forthwith to his

Post, notwithstanding any former Leave to the contrary, as you suggested to me in yours of the 9th of *July*. However I must earnestly recommend it to you, not to allow any of the Officers now with their Regiments to absent themselves; as also, that you will give Orders, as of your own Authority, and in a private Manner, to such Officers as are absent from their Duty, without good Reason, to repair immediately to their Regiments

I am, Sir, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. VI.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 30th July 1745.*

THIS Day were laid before the Lords Justices several Informations, importing, That the *French* Court was meditating an Invasion of his Majesty's Dominions; and that the Pretender's Son had sailed on the 15th Instant, N. S. from *Nantz*, on Board a *French* Man of War, and was actually landed in *Scotland*: Which last Part I can hardly believe to be true, since I have not as yet received any Intelligence of this Kind from any of his Majesty's Servants in *Scotland*. However, be that as it will, it has been recommended to me by the Lords Justices, that I should signify to you, that it is their Pleasure, that you make such a Disposition of the Forces now in *Scotland*, as you shall judge most convenient for drawing them together in case of Necessity; that you order the Dragoons Horses to be immediately taken up from Grass, in order to their being ready to march at a short Warning; and that you will likewise dispatch proper Orders, for the Security of the Forts and Barracks in the *Highlands*.

I shall move the Lords Justices, at their next Meeting, that Orders may be sent to the Ordnance for a fresh Supply of Arms to be sent to *Scotland*; but you know it will take up some Time before they can arrive. I have also wrote to the Lord Advocate, and the Lord Justice-Clerk, on this Subject.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb, VII.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 1st August 1745.*

I HAVE received yours of *July* the 25th, with a Copy of a Letter from Captain *Campbell* of *Inveraw*, which I laid before the Lords Justices.

I am very sorry for the Disappointment Capt. *Campbell* has met with; and shall expect to hear soon a particular Account, how this Person, commonly called Duke of *Perth*, slip'd out of his Hands; which I make



no Doubt but you will strictly enquire into.

I have nothing material to add to what I wrote to you in my last by Express, excepting that we have received several other Accounts, confirming, that the Pretender's Son had sailed from *Nantz* the 15th of last Month, N. S. some of which continue to affirm, that he is somewhere in *Scotland*, and particularly mention the Isle of *Mull* to be the Place, where he now is. You will therefore, besides what I recommended to you in my last, take care to make a strict Enquiry into this Matter, and transmit to me an Account of what Discoveries you shall make.

There is one *M'Lean*, an Officer in the new *Highland* Regiment, who may be usefully employed in discovering if such a Person be in that Part of the Country; and I should think the rest of the Officers in that Regiment, who are now employed in the different Islands in recruiting, must very soon be able to give you Account whether this Intelligence be true or not.

As I hinted to you in my last, I have this Day moved the Lords Justices, that Orders might be sent to the Ordnance for a fresh Supply of Arms for *Scotland*, which they have done accordingly, for 5000 Stand of Arms, to be immediately sent down to be lodged in the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling* and *Inverness*, and to be at your Disposal.

It has also been recommended to me, that I should hint to you, that in Case the Duke of *Argyle* desires that any of the skid Arm} should be delivered to him, you may immediately deliver the same to him; but, at the same time, it is recommended to you, that this be kept secret, to prevent Applications of the like Nature from others, to whom, perhaps, it may not be so proper to distribute Arms.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. A Proclamation is ordered to be issued, offering a Reward of 30,000 l. to any one who shall apprehend the Pretender's Son, in case he is landed, or should attempt to land.

Numb. VIII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale*, Numb. 1.

My LORD.

*Edinburgh*, 3d *August* 1745.

**T**HIS Morning I had the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 30th of *July*, by, Express. I have ordered the Horses from Grass, and am sending Expresses to different Parts in the Country, with proper Orders, in Consequence of the Subject Matter of your Lordship's Letter. More Arms will certainly be wanting, in case of any Disturbance here. No Pains shall be wanting in me, to be in as much Readiness as the Nature of our Situation will allow of. I remind your Lordship of an Order from the Regency, for all Officers to repair to

their Posts in this Country. I cannot imagine, that the Person mentioned in your Lordship's Letter is as yet landed; since so many of the *Highlands* as well as other, Officers, both Civil and Military, have been for some Time directed to keep a strict Eye on what is doing all over *Scotland*. If I come to want to make Use of any Field-Train or Artillery at all, we have not any Gunners for that Purpose. The Express is ready to go off, so that I cannot say more at present. I shall write by every Opportunity, and we shall send Expresses if any Thing extraordinary occurs. I am, with great Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. IX.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Numb. 2.*

My Lord,

*Edinburgh, 3d August 1745.*

**L**ORD Advocate just now informs me, that his Express to your Lordship went off this Morning, before the Letter I had the Honour to write to your Lordship came to his Hands; which Letter he had sent to the Post-House.

I submit it to your Lordship, if Credit for a Sum of Money is not proper to be lodged in the Hands of some one of his Majesty's Servants at this Juncture; for, if any Thing should happen to disturb the Peace of the Government here, that necessary Spring to cause the Friends of the Government to act with Spirit, may come too late, by the Distance we are at from *London*.

Though I am not alarmed myself, nor endeavour to alarm others too much, yet I have not, nor shall I omit any Thing in my Power, to put the few Troops I have in Readiness to act against any Thing that may be attempted in *Scotland*.

It is my Opinion, that the greatest Attention ought to be had for the Security of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the Metropolis of this Country, from whence all Credit circulates, and all Business is transacted; though at the same time I shall take all the Care I can of the Parts distant from this Place; and upon any Descent or Insurrection in this Country, I shall march with what Force I can get together to repel it. The President, and others well affected to the Government, in the *Highlands*, are very desirous of having Arms put into the Hands of their Followers, in case of Necessity. I am with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. X.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 6th August 1745.*

I HAVE the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the first Instant. This Afternoon I received a Letter from Captain *Campbel* of *Inveram*; he is still in Pursuit of the Duke of *Perth*, but almost despairs of Success. He says, there are many Spies and Watches upon his Motions. Till I can see *Inveram*, I cannot give your Lordship any further Account of the Duke's Escape, than what is mentioned in the two Letters I had the Honour to send Copies of from *Inveram*.

Directions have been given to all Persons, Civil and Military, in the King's Service, in the *High* and *Low lands*, and particularly on the Coast and on the *Chyde*, to get Intelligence, and a full Reward offered from me to several for Information, which generally succeeds, that if the Pretender's Son, especially with many Attendants, is concealed in this Country, it must be a strange Conduct in the King's Officers, especially in those of the Revenue, who constantly attend the Coast; and at present all Parts, especially, the *Highlands*, have a Number of Officers recruiting for the *Highland* Regiment.

Persons disaffected to the Government talk loudly of an intended Invasion, and lay hold of the News-Papers to heighten the Expectations of their Friends.

Your Lordship mentions 5000 Stand of Arms to be sent from *London*, to be lodged in the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling* and *Inverness*, and to be at my Disposal. I think it highly necessary for some of them to be sent to *Inverness*, especially as the President intends to set out for the North in a few Days. If I can prevail on the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, to let me have one of the Sloops which lie in *Leith*, I shall put Arms on board for *Inverness*. The Captain of the Happy *Janet* Sloop tells me, that his Orders are, to be under the Direction of the Provost, being stationed for the Protection of the Trade along the Coast; and intimated to me, that that must be the Channel by which I could have any Use of them.

I have written to the Duke of *Argyle*, that in case his Grace would have any Number of Arms sent him, I shall deliver them where and when his Grace pleases.

I have ordered the Soldiers employed on the Roads near *Dumbarton*, with the Approbation of the Duke of *Argyle*, to join their respective Regiments forthwith, and am doing all in my Power to be in the best Condition the small Force here will admit of. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. XI

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 8th August 1745.*

I HAVE just now received the inclosed Papers, which I forward to your Lordship by Express. I shall do every Thing in my Power, in Concert with the rest of his Majesty's Servants, to put a Stop to the Rising in this Country.

I submit it to Consideration, if the few Troops in *Scotland* can be thought sufficient to defend this Country, in case the Enemy is supported from abroad. All I can say is, I will march with what I can draw together, wherever we can be of most Service.

Money and Arms, as I had the Honour to mention to your Lordship before, will be wanting, to enable and encourage the King's Friends to act on this Occasion. Many Officers are absent. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Lord Justice-Clerk sent me the inclosed Papers open, of which we have taken a Copy. I shall not detain the Express to say more.

*Copy of a Letter from the Deputy Sheriff of Argyleshire, to the Lord Justice-Clerk at Roseneath, inclosing the Letter on the other Side, transmitted by his Lordship to Sir John Cope, and afterwards in Sir John's to the Marquis of Tweeddale, of the 8th August 1745.*

My LORD,

I THIS Moment received the inclosed from Mr. *Campbel* of *Aird*, to which I have no Observation to make, only, that if any Men are landed, it is not improbable they may give out that General *Keith* is with them, as he is a Man of Character, and a Person that Party has for some Time considered as their Hero and firm Friend, which may encourage People to join them. *Arisaig* is *Clanronald's* Country upon the Continent, and bordering upon the Sea to the Northward of *Moidart*. I am,

My Lord, &c.

*Inverary, 6th August, 6 at Night.*

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Campbel of Aird, Steward to the Duke of Argyle in Mull at Morven, to the Sheriff-Deputy of Argyleshire at Inverary, transmitted by him to the Lord Justice-Clerk, and by his Lordship to Sir John Cope, &c. then by Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale, in his of the 8th of August 1745.*

Dear SIR,

THIS Morning I had an Express with very extraordinary News, could it be depended on, *viz.* That a Vessel is landed in *Arisaig*, with between two and three hundred Men, and two thousand Stand of Arms, among whom are the Pretender's eldest Son, General *Keith*, and old *Lochiel*; that there was another Vessel in Company, but was taken, and this narrowly escaped; that Part of the Clan of *M'Donald* are already in Arms, and others making ready to join them.

Any Authority I have for this News is not to be relied on, so as to give it Credit in the whole; but that some Vessel is come to those Parts with Strangers on board, is probable, though not of the Distinction my Informer calls them; yet I am sure he was told so. More certain Accounts I expect soon, which I will let you know, whatever Shape it turns out.

Before this News, whatever Foundation there was for it, it is Fact that something uncommon was expected. I learn nothing as to the Chiefs; what takes Air is from the middling Gentry. Order the Bearer to come this Length next Week, and let me know when to wait of his Grace.

*Monday Morning 5th August:*

Numb. XII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 9th August 1745.*

THIS Morning Lord President called upon me in his Boots, on his Way Northward; and acquainted me with a Letter he had just then received by Express from a Gentleman of Consequence in the *Highlands*, the same from whom the Intelligence came which I mentioned to your Lordship in mine of the 2d of *July*. The Letter bears, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* came lately to the Coast of *Uist* and *Barra*, in a Vessel mounting sixteen or eighteen Guns, with about thirty *Irish* or *French* Officers aboard, together with one *Sherridan*, who is called his Governor. That it was said the Duke of *Athol's* eldest Brother was also aboard; but that there was no other *Scotsman* of Consequence. That the Vessel left those Islands, and cruised on the Coast betwixt *Ardnamurchan* and *Glenelg*. The Informer at the Date of the Letter, which is the 3d Instant, did not know of the actual Landing; but the Messenger who brought the Letter, says, that as he passed *Fort-Augustus*, he heard that *Glengary* had gone from *Invergary*, his Residence on the West Coast, and that the young Laird of *Glengary* came along with the Ship. He reports also, that it was said in the Country, before he left his Master's House, that the small Vessel came out in Company with a large Man of War, who meeting with an *English* Ship of Force, was so disabled as to be obliged to return; but of this his Letter from his Master takes no Notice. That Letter, however, assures the President, that by the Influence of *M'Leod* and Sir *Alexander*

*McDonald*, this Attempt is likely to meet with small. Encouragement from the Tracts that are in their Neighbourhood. The President believes this Information to be true.

Lord President is set out this Morning. He acquaints me, that he wrote to your Lordship last Night, to the same Purpose as I formerly mentioned to your Lordship, with Regard to Money to be employed for the Encouragement of his Majesty's Friends; and desires me to inform your Lordship, his Letter being gone before by the Post, that he has wrote to your Lordship the Necessity there is of Powers being given to the King's Friend's to act as Lord Lieutenant, or otherways.

I send your Lordship Intelligence I had last Night by a proper Officer I employed at *Fort-William*. The Officer had the inclosed Intelligence from a Writer that went about the Country, the Morning before he march'd his Detachment from thence, which was the first Instant.

I have ordered as many of the Troops as can with Security be spared from this Part of the Country, to assemble with the utmost Expedition; and I will march with them directly, to oppose whatever Enemies I shall meet with, and shall leave *Edinburgh*, and those Parts, to the Care of Lieutenant-General *Guest*. Lieutenant-General *Preston* has the Care of *Edinburgh* Castle.

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. XIII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 10th August 1745.*

I HAVE no other Intelligence to send your Lordship than what went by the last Express, except the inclosed Letter I have just received from *Fort-William*.

Upon a Supposition, that the Persons mentioned in the last Account sent to your Lordship, would not venture to land, without previously being encouraged by a Rising of some considerable Number of *Highlanders* in their Favour, the King's Servants, *viz*, the Lord President, the Lord Advocate, and the Solicitor General, have been of Opinion with me, that the most effectual Way of putting a Stop to wavering People joining with the Disaffected, so as to make a formidable Body, was immediately to march to stop their Progress; for which Purpose I have ordered Bread and Biscuit to be baked at *Perth* and *Stirling*, without which we cannot make a Day's March Northward. I send off from hence To-morrow a few Field-Pieces, Cohorns, &c. to *Stirling*, and hope I shall get Bread ready to be able to march from *Stirling* on *Tuesday*, or *Wednesday* at farthest, with two Troops of Dragoons and

seven Companies of Foot Northwards, as also two Companies of Lord *Join Murray's Highland* Regiment, if they can come in Time. At the same time Eight Companies of Foot will march from *Perth* to join me at the Beginning of the *Highlands*, so that I shall have with me in all Fifteen Companies, a Company or two of *Highlanders*, and from the Foot of the Mountains I shall send back the two Troops of Dragoons to *Stirling*, except thirty, which I shall be able to subsist at a Barrack called *Ruthven*, built on Purpose for that Number of Cavalry, more of which cannot subsist in the *Highlands*, and would besides be useless to act there. I have ordered four Troops of Dragoons to march to *Perth*, to take Care of that Part of the Country; and I have drawn the other Regiments of Dragoons as near as can be about *Edinburgh*, in which Town and Castle I leave one entire Regiment of Foot.

This sudden March, with the Show only of some Artillery, &c. I am in Hopes, and do believe with the Rest of the King's Servants, will put a Stop to the Design some of his Majesty's Enemies may have to rise in Favour of the Pretender: And if it should not, small as my Force is, I will go to the first Body I can meet of them, and try to check their Proceedings.

Unless I hear any thing to alter my present Design, I shall march to the Forts which form a Chain from *Inverness* to *Fort-William*, in which three Forts there are eight Companies with Ammunition, &c. besides a Part of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, which are ordered to *Inverness*, to which Place I have sent one thousand Stand of Arms from hence, Part of which are for the Use of such effective Men, as Lord *Loudon's* recruiting Officers may have got together in that Part of the Country. I must observe, that from the Time Lord *Loudon* was enabled to begin to raise his Regiment, by his Reports from his recruiting Officers they have got more Men than could be expected in the Time.

Though I have many Difficulties, and still shall meet with more, in the Prosecution of this Affair, yet, I hope, my Attention, and Zeal for his Majesty's Service will excuse any Faults that may be found, since they will not proceed from Negligence or Inactivity.

Your Lordship will easily believe, I have been fully employed these two Days and a half, which is since this Alarm is come, to put Troops in Motion, unused to take the Field. I cannot say enough of the Assistance my Lord *Loudon* has given me in this Business, who is the only Colonel in this Country who is able to act; Colonel *Gardener* being extremely ill, Lord *Loudon* will march with me.

I hope my Conduct will be approved, since it is in Consequence of the Opinion of all his Majesty's Servants here. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

*The Deputy-Governor of Fort-William to Sir John Cope, in Sir John's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 10th of August 1745*

SIR,

*Fort-William, August 5th 1745.*

I HAVE the Pleasure of yours of the 29th past. I am very sorry for *Inveraw's* Misfortune in having so much Faith to give, and wish he may be so happy as to apprehend him.

I am fully persuaded, that I, and all who have the Honour to command any of his Majesty's Forts, have Reason, and ought to keep a strict Look-out; which I always did in this Garrison, and you may be assured, I will most punctually observe your Orders.

As to Officers recruiting for the *French* Service, I cannot hear of any in this Country, except a Brother of *M'Donald* of *Kinloch-Moidart*, who went to *France* last Year, and returned about five Weeks ago: Within these few Days I was told, that he passed *Fort-Augustus* with a Dozen of Men, who, he said, were going to the *Low Country*, as they had not Bread at Home. But this, I believe, was only a Pretence, as he did not suffer any of his Men to come nigh the Garrison. A great many embark, from the Western Islands, without my Knowledge here, unless you would think it proper to send one there, to observe their Motions. I had a Person, I could depend on, whom I sent there eighteen Months ago, to whom I paid eighteen Pounds, as he was away for ten Weeks.

As to those who come to *Maryborough* to reside, there were only four old Gentlemen with their Families and they of no Manner of Consequence. Had I any Room to think otherways, I had acquainted you of it: But, as two of them are Retailers of Whiskey, and the other two lived here many Years, I did not think it necessary to give you the Trouble. The Poverty of the Country is such, that many come to this Place: Those I banish for Pilfering.

You may depend I will lay myself out to know the Conduct and Conversation of all my Neighbours, and shall let you know whatever comes to my Knowledge, that may be worth troubling you with.

Our Garrison is very weak; what with the working Party and the Detachment at *Mull*, there are absent fifty-four Men, including Serjeants, Corporals and Drums.

I beg, Sir, you will be so good as to pardon my employing my Daughter to write this; but my own Hand shakes so much, it was not in my Power. I am;

SIR,

Your most faithful and most obedient Servant,

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

If you approve of it, I would gladly wait on the Duke of *Argyle* at



*Inverary.*

Numb. XIV.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 13th August, 1745.*

SINCE my last to you of the eighth, I have received yours of the third and sixth by Post, and of the seventh, eighth and ninth Current by Express, all which I have laid before the Lords Justices, who entirely approve of your Conduct; and are particularly pleased with the Resolution you have taken to march with as many of the Troops as you can assemble, to those Parts where any Danger is apprehended. And their Lordships are of Opinion, that how soon you receive Information, that any Number of the Disaffected are gathered together, you should immediately attack them. A little Vigour, shown in the Beginning, may prevent their coming to a Head: And I am hopeful, that even the small Number of Troops you have, will be able to give a thorough Check to any sudden Insurrection that may happen, as we do not hear, that any foreign Troops are yet landed to support the Disaffected.

The Lords Justices have directed the Lords of the Admiralty, to give Orders to the Captain of his Majesty's Sloop, *The happy Janet*, to obey what Directions he shall receive from you; and that Sloop may be employed, as you suggest, in transporting Arms to *Inverness*. I make no doubt, on your acquainting the Captain of this intimation from me, that he will not refuse obeying your Orders though his Notice from the Admiralty should not be come to his Hand.

I transmit to you, enclosed, a Letter from Mr. *Pelham*; which will empower you to receive Money to be employed in the necessary Service of the Government at this Time. Orders are already issued for all Officers to repair forthwith to their Posts, and some of those that belong to the Regiments under your Command, are already set out.

It is impossible, at this Distance, to give any particular Directions; your judgment and Conduct will enable you to make the best of the Circumstances that may occur. Allow me to add, that it will be much for your Honour, and highly to my Satisfaction, that I be able to tell his Majesty on his Arrival, that you have dissipated a Rebellion in *Scotland* before the News of it had reached the Continent.

I am, Sir, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. I have not yet received the President's Letter, which you refer to in yours.

Numb. XV.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

*Edinburgh, 11th August, 1745, past nine at Night.*

My LORD,

THIS Moment I have received the inclosed Intelligence. I sent your Lordship last Night a Letter; a Copy of which I take the Liberty to send by this Express, which gives an Account of the Method I did design to pursue. The only Alteration that this News will make is, that the Troops from *Stirling* shall encamp near *Stirling Park*, those from *Perth* near *Perth*, so as that they may both join in one Day's March.

I have just now sent an Express to the Duke of *Argyle*, with a Copy of the inclosed Letter. His Grace, I am informed, is still at *Roseneath*: The Duke's last Letter to the Lord Advocate, mentions his going to *Inverary* next Week if the Rumours blow over. Upon the Probability of the enclosed News being too true, I have taken the Liberty to beg his Grace's Advice and Assistance in this critical Juncture, which I am in great Hopes I shall have by his Grace's returning to *Edinburgh*, where I shall stay to see his Grace, as well as to concert Measures with the rest of his Majesty's Servants, till I hear more certain Accounts from the North.

The Men that were working on the Roads have, by this Time, all joined their respective Regiments; and I have sent a Reinforcement to *Fort-William*.

The Arms for the three Regiments of Foot, *viz Murray's, Lee's, and Lascell's*, I reported last Year indifferent, and consequently this Year are worse.

I should think it for his Majesty's Service, that I may have Orders from the Ordnance to give them new Arms, either out of *Edinburgh Castle*, or of those that are coming down.

I need not state to your Lordship the weak Condition we are in, in case of foreign Troops landing. Five Companies of *Lee's* Regiment lie at *Berwick*; if they should be replaced it would be some small Addition to us. I will not detain the Express a Minute longer. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

*Deputy-Governor of Fort-William to Sir John Cope, in Sir John's to the Marquis of the 11th of August, 1745.*

SIR,

*Fort-William, 7th August, 1745.*

I Am sorry I have Reason to send an Express sooner than I expected. A few Hours since, I had Intelligence, that in the Country of *Moidart*, inhabited by the *M'Donalds*, all Roman Catholicks, came in ten or twelve Transports, with a Ship of Force, all *French*, and aboard of them, they say, there are two thousand Men, who are now landed; The Country Gentlemen supplied them with all Manner of fresh Provisions. Unhappy for us in this Place, if we are attacked! the Party that was in *Sutherland* not being returned, and the Inner-Gate, which was pulled down some Time ago, not yet rebuilt, but all Hands are busy at work to make it up.

This Day I will send to the Country of *Moidart*, to know the Certainty of what is told me, and when he returns, will run you another Express. I am, SIR,

Your most faithful, and

most obedient humble Servant,

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

P. S. The Truth of this Account I cannot affirm, as the Person that told me saw neither the Ships nor People, but was informed of it by a Relation of his, who said he was in Company with them.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

Numb. XVI.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 15th August, 1745.*

THIS Morning I received yours of the 11th of *August*, with a Letter from *Fort-William* enclosed, as also a Copy of your Letter to me of the 10th; all which I have this Day laid before the Lords Justices. Their Excellencies entirely approve of the Disposition of the Troops, and the Measures you did design to pursue, as mentioned in yours of the 10th; but they are surprized to find, that the Execution of so prudent a Disposition should have been in the least suspended on such slight Intelligence as that contained in your Letter of the 11th. It has therefore been recommended to me by the Lords Justices, to dispatch immediately this Express, with their Directions and Orders to you to march forthwith, and to execute the Plan laid down in your Letter of the 10th, notwithstanding the Report of the landing of Troops, and even notwithstanding any actual Debarkation of Troops; and I am very hopeful you will have already begun to execute the said Plan, upon your receiving my Letter of the 11th Instant by the last Express.

Your Notion of marching with the Troops towards those Forts that form a Chain from *Inverness* to *Fort-William*, is approved of here, as the most effectual Method to disappoint any Designs his Majesty's Enemies may have to rise in Favour of the Pretender.

As to what you mention in yours of the 11th, in relation to Arms for

the three Regiments of Foot, General *Wade* informs me, that he has already acquainted you, that you have sufficient Power, and have Occasion for no further Orders from the Ordnance on that Subject.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. XVII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 18th August, 1745.*

I Have the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 15th Instant. I am very sorry I am so unhappy as to be misunderstood, as I find my Letter is of the 11th: Your Lordship will find by my Letters, both before and since, that providing Bread has been the only Stop to the Troops marching; in getting which, as I mentioned to your Lordship before, I immediately employed Bakers at *Perth, Stirling, and Leith.*

I go To-morrow to *Stirling*, and the next Day to *Creif* (and sooner the Bread could not be ready) and so on, except Circumstances arise to make it improper for the King's Service. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD, &c.

JOHN COPE.

Numb. XVIII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 13th August, 1745.*

I Have just now received the inclosed from Governor *Campbell*, by Express: By another Express. I received the inclosed from the Duke of *Argyle*; from the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh* the inclosed Affidavit.

I must observe, in regard to Governor *Campbell's* Letter, wherein he says, That there are but 130 private Men in his Garrison; that three Companies of *Guise's* Regiment were ordered there, three to *Fort-Augustus*; two to *Inverness*, one to *Berneria*, and one to *Ruthven*, and a Detachment of eighteen Men and an Officer to the Isle of *Mull*, which employs that Regiment, which I reviewed at *Aberdeen* just before they marched North, and were then compleat within a Man or two of a Company. Ten Men of a Company were employed upon the Roads; which Detachment, on the first Alarm, I ordered to their respective Regiments, and undoubtedly before this Time they have joined. Upon the first Alarm I likewise ordered a Reinforcement to *Fort-William* by the Company that lay at *Ruthven*, and by two additional Companies, though not quite compleat, of the Royal, which likewise, I hope by this Time, are got to *Fort-William*. This Regiment being stationed in that Manner, left two Regiments and a half of Foot for all the other Parts of *Scotland*, besides three additional. Companies of Lord *John Murray's Highland* Regiment, which till just now have been employed in Pursuit

of the Duke of *Perth*; the additional Companies of the other Regiments, except the Royal, are too weak to be reckoned upon.

The Reinforcement I have sent to *Fort-William* makes the Garrison as strong as it can contain.

The Duke of *Argyle*, in his Letter to me above-mentioned, is of Opinion, as likewise every body here, that King's Ships are absolutely necessary on the North-West Coast among the Islands; for if we are Masters there at Sea, it would stop a considerable Number from joining the Enemy, which they think they are sure of.

The Troops that can be spared from within and about the Capital, will be encamped To-morrow at *Stirling* and *Perth*; and as soon as Bread and Biscuit is baked, they will be ready to move: Which Bread, and all other Necessaries for putting the Troops in Motion, I ordered in an Hour after I received the Alarm, on *Thursday* last. No March could be taken Northward without carrying Bread with us; and as all the few Troops of this Country are raw, and unused to taking the Field, it makes it very difficult for me to put them in Motion in the Manner I could wish.

As this Affair seems very serious, I need not mention the absolute Necessity there is of a Reinforcement of Troops, from some Part or other, as well as a strong and active Support in the Cause, from his Majesty's Friends in this Country.

I will not detain the Express any longer. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant.

JOHN COPE.

Cluny *M'Pherson's* Company, of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, was by last Return but 24 Men.

*The Deputy-Governor of Fort-William to Sir John Cope, in Sir John's to the Marquis of the 13th August, 1745.*

SIR,

*Fort-William, Friday, 2 a-Clock Afternoon.*

I Am sorry I can now assure you, that Part of the *French* Fleet, designed for invading this Country, is arrived in *Moidart*, in a Loch called *Lochinliart*, four Miles from *M'Donald of Kenloch-Moidart's* House. Their Numbers I am uncertain of, as they allow none but Gentlemen, whom they can trust, to converse with them. They give out to their Friends, that there are 10,000 Men designed for *Scotland*. The Pretender's eldest Son is along with them, and has been a-shore a shooting on the Hills.

You know the Strength of this Garrison, which is but 130 private Men; and I am informed it is the first Place they intend to attack, and the Enemy is not above three Days March from this Place.

I hear several Gentlemen have gone to welcome them: You may be assured I'll take all the Care I can with the few Troops I have, to prevent a Surprize. Had I a strong Reinforcement, it would over-awe the *Highlanders* from joining the Enemy, whereas without, they certainly will.

I am told *Cluny M'Pherson's* Company is compleated. I had yours of the 3d, and have desired Captain *Millar* to communicate to his Major what Information I had. This Express I send by *Inverary*, to be forwarded to you, and have wrote to my Lord Duke, to let him know of the Enemy's landing. I am,

*Copy of Information transmitted by the Duke of Argyle to Sir John Cope, in Sir John's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of 13th August, 1745.*

**I**NFORMS, That upon the 26th of *July*, a Ship, having 18 Carriage Guns mounted, and six upon Deck, arrived in the Mouth of *Lochinest*, on the Coast of *Moidart* or *Knoydart*; and that *Angus M'Donald*, Brother to *Kenloch-Moidart*, who has been these twelve Years in *France*, landed out of the said Ship, as the Informer was told.

The Current News of the Country was, that the said Ship was convoyed by a sixty Gun Ship from *France*, till, Westward from *Ireland*, a *British* Man of War came up with them on the 8th of *July* aforesaid, and a sharp Engagement followed betwixt the two Big Ships, till they were both disabled. The small *French* Ship stood away from them to a great Distance, all the Time of the Fight. It was thought that this was owing to her having the valuable Cargoe under-mentioned. Next Morning the small *French*. Ship spoke with the *French* big Ship, and was told the latter had lost 200 Men, and that she was disabled to that Degree, that she would have enough to do to get Home, so advised the small Ship to proceed on her intended Voyage. The first Land the small Ship made was *Barra-Head*, and took three Men from that Island for Pilots to the main Land.

At *Lochinest*, they gave themselves out at first to be *Dutch*; none of them landed save Mr. *M'Donald*; but Countrymen who were allowed thereafter to go on board, told they had seen a great many Gentlemen there richly cloathed, and that the Ship was loaded, with Arms and Ammunition.

Upon the 27th young *Clanronald*, *Glenalanda*, and *Kenloch-Maidart* went on board; and upon the 28th *Kenloch-Moidart* came on Shore and went up *Lochsbeil* under Night to *Fasefern*, where *John Cameron*, Brother of *Lochiel*, lives: He heard he went thence to *Lochiel* and *Glencoe*, and was to go towards *Drummond Castle*.

*Clanronald* went to the Point of *Sleat* to meet with Sir *Alexander M'Donald*; and *Glenalanda*, with several of *Kenloch-Moidart's* Brothers, staid on board, and were there when the Informer came from *Moidart*, on Monday last the 5th current.

The Countrymen were telling they were not to arm till a landing of Men from *France* in the North; and that then the Popish Bishop was to take their Oaths, that they would be true to their Officers, and would not fly nor quit the Cause until Victory or Death, for that this is the last Opportunity they are to have, and that they hoped to have some *Campbell's* by the Neck in a Month's Time.

*Inclosed in a Letter from the Duke of Argyle, dated the 11th August, 1745, to Sir John Cope.*

*The Affidavit of James Hastie, in Sir John Cope's Letter to the Marquis of Tweeddale of 13th August, 1745.*

*Edinburgh, 12th Day of August, 1745.*

IN Presence of the Right Honourable *Archibald Stewart*, Esq; Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, compeared *James Hastie*, Running-Stationer in *Edinburgh*, who being solemnly sworn, made Oath, That he was sent by Mr. *Stewart* of *Tombey*, Writer to the Signet, an Errand to *Stewart* of *Alpin*, with a Packet of Papers, the Contents of which he does not know; That he brought back a Letter from Mr. *Stewart* of *Alpin* to Mr. *Stewart*, which he delivered to his Wife, which she broke open; and depones, that while he was at *Ardmurchreds*, the Seat of Sir *Duncan Campbell*, he heard the People say, that there were fifty Sail of Ships seen on the Northside of the Isle of *Mull*; and that he himself saw a good Number of Ships, but he cannot remember the Number, nor can he give a particular Account of them, being near-sighted; and it was upon Tuesday last, that he saw these Ships. That his Information from the Country People was, that they consisted of fifty Sail, and were a *French Fleet*; That he did not hear of any Men that were landed out of them, but that the People in the Country seemed to be much: alarmed, and in great Dread. This is the Truth, as he shall answer to God.

JAMES HASTIE.

ARCHIBALD STEWART.

Numb. XIX.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 17th August, 1745.*

YESTERDAY I received by Post yours of the 10th Instant with an inclosed Letter from the Deputy-Governor of *Fort-William*, as also, at the same time, yours of the 13th by Express, with a Copy of the Information from the Duke of *Argyle*, and the Affidavit of *James Hastie* before the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*; to which I can give no Credit, nor indeed to the Information sent you by Deputy Governor *Campbell*. I know that at this Juncture Things will be exaggerated, and Endeavours will be used to amuse you with false Intelligence; and therefore I hope by the next Letter from you, I shall hear that you have actually begun your March with Part of the Forces towards *Fort-Augustus*: Since, even supposing there is a Debarkation of foreign

Troops in the Parts mentioned, your encamping in the Neighbourhood of those Forts, will, as I apprehend, be the most proper Place for you to make a Stand, or even from thence to march to attack them. In that Position, you have the Advantage of effectually securing the different Forts, and receiving Reinforcements from either of them, as you shall judge most expedient and proper. Whereas, should you remain about *Stirling* or *Perth*, you will thereby give Leisure to the Enemies of his Majesty's Government to assemble, who then, probably, may attempt to surprize *Fort-William*, or some other of those Forts; and should they succeed, the Affair then, indeed, will become serious: But I persuade myself I need not enlarge on this Subject, since the Plan was perfectly agreeable to your own Notion, as expressed in your Letter of the 10th, and which was intirely approved, as I mentioned to you in my former, by the Lords Justices, and for putting whereof in Execution, you have already received their positive Orders.

I have acquainted the Lords of the Admiralty, how necessary it is, at this Juncture, for his Majesty's Service, that some Ships be appointed to cruize on the North-West Coast of *Scotland*, among the Isles; and I make no doubt, but their Lordships will immediately give the proper Orders for that Purpose.

As in a former of yours, you mentioned to me your Want of Officers to assist you, and that I am afraid the State of Health, as I am told, of some of the Colonels, will not allow of their joining their Corps, his Majesty's Servants here have had it under Consideration to send down an Officer to act under you; and I believe General *Blakeney* will be the Person: However, I hope that before he reaches you, the Execution of your projected March will have effectually disappointed the Views of those, who may be inclined to give Disturbance to his Majesty's Government.

I am, SIR, &c,

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. I observe in Captain *Campbell's* Letter to you of the 5th. of *August*, that he says, he had heard of no Officers recruiting for the *French* Service, except a Brother of *Kenloch-Moidart*, who went to *France* last Year, and returned about five Weeks ago. Why did he not inform you of this immediately, upon that Person's coming into that Country, that he might have been seized? I hope I need not take Notice to you, that I am persuaded none of his Majesty's Servants, or Justices of the Peace, will scruple giving you the proper Warrants for seizing any Person you have good Reason to suspect at this Juncture, without waiting for particular Orders from hence, which may come too late.



Numb. XX.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 20th August, 1745.*

ON Sunday last I received yours of the 15th Instant, giving me an Account of the Intelligence you had received from the Duke of *Argyle*, with Copies of Letters from *Edward Wilson* to Major *Wentworth*, of *Guise's* Regiment; from *Alexander Wat* to *Duncan Grant*, Merchant in *Inverness*; as also another from a Person who does not sign it, to yourself; all which I this Day laid before the Lords Justices; but as these Letters contain nothing new, I have nothing by this Post to add to what I formerly wrote to you.

As I hinted to you in my last, General *Blakeney* sets out Tomorrow Morning for *Scotland*, and will be soon with you. You will observe, by the Capitulation of *Ostend*, that the Garrison has free Leave to go where it pleases; in Consequence of which, Orders are sent to the *North-British* Fuzileers to go to *Leith*, which will be some additional Strength to you, in case of Need,

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. XXL

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 22d August 1745.*

LATE last Tuesday Night I received yours of the 17th Current, with Copies of several Informations; and have this Day received yours of the 18th by the Messenger; all which I immediately laid before the Lords Justices, who are very glad to find that you intended immediately to set out on your March Northwards. All Accounts hitherto received, confirm the Opinion, that your advancing towards *Fort-Augustus* is the most probable Method of disconcerting the Designs of the Enemies to his Majesty's Government, and of preventing their assembling into one Body.

I have this Day had a Letter from the Earl of *Harrington*, dated 16th August, O. S. by which I find his Lordship intended to set out for *England* the next Day: And I hope we shall soon have the Happiness of seeing his Majesty here.

You will not fail to let me hear often from you, and to give particular Accounts of your Intelligence and Transactions.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE,

Numb. XXII.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 24th August 1745.*

THE last I received from you was dated at *Edinburgh* the 18th Instant, to which I immediately returned an Answer. Having Occasion at present to dispatch an Express to *Scotland*, I write this to you, not being willing to miss any Opportunity, though I have nothing material to add to what I formerly wrote to you; as there never has occurred the least Doubt to any one here, that your marching to *Fort-Augustus* was the proper Measure for you to take, as it was from the adjacent Parts there that the most Danger was to be apprehended; and therefore it was thought; that the crushing in the Bud any Insurrection that had, or might happen, was of the greatest Importance to his Majesty's Service at this Juncture, and not to be neglected from any Consideration of what might afterwards happen in other and more distant Parts.

I shall long till I hear from you again, and shall expect particular Accounts of your Intelligence and Transactions, and hope to hear soon, that you have had the Honour to put an End to all these Alarms and Disturbances.

I must likewise inform you, that Mr. *Thomas Hay* at *Edinburgh* is intrusted by me, to take Care to transmit to me what Dispatches he receives; and therefore I desire, that you will send your Letters for me to him at *Edinburgh*, and he will forward them either by Post or Express, as you shall order. I am,

SIR, &amp;c.

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. I forgot to acquaint you in my last, that the *North British* Fuzileers will not be so soon at *Leith* as was at first expected.

Numb. XXIII.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 27th August 1745.*

I HAVE received yours of the 20th Instant from *Creif*, and of the 22d from *Amobrie*, both which I have communicated this Day to the Lords Justices, who have recommended it to me, to signify to you, that it is their Pleasure you make what Expedition you can, pursuant to your Plan of the 10th, and their former Orders thereupon.

Their Excellencies did observe, with some Surprize, that you, had so little Hopes of obtaining any Assistance of Men, either from the Duke of *Athol* or Lord *Glenorchy*, notwithstanding your having carried Arms along with you for that Purpose. This confirms their Excellencies in Opinion, that you ought to be very cautious of distributing Arms to any but such as are willing to join his Majesty's Forces.

The Lords Justices were sorry to find by yours, that the Reports of

the Misfortune of the two additional Companies of *St. Clair's* Regiment were confirmed; but they hope your Conduct, and the Spirit of the Troops under your Command, will enable you to prevent all such Accidents for the future, by putting an End to this Affair. Their Lordships have ordered a Reinforcement of forty Men to be immediately raised, and added to each of the Garrisons of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*; and have under Consideration the taking still more effectual Measures for the Security of the Kingdom, against any Invasion of *French* or *Spaniards*, should either of them attempt any such Thing.

I have given Orders at *Edinburgh*, that all Letters for you, whether by Post, or otherways, be forthwith forwarded to you by Express: And as you seem to have some Doubts, that your Letters may be intercepted, I think of sending you a Cypher, by which, for the future, you can, with more Security, correspond with me.

His Majesty, 'tis believed, is in *Holland* by this Time, and we may expect him here the first fair Wind. I wish you good Success, and am.

SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. XXIV.

*The Duke of Athol to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Blair-Castle, 14th August 1745.*

**B**Y Letters I had from the Lord Advocate, and having seen the Lord President in his Way North, I find it will be the Duty of all his Majesty's faithful Subjects, at this Juncture more especially, to exert themselves, not only in discovering, but to suppress as far as in them lies, any Commotions that may arise; in all which, you may be sure, for my Part, I shall be as diligent as possible. The Situation of this Country is at a greater Distance from the Sea than any Part of *Scotland*, which may make any Intelligence I can receive of that Sort very late; but whenever I hear any thing worth communicating, you may depend upon all the Information I can give: And in the mean time, in all the Places in the *Highlands* where I have any Concern, shall endeavour, not only to keep them in their Duty to the King, but even to make them serviceable, as far as shall be required of them. In Consequence of what my Lord Advocate and the Solicitor wrote me, I have appointed Lord *George Murray* a Sheriff Deputy for this Country, to give the necessary Directions for furnishing his Majesty's Troops with every Thing required, that the Country can provide, if they are to march Northward by *Creif* and *Tay-bridge*: And I have given another Deputation to Commissary *Bisset*, to the same Effect, for what Troops may come this Road. I am very hopeful you will be able to put an End to this unaccountable and desperate Attempt, in which I most sincerely wish you Success. I am with great Truth,

SIR,                      Your most faithful, most humble Servant,  
ATHOL.

Numb. XXV.  
*Lord Glenorchy to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,    *Taymouth, 13th August 1745.*

**T**HOUGH I am unwilling to send his Majesty's Servants any Account, of which I cannot answer for the Truth; yet I think it better to err, by giving them false Intelligence, than to omit acquainting them with any Thing, for fear of its being so. A Report is just now come from the Northern Highlands, that a great many Gentlemen (amongst whom, some say, is the *Pretender's* Son) are landed in the Isle of *Sky*, with Arms, Ammunition, and a great deal of Money; and that some Gentlemen from *Lochaber* (who are to raise Regiments) are gone thither, having sold off their Stocks of Cattle as far as they could find Buyers, and secured their Plate, and the best of their Furniture, in Places of Safety. I hope this Report is without Foundation; and if I hear any particular Account of it, I'll acquaint you with it. However, I think it should not be so entirely discredited, as to neglect providing against it; you'll be able to judge of the Probability of it, from Accounts sent you from other Parts.

I have heard nothing of the March of the Troops, except two Companies which passed three Days ago through *Dunkeld*. If 'tis necessary to send them to those Parts, surely it's Time for them to set out.

I heartily wish a Power were lodged in the Commander in Chief, to supply those who are known Friends to this Government, with Arms and Ammunition, in order to enable their Men to be of Service; whereas at present we are defenceless and useless to the Government. If the Northern Highlanders come down arm'd upon us, what are we to do? I am,

SIR,    Your most obedient humble Servant,  
GLENORCHY.

Numb. XXVI.  
*Lord Glenorchy to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,    *Taymouth, 14th August 1745.*

**I**N this State of Alarms, I should be obliged to you, if you'll send me your Advice in what manner I can be most serviceable to his Majesty and the Government. I see with great Concern, the Inability I am under of acting with that Zeal which I have always professed, this Country being entirely disarmed, and unable to make any Resistance, if a very small Force from the North comes down upon us. I can answer for a considerable Body of Men for the Service of the Government, if I had Arms and Ammunition for them; but I do not know how far

Self-preservation may operate on Men, threatened by others with Destruction, if they don't join them; which may possibly be the Case, if those Numbers which are said to be preparing to assemble in the North, have it in their Power to come so far forward, where we can make no Resistance in the Condition in which we now are. I have writ to the Duke of *Newcastle* and the Lord *Tweeddale*, representing the Service it would be of, if a Power were lodged in the Commander in Chief, to supply those who are well affected to the Government, with Arms and Ammunition, on their applying to him for them. I hope this will meet with your Approbation, and that you'll support my Proposal.

You'll always find me ready to give all the Assistance in my Power, to carrying on any Thing for his Majesty's Service; and am, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

GLENORCHY.

Numb. XXVII.

*Lord Glenorchy to Sir John Cope.*

Sir,

*Taymouth 15th August 1745.*

THE Intelligence I have this Moment received is of so great Consequence, that (though I doubt of some particular Circumstances, especially that of the Numbers) I thought it proper to acquaint you with it, leaving you to judge from Accounts sent you by other Hands, what Credit is to be given to it.

A Gentleman acquaints me by an Express, that ten thousand *French* are landed in *Moidart* and *Arisaig*, in the Shire of *Inverness*, and that the whole Name of *Cameron* has joined them; and that it's reported, they intended to march first to *Inverary*; and adds, the Deputy-Governor of *Fort-William* has burnt the Village of *Maryburgh*, which lies near the Fort. You'll observe, that he says, the Intention of their March to *Inverary* is only a Report; but he insists on being inform'd of the rest, from such as he thinks he can depend on. If they go to *Inverary*, their Scheme must be to prevent its being garrison'd for his Majesty, and to give an Opportunity for those in *Argylshire*, who are disaffected, to join them; and that they will be too strong for the Duke of *Argyle* to prevent those who are inclined to that Party from rising.

I cannot express the uneasy Situation I am in, not being able to be of any Service to the Government for want of Arms and Ammunition, which I hope you will represent so as I may be supply'd,

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

GLENORCHY.

I send this Express by *Stirling*, with Orders to carry my Letter for you to *Edinburgh*, if he does not meet you on the Road.

Numb. XXVIII.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall*, 7th Sept. 1745.

THIS Day I received yours of the 29th of August from *Inverness*, which I laid before the King. General *Guest* likewise transmitted to me a Copy of yours to him of the 27th of August, which is all I have received from you since yours from *Amobrie* of the 22d.

We had some Days ago Intelligence here, that the Pretender with his Army arrived at *Blair*. In this Situation of Matters, you will easily judge it impossible for any Orders to be sent to you from this Place; but as you are on the Spot, you must now be left to act as you shall judge best for his Majesty's Service, and to pursue such Measures as may put the speediest End to this Rebellion. All I can do is to suggest what appears to his Majesty and his Servants here, most conducive to this End. It is hoped that you are in the Neighbourhood of many well affected Clans, who will enter zealously into such Measures, as you shall be advised to, pursue; and that should some of these Clans be sent immediately into the Country belonging to the Rebels, to drive off their black Cattle and Sheep, 'tis thought many of them would in that Event incline to return home; and it was partly with this View the several blank Commissions were sent down, as you will observe by my Letter of the 4th Instant. As also, that some of the well affected Clans, supported by Detachments from the several Forts, may now secure the Passes, and prevent the Army of the Rebels from returning to their Camp behind the Forts. It is likewise hoped, that the two Regiments of Dragoons in the Low-Country on this Side the *Forth*, with the *Dutch* Regiment, which by this Time may be arrived from *Holland* at *Leith*, will be able to retard the Progress of the Rebels, should they attempt to march farther into the South Country, till you can come up with them with your Forces; and I must observe to you by the bye, that, none of our Intelligence makes them to be at most above 2500 strong.

What I have written above, is only the Opinion of several of his Majesty's Servants, with whom I have talked on the Subject, and must not be understood by you as positive Orders given; since, as I have before mentioned, it must be now left to your own Judgment, to pursue such Measures as you shall judge best for his Majesty's Service, according to Circumstances. And you will have the Advantage of the Advice of the Lord President of Session, who is well acquainted in that Part of the Country.

I hope in your next you will acknowledge the Receipt of what Letters of mine come to your Hands, since in your last you don't mention to have received any of mine since you left *Creif*.

I hope to hear good News from you soon, and am,

SIR, &amp;c.

## TWEEDDALE.

P. S. Orders have been sent to *Yorkshire* to Brigadier *Fowke*, to repair to *Scotland* immediately.

## Numb, XXIX.

*Lord Loudon's Account of the Battle of Preston.*

ON the 17th of Sept. 1745, we landed at *Dunbar*, and that Night got most of the Artillery on Shore. On the 18th we continued in the same Camp, the Dragoons who joined us there, having been so fatigued they could not march. On the 19th we marched and encamped on the North-West of *Haddingtoun*. On the 20th we marched in Order to take a strong Camp near *Musselburgh*. On the March the Quarter-Master-General was sent forward, and the Earl of *Loudon* along with him, to reconnoitre the Ground. When they came near *Musselburgh*, they saw the Highlanders in full March towards them. As soon as they were satisfied by their Glasses, that it was the whole Body of the Rebels, the Earl of *Loudon* returned to Sir *John Cope* to acquaint him, and met him in the Plain that lies between *Seaton* and *Preston*.

Here 'tis necessary to make a Digression, in order to describe the Ground, and to mention the Order of the Line of Battle. The Plain is bounded on the East by *Seaton*, on the West by *Preston*, on the North by the Sea, having *Cockenny* about the middle, on the Coast; on the South Side, which, looks towards *Tranent*, it is guarded on the West End by Colonel *Gardener's* Park-Walls, and from thence Eastward to *Seaton* by a Morass, with a deep Ditch between the Plain and it, through which there were two Cart-Roads very narrow.

The Line of Battle was as follows: Five Companies of Colonel *Lee's* Regiment on the Right, Colonel *Murray's* Regiment on the Left, and eight Companies of *Lascell's*, joined by two Companies of Major-General *Guise's*, in the Center; on the Right there were two Squadrons of Colonel *Gardener's*, and on the Left two of Major-General *Hamilton's*.

For a second Line, or *Corps de Reserve*, were the Highlanders, consisting of one Company of Lord *John Murray's* Regiment, and the Earl of *Loudon's* Regiment; there were the Companies of Captain *Mackay*, Captain *Stuart*, and Captain *Monroe*, with Part of the Earl of *Loudon's* Company, and Captain *Murray's*, with a Squadron of Colonel *Gardener's* on their Right, and a Squadron of Major-General *Hamilton's* on their Left. On this Intelligence Sir *John Cope* immediately drew up his Troops in Order of Battle, with his Right to the Sea, a little Westward of *Cockenny*, and his Left to the Morass.

In this Disposition the Artillery was to have been divided, and the Baggage was at some Distance In the Rear.

In this Position we could only be attacked in Front through two Defiles, one by the Front of Colonel *Gardener's* House, the other by the

Shore, through the Town of *Preston-Pans*.

The Rebels being informed of our Situation, turned off to the Right, and marched up to the Top of the Hill of *Fawside*, and marched on towards *Tranent*, where they remained the whole Day, marching and countermarching.

On this, Sir *John Cope* changed his Situation, and made his Front towards them, with Mr. *Erskine* of *Grange's* Walls a little to the Right, and his Left towards *Seaton*, with the Morass and Ditch in his Front; the Artillery were posted on the Left, and the Baggage was moved towards *Cockenny*.

In the Afternoon, the Rebels detached a Party down by a Quarry and a hollow Road, that led to behind Colonel *Gardener's* House, which we took Possession of.

They likewise sent another Detachment down the Hollow that is full of Trees, on the West Side of *Tranent*, who took Possession of the Church-yard, on which Sir *John* advanced two Gallopers, which presently dislodged them, and 'tis said killed about a Dozen of them.

Towards the Evening the Rebels made another Motion, and divided their Army in two Bodies; one Part marched West down, the Hill, near the Way they came up, and seemed to intend to take Possession of the West End of *Preston-Pans*; the other marched along the Top of the Hill Eastwards towards *Seaton*, and seemed to intend to come into the Plain that Way.

Sir *John Cope* immediately, with some of the principal Officers under him, went to reconnoitre their Motion, and found that their Intention was to attack him on both Flanks at once. He ordered the Baggage, which then stood in his Way, to be moved to the East of *Cockenny*, and his Left towards *Seaton*; and so formed obliquely across that Corner of the Field, so that he could be attacked no where but in Front.

The Artillery were moved towards our Left, but were never posted; because the Rebels, as soon as they saw the Disposition made for their Reception, abandoned their Design, and recalled both those Bodies, and marched back to the Hill they had possessed all Day.

It now beginning to grow dark, Sir *John Cope* thought it proper to take up his Night Post, which he did along the Morass, a little more to the East than his Situation had been in the Day: for his Security, he posted two Platoons on his Right, in the Road that passes through between the Stone Walls of Colonel *Gardener's* and Mr. *Erskine's* Enclosure; the Quarter-Guards lay considerably advanced in the Meadows and Morass, where great Fires were made, and the Picquets lay advanced on the Side of the Ditch to support them. On the Right there was a grand Guard of a hundred Dragoons, with a Captain and two Subalterns; on the Left another, from which the Cornet was advanced with thirty Dragoons near *Seaton*, the Lieutenant with the



same Number to support him on the Side of the Morass, and the Captain and Quarter-Master to support him, with forty Dragoons, at the Entry of one of the Roads into the Morass; those Parties patrolled all Night up to *Seaton*, and across the Morass, and quite up to the Enemy; from whom we had very good Intelligence the whole Night, of every Motion the Enemy made.

The Baggage was ordered up to our Rear, and the Highlanders placed without it; and for our Security in that Quarter, the Squadron of Colonel *Gardener's* Regiment, which was in the second Line, was posted towards *Preston-Pans*, with advanced Parties before them, to prevent any Body of Troops coming that Way: And the Squadron of Major-General *Hamilton's*, that was in the second Line, was posted towards the Point of the Plain, which ends between *Seaton* and the Sea, with advanced Parties before them, to prevent a Surprize that Way.

In this Position we continued all Night. About three in the Morning the Patrols brought an Account that the Rebels were moving towards the East, and it was thought were going off: This Report continued till about Day-break. Then an Account was brought, that the Rebels were moving down to *Seaton*, to come in on the East-end of the Plain, to attack us on our Left Flank.

On which Sir *John Cope* resolved to change his Situation, and wheeled the whole Foot to the Left Platoons, and marched them straight down to *Cockenny*, and made his Front to the East with *Cokenny* on his Left, and the Houses on the Road Side on his Right. The Artillery remained on the Right, with Colonel *Whitney's* Squadron between them and the Foot; and as there had not been Room sufficient left for Colonel *Gardener's* Squadron, they made a second Line behind Colonel *Whitney's*.

Major General *Hamilton's* Dragoons were posted on the Left; and as the Rebels were come in Sight when the last Squadron of them were posting, and perceiving a Column of them in Disorder were coming along Westwards under a spouty Bank, that run along the Field, one of the Squadrons were posted below in order to stop them; which had the desired Effect: For on seeing that, they turned up the Bank; after which the Squadron was brought into its own Place.

The two Squadrons were posted in the Rear, as the Day before, and the Highlanders remained on the Baggage.

By this Time the Highlanders appeared in the Front, coming from our Left, running (not marching) towards our Right; in order to form their Front. When they had covered about two Thirds of our Front, there seemed to be a great Confusion among them; but still kept on, and in a few Seconds were formed into five square Bodies or Columns, that on the Left the largest, and about twenty deep; I myself saw but three of those Bodies, from the Situation I happened to be in on the Right.

The Body on the Left of the Rebels, continued still running till they were opposite to our Artillery, which was then firing on them, and at first made a great Shake among them; on which our Troops huzza'd, which they returned, and immediately got in order again, and came directly up in the Face of the Cannon, whilst the other Bodies moved slowly, till they should see whether they would take Effect or not; when they came near, Colonel *Whitney* received Orders, as there were no other Troops to disturb him, to march his Squadron out of the Line, in order to attack them in Flank, before they came up to the Cannon: On which he immediately march'd out and wheeled his Squadron, and got within Pistol-shot of their Flank; when, on four or five Shots coming from the Flank of the Highlanders; the Men stopt, and could not be got along any further, notwithstanding all the Colonel and other Officers could do, and immediately the Rear Rank began to run away, and the rest followed in Tens and Twenties. Colonel *Gardener* then received Orders to attack this Body, after they were broken with running over the Cannon and Artillery-Guard; for the most of them kept directly on. I saw no more of what happened there, as I went directly to the Foot; but am told this Squadron left him likewise.

The other Bodies of the Highlanders advanced in the same Manner as those had done who attacked the Artillery, as soon as they saw they had succeeded. As soon as they approached our Line, they began firing irregularly, and our Foot returned it in the same Manner, by dropping Shots; and immediately a Pannick struck them, I suppose from the unexpected Manner they attacked in. They acted in the same Manner the Dragoons had before done, the Rear Ranks first retiring. All possible Methods were taken to bring them back, from the first Moment they began to turn; Sir *John* was every where among them, but to no Effect: Brigadier *Fowke* had no better Success. When they could not be brought to their Ground again, it was tried to get them into a Body, for their own Safety. When that could not be done, Endeavours were used to get them to load again, in Hopes that they would then be brought to make a Stand; but that likewise was ineffectual. By this Time the Highlanders were entirely mixed with the Foot, and being lighter, were as far advanced as they. By this Time the Dragoons had halted at Mr. *Erskine's* Wall; on which the General rode up to them, in Hopes there to make a Stand, but to no Effect; for they stood with their Croops to the Enemy, and all the World could not turn them, though the Highlanders were continually firing at them as they came running on. In this Situation there was nothing left but to carry them through the Defile, in order to form them before the Village, which was accordingly done. The Earl of *Home* stood in the Road, with his Pistol in his Hand, to turn them into the Field, where there were about three Squadrons gathered. By the Time that one was got formed, and the others got gathered into two Bodies, a Body of Highlanders presented themselves at the End of the Lane. On seeing the Dragoons formed, they halted; on which it was proposed to attack them with the

Squadron that was formed, seeing they stood in Awe; but they could not be brought to move one Foot. On which Sir *John* thought it necessary to move them still further off; and, as soon as the March begun, the Officers fell in the Rear, as usual in Retreats; but the Men immediately begun to gallop off: And it was found, that there was no other Way of getting them to make a decent Retreat, but by keeping on their Head, in order to keep them back. They were form'd three different times towards the Enemy, to make the Retreat as decent as possible; after which Sir *John* consulted with the principal Officers that were along with him, which Way he ought to move. It was agreed on by all, that it was improper for him to go to *Edinburgh* with so small a Force, when it was evident he could not defend it from, the Rebels; and that the only Thing he had left was to get back to *Bernick*, to join the *Dutch* who were expected there. In Consequence of which he turned South, and the Troops lay that Night at *Coldstream* and *Cornhill*.

Numb. XXX.

*Major Caulfeild's Letter to Sir John Cope.*

Sir,

*Fort-Augustus*, August 12, 1746.

I HAVE yours of the 2d Instant, giving me Notice, that his Majesty had ordered a Board of General-Officers to enquire into your Conduct, which I am convinced will give you Satisfaction, as it will then appear to the World what is now only known to those who were near you. The Dispatch you made in assembling the Troops at *Stirling*, in providing them with Bread and other Necessaries for a March into the Highlands, and the Care and Pains you took in conducting them; the Station you did me the Honour to place me in, gave me Opportunity of seeing all this. And was I in *London*, I could declare before the Beard, in the most solemn manner, That by your Orders all the Bakers in *Edinburgh* and *Leith* were set to Work, to bake as much Biscuit as they possibly could: That at your Desire, the Lord Advocate writ by Express to the Magistrates of *Perth* and *Stirling*, ordering them to set all the Bakers to Work, Night and Day, *Sundays* not excepted: That you sent me before you to *Stirling*, to encamp the Troops as they arrived, to hasten the Bread, and to provide Carriages: That pursuant to your Orders, Major *Talbot* with Colonel *Murray's* Regiment, march'd into *Stirling* Park from *Perth*, the 18th of August, bringing with him the Bread that was baked at *Perth*; and that you came to us from *Edinburgh* the 20th, with eight Companies of *Lascells's* Regiment: So that in Ten Days from the first Order to prepare, we march'd from *Stirling* to *Creif* the 21st of August, with Bread for three Weeks, having sent before Expresses to the several Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace, with the Lord Advocate's and Solicitor's Orders to them, to provide Carriages and other Necessaries; at the same time acquainting them with the Number of Horses we should want, and the Day and Places they should meet the Army.

I could attest, that we expected to be joined on the March by the

well-affected Chiefs and their Men, and that several Cart Load of Arms were carried with the Army for them: That none came to *Creif* but the Duke of *Athol*, Lord *George Murray* his Brother, Lord *Glenorchy*, and some very few Gentlemen of less Note, with no more Servants than usually attend them: That you halted a Day at *Creif*, to confer with the Lords and Gentlemen of the Country, and for Colonel *Lascells's* Regiment, Major *Severn* having represented the Necessity of halting a Day at *Stirling*: That those Companies joined the Army the 22d at *Creif*; and that most of the Carriers from *Stirling* deserted with their Horses; and through the Tediousness of the Country Carriers coming in, the Army could not march on the 23d, till it was so late that we were obliged to encamp that Night half way between *Creif* and *Taybridge*. Thus every Morning, by the Delay of the Country-Horses, which we were assured should be punctual, we were many Hours endeavouring to get all the Provisions carried with the Army, yet were always obliged to leave Part behind, with strong Assurances from the Deputy-Sheriffs, that they should be sent to overtake of, which was never performed: So that, by what was left upon the Road, by what was destroyed by the heavy Rains and Embezzlements during the March, on my surveying the Store's at *Dalwhinny*, there was not quite three Days Bread for the Army. In the Journal, Sir, I gave you of our March, you'll find some of the Reasons that induced those you was pleased to consult with at *Dalwhinny*, to proceed to *Inverness* instead of returning to *Stirling*. When Events have happened, it is easier saying what might have prevented them; but at a critical Juncture it is more difficult to tell which Step is best. The World will do you and your little Council the Justice to believe, all were truly zealous for his Majesty's Service, and were guided by those Motives only, which they then thought most conducive to it. The Number and strong Situation of the Rebels, with several Pieces of long small Cannon, in the Traverses of the *Corriarrick*, the Difficulty of getting the Train and Carriages to *Fort-Augustus*, were the Bridges at *Snugborough* broke, made all think the Passage that Way impracticable. Their Numbers were represented to be Three Thousand ours were not thought Force sufficient to attack them. We had not Bread to wait here or at *Garvamore*, not could we at either of these Places prevent the Rebels March to the South, or be sure of our own Retreat to *Stirling*. Pursuant therefore to the Marquis of *Tweeddale's* Orders, then produced, to march to the Chain, it was unanimously concluded best to proceed to *Inverness*. All thought it shameful to turn back; none imagined the Rebels would venture to leave their Country, Houses, Friends and Families, destitute and exposed by marching Southwards; while every one expected Numbers of loyal Clans would join us. Our Disappointment is too easily proved: not a single Man or Horse could be got in the Duke of *Gordon's* Country in *Badenoch*, in the Laird of *Grant's* Country in *Strathspey*, or in *M'Intosh's* Country in *Straitbnairn*; all which the Army passed through on its March to *Inverness*. I could here attest for you, that all the Bake-Houses and Shoemakers were kept at Work Night and Day; that you applied to all the Lords and Gentlemen

within Reach; that Major *Grant* was sent to his Nephew, who was said to have his Men assembled at *Castle Grant*; that Lord *Seaforth*, Lord *Cromartie*, the Master of *Lovat*, and others, were, with you yourselves, but no Men or Assistance from any, except Two hundred *Monroes* under Captain *Monroe* of *Culcairn*: That all Things being prepared at *Inverness* with the utmost Expedition, you march'd in eight Days to *Aberdeen*, where Colonel *Whiteford*, whom you had sent before for that Purpose, had so prepared Bread and other Necessaries, that had the Winds and Tides served, the Army could have sailed the Day after it arrived. It is well known to the whole Town, to the Men of War, and every Transport in the Fleet, that not one Hour was lost, and, that the Army embark'd with a contrary Wind, though so luckily as to land in two Days at *Dunbar*, where you found the two Regiments of Dragoons.

The Number of Lords and Gentlemen, in high Employments, who came to you on your Landing, are so many Witnesses with me, that you march'd from *Dunbar* as soon as the Nature of Things would admit. The Men landed on *Tuesday*; the Artillery-Train, Carriages and Horses, could not be all got on Shore before *Wednesday* Morning; the Remainder of that Day was thought requisite to refresh Man and Horse, and put all Things in Order for marching on *Thursday*.

I had that Day your Orders to mark a Camp some Miles nearer *Edinburgh* than *Haddingtoun* is, but as no fresh Water could be found at the Place intended, it was thought best to encamp, that Night, near that Town. On *Friday* Morning, those who knew that Country best, and those were People of high Rank and Station, mentioned two Ways, one above *Tranent*, the other between that Village and the Sea: The first was represented as full of Defiles, and that, on the Hill above *Tranent*, there were Coal-Pits on all Hands, insomuch that the Cavalry could not act; while the Road, between the Villages and the Sea, was allowed to be open and plain, and therefore was followed. This was the Occasion of the Battle's not being fought that Night; for the Rebels, who march'd the high Road above *Tranent*, did not venture to attack us below, nor was it judged proper to march up to them, as there were many Lime and Stone Walls, and other Impediments in the Way. The Men lay in good Spirits on their Arms that Night. The Fate of the next Morning is known. Many Officers then present, and now in *England*, will witness you did your Part; for several of them told me, they saw you in the Action, encouraging and exhorting the Soldiers to rally and behave like Men. The last Orders I received from you, were to hasten in any of our Parties that might still be out; mistaking a Body of Highlanders on their March in the Dusk, for a Party of ours, I rid too near them, but returned and pointed them to our Artillery. I then fell into the Rear of the Foot on our Right, and too soon saw the melancholy Scene that ensued; cut off from any Hopes of seeing you, I endeavoured, and was so lucky, to get into *Edinburgh* Castle. I have, to the best of my Memory, having no Papers here, recollected the Occurrences of our unfortunate Campaign, which was a March of near four hundred Miles from

*Edinburgh*, through the Highlands, and back by the Coast; and performed in forty Days from the very first Orders to prepare for it. Being called to you at all Hours of the Day and Night, I can declare, you took as much Care and Pains as Man could do; and this will be so well vouched by Lord *Loudon* and others who saw it, that I do not doubt being believed.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

W. CAULFEILD.

Numb. XXXI.

*Lord Drummore's Letter. Account of the Battle.*

SIR,

*Alnwick, Oct. 24. 1745.*

**B**EFORE I left *Berwick* to attend my Friend the Earl of *Loudon* aboard the *Glasgow* at *Shiels*, I observed the Dragoons, several of them of *Hamilton's* and poor *Gardener's* Regiments, at first mutter somewhat in their own Desence, and afterwards they grew a good deal bolder, and in my Hearing, some of them took the Liberty to blame the Officers: But; did not hear that any of them had taken the Freedom to attack your Character in so foul a Manner, as since I came to this Part of the Country I find they have. And it does extremely surprize me, that upon no better Evidence than theirs, a good many People, of Sense too, should be so credulous, as to give credit to some of the Stories they affirm for Truth: My Regard to it, as well as to you, led me to take Notice of several of them, in a Company where Sir *Harry Lyddel* was, and who did me the Honour to ask me to dine with him, and some of his Friends of this Place; to whose Satisfaction I had the Happiness to clear you of all the Imputations thrown upon you.

You have, Sir, a very good Right to know of me what I observed on the 20th and 21st of *September* last, and I shall, in as few Words as I can, relate it impartially.

I was with the Earl of *Loudon* upon the 20th, when he, the Earl of *Home*, and I think Colonel *Whiteford*, went to reconnoitre a Field near *Pinkie*, proposed for your Camp upon the 20th; and before we came upon the Ground, we thought we saw the Rebels in Motion; and when we came upon it, by our Glasses we plainly saw them marching towards us; this was soon confirmed by People who had been close by them: Upon which, first the Earl of *Loudon*, and afterwards the Earl of *Home*, went to inform you of the Enemy's Motion, and I staid till their advanced Guard passed *Pinkie*, and was distant not above four hundred Yards, and then I came and gave you this Account.

At that Time I found your little Army drawn up in the Line of Battle, in the spacious and flat Field between *Preston* and *Seaton*, in which there was no Ditch but one, which covered your Left Flank as you then lay, and not a Bush, hollow Road, nor Marsh, that could in the smallest

Degree, hinder your Dragoons to act. It appeared to me that it was impossible for you, with Safety, to proceed in the march to your intended Camp, because you had to march through a long Defile, between the Park-Walls of *Preston* and *Baughton*, till you should come to march through the Village of *Preston*, and several Park Walls of Mr. *Nisbet*, on each Hand to the Westward of it, which the Enemy must have caught you in, had you gone forward, and harrassed you, if not destroyed you.

You had not waited in the Posture I found you long, before we saw the Enemy march up to the high Ground near *Fanside*, and halt upon the Top of the high Grounds between *Fanside* and *Tranent*. Probably they did this to draw you from your Situation, which was advantageous, and to lead you to march to the high Ground by *Tranent*: But any body who knows that Ground, as I perfectly do, would have endeavoured to dissuade you from a March, which I apprehended would have been most dangerous. I think the Thing was under Deliberation, and for these Reasons, that the March must be made through Defiles, or hollow Roads, that the Top of the Hill near *Tranent*, and a good Way forward, was broke by hollow Roads, Coal pits, and Inclosures, and there was no Hope to get forward to the best Piece of Ground for an Engagement, which was close by the Enemy, where they first halted, the moving to possess the higher Ground, was laid aside. It is my humble Opinion, that if, from the first Moment you heard of the Enemy's Motion, you had tried to get to the Top of these high Grounds, you could not, with all the Expedition you could make, have been able to gain a Field, any way comparable for a Field of Battle to that upon which you was formed; nor could your doing so, in the smallest Degree, have cramped, distressed, or incommoded the Enemy.

Upon your keeping your Ground firm, I remember the Enemy marched towards *Tranent*, and then halted, pretty much opposite to your left Flank; upon which you alter'd your Disposition, or rather Situation, and made your Front extend along the Ditch, which was at first upon your Left, but at a pretty good Distance from it, and then you had *Preston* Park Walls upon your Right, a large part of which you caused to be thrown down, that if the Enemy should at any Time pretend to line those Walls, (which were so high, for the most part, that they could not be fired over) they might be dislodged.

In this Situation you remained till the Enemy countermarched Westward, to the place where they first halted; and as you observed part of the Forces march down the Hill, you thought proper to change your Situation, and occupy pretty nearly the same you was in at first. Towards the Evening, for the same Reason that the Enemy had changed their Position, you again changed yours, and I left you at Eight o'Clock at Night, lying upon your Arms, with your Right at *Preston*, and the Ditch close in Front; and I was told you staid in that Posture till

Day-dawn of the 21st, when, upon Information that the *Highlanders* had marched round by *Seaton*, and were advancing probably to attack you, your Situation was again altered, fronting East to receive them, with the same Ditch upon your Right.

It was in this Situation I saw you upon the 21st, about a Quarter of an Hour after Five, as I was coming from a House in *Cockenny*, where I had slept a little, along with *George Drummond*, who is with you, who had but just about two Minutes or so, as I guess'd, more than Time to join *Hamilton's* Dragoons, which were upon your Left; but as I had nothing but a Whip in my Hand, I stop'd about 150 Yards from the Left, and resolved to see the Fate of a Battle in which I was most sensibly interested. What happened upon the Right, the Distance, and the Line itself, prevented my making any Observations. I was almost directly to the Left; I observed however, distinctly, the two Columns, Clews, or Clumps (I don't know how to call them) of the Enemy upon their Right, and upon the Right of those Columns a long Line, which far out-flanked our Line. After firing two, three, or four Shot of Cannon, your Army huzza'd, and the Rebels returned it, and then their Line inclined with great Celerity (but with an Order that surprized me) to the Left, as I took it with an Intention to join their Column upon their Right, which extended not so far as our Left by a considerable Space; for I took particular Notice, that though I could see through the Files of that Line which was directly opposite to me, and not above 200 Yards Distance; I mean, though I could see through from Front to Rear, yet to my Astonishment, every Front Man covered his Followers, there was no Man to be seen in the Open; and I thought they could have formed a close Line in a Moment. I don't know if I speak so as to make myself understood to a Soldier; but in short, though their Motion was very quick, it was uniform and orderly, and I confess I was surprized at it. The Fire of small Arms appeared to me to begin upon the Right, nor did I observe any Fire upon the Left, before *Hamilton's* Dragoons gave Way and went off, not in a Body, but quite broke in two's or so; and when they were gone above 400 Yards, I saw the Left of our Foot standing naked; which I apprehend I could not have seen, had there been any Fire upon the Left; for the Morning was still, and the Fire from our Right (of the Foot I mean) and the *Highlanders* Right, took that Part of the Line quite out of my Sight. After I had now gone so far West, as to be free of the Interruption the Line made at first to my seeing the Right, I staid there till I observed a good deal of Fire beyond the Rear of our Line, which made me conclude the Enemy had broke through it; and then I came Westward, till I was below the Dragoons, who made some Halt at *Preston Park Walls*, till I saw a good deal of Fire there, and many an empty Horse came down fast by me, and several Dragoons on Horseback; upon which, and that I observed no Motion made by them towards the Enemy, I concluded all was lost, and that it was full time for a Pen-and-ink Gentleman to provide for his Safety, which I did by riding off, but I hope with more Discretion



and Deliberation than the Dragoons did from the Line; and I was about three Quarters of an Hour at *Fala* before I had the Pleasure, melancholy as it was, to meet with you, Earls *Home* and *Loudon*, *George Drummond*, and some more of my Acquaintance; all of whom, I own, I had given up as lost, as infallibly you had all been, had the Enemy followed you as close as they had it in their Power to do. I shall only add, that the Fire of our Foot was infamous, Puff, Puff, no Platoon that I heard; though I have heard others who were in the Action, and nearer the Right, say they heard two. Whether *Murray's* were attacked and gave their Fire or not, I know not; they had not fired when I left them, because I saw their Left standing there distinctly, after the Dragoons were gone. I looked back after I had gone West a pretty Way, and then I could see no Part of the Line for Smoak; whether it was from the Fire of *Murray's* Regiment, that then covered them, or the Smoak of the Fire of the rest, I cannot tell.

As I was going Westward; looked up towards the South, to see if I could perceive *Gardener's* Dragoons going off, and it appeared to me that they were flying in the same Disorder with *Hamilton's*; who had the Honour to be first at *Preston Park Wall*, I do not know, but I think it was a very near Match.

I am persuaded it was the uncouth Manner in which the Enemy formed, and advanced with vast Order and incredible Celerity, which intimidated our Men; who, as Lord *Loudon* told me, often were in the highest Spirits before the Action begun: to whatever Cause their Misbehaviour is owing, I think the Misfortune you have met with in being beat, is great enough without any Aggravation. It is my humble Opinion, that as the Troops behaved, it was not in the Power of Man to prevent the Disaster. I shall only take notice of one Thing I have heard said, and that is, that your Army was not formed when you was attacked; as to which, I was told often the direct contrary by the Earl of *Loudon*, who said, that the Disposition was made with great Order and Quickness; which, could not be done if the Men at that Time had not been in good Spirits: And I will aver, that when I saw your Line first, which was about three Minutes before the Cannon fired, the whole Line, particularly the Left, was standing stock still; which could not be the Case if it was only a forming: Nor did I see one Man move till *Hamilton's* Dragoons fled, which I think was about half a Minute after the Fire of the small Arms by our Men begun.

Thus I have related to you what I saw with great Grief, and cannot repeat but with the utmost Regret. I am very well convinced, had the Dragoons done their Duty, that our poor Country had that Day been delivered from the dreadful Bondage under which they have groaned ever since; which must cure every Man, of the smallest Tincture of *Jacobitism*, who has the least Spark of the Love of Liberty, or Concern for our Religion, left with him.

I beg of you to make my Compliments to Brigadier *Fowke*, and all

your Companions, and believe that I am, with great Truth and Sincerity, SIR,

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

HEW DALRYMPLE.

P. S. This Country is full of the vilest Scandal, which the Dragoons who guarded Mr. *Lockhart* have had the infamous Boldness to utter. They reproach you for want of Personal Courage, and Correspondence close with the young Chevalier; the naming of which Things I take to be a sufficient Refutation of them: So false and malicious they are, that these Scandals soon will vanish. Adieu. I should be glad to have a Copy of this, for I have kept none.

Numb. XXXII.

*The Earl of Home's Letter to the Duke of Argyle.*

My Dear LORD,

*Lauder*, September the 21st, 1745.

I Am sorry to acquaint your Grace, that this Morning, a little after Five, the Rebel Army attack'd and entirely routed that of his Majesty commanded by Sir *John Cope*: We came in Sight of them Yesterday on their March, and Sir *John Cope* being informed of it, he (being likewise upon his March) immediately halted, and formed, upon a Field to the Eastward of the Village of *Preston*. The Enemy's whole Army appeared upon the rising Grounds to the South of ours; they formed, and kept marching and countermarching till it was dark, in order to deceive us. Tho' we have been most unfortunately beat, I must in Justice to Sir *John Cope* say, that if I may presume to give my weak Opinion upon an Affair of such Consequence, the Disposition made by him Yesterday, all the Variations of that Disposition, occasioned by the Enemy's different Movements, his Precaution against an Attack in the Night, and last of all his Disposition to receive them this Morning, will, when the Truth shall come to be known, be approved of. After all that I have said, I think I can in a few Words account for our Misfortune. The Foot, from the most unheard-of Fatality, could with Difficulty be prevailed upon to give one Fire, and that a bad one; and when that was over, broke, not to be rallied. The Dragoons did no better; so that in three Minutes, a Battle of so great Consequence to our King and Country was lost. Sir *John* is got this length on his Way to *Berwick*, with about four hundred and fifty Dragoons. We don't yet know our Loss in the Action, it must have been very inconsiderable, barring the Loss of our Artillery. I flatter myself that the Hurry we are all in, will be an Excuse for all Mistakes; and I have the Honour to assure your Grace, that I am

Your most faithful devoted Servant,

HOME.

## Numb. XXXIII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Inverness, 29th August, 1745.*

AT *Dalwhinny*, one Day's March from the *Corriarrick*, I had Intelligence from several People I had sent out, that the Rebels had made their Disposition to dispute the several Passes in and on the *Corriarrick*, and at the same Time to march down another Body of them on the Back of the *Corriarrick*, besides several other Circumstances, that made it necessary for me to lay all the Intelligence I had before the Field Officers, and Commanders of Corps I had with me, as likewise your Lordship's Orders to me, to march to the Chain: They were unanimously of Opinion, that attempting to go by the *Corriarrick* to *Fort-Augustus* was impracticable, without exposing the Troops to be cut to Pieces, or to be reduced to the Necessity of surrendering themselves Prisoners; and that it would be more expedient for his Majesty's Service to march to *Inverness*, which would secure *Fort-Augustus*: And that, could we have subsisted at *Dalwhinny*, or at the Bottom of the *Corriarrick*, still the Enemy might take other Routs, than by the King's Roads, if it was their Intention to go to the Low Countries. I begun my March from *Dalwhinny* towards *Garvamore*, knowing that I have many Spies attending the Camp: I then turned short and marched to *Ruthven* and being informed of a very strong Pass between *Ruthven* and this Place, I made two forced Marches to get through that Pass: And since I came here, I am well informed, that the Enemy, detached 900 of their best Men to take Possession of that Pass, and wait for the Body of their Men coming up to them.

Marshal *Wade* can inform your Lordship of this Part of *Scotland*, how difficult it is to get at the Enemy, in case they keep only to their strong Passes, which hitherto has been their Play.

I have with Difficulty hauled along with me 300 Stand of Arms, hoping I should have found some Men, belonging to the Friends of the Government, who would have made use of them, but hitherto I have not had one single Man; and of those few of the Highland Companies that I took along with me, I have lost many by Desertion.

When first I had the Honour to mention this March to your Lordship, I said (if I remember right) if Circumstances did not alter, I had Thoughts of putting it in Execution. Those Circumstances did soon alter, by not finding any Probability of being joined by a proper Number of Highlanders, to carry me through the Expedition; for which Purpose I carried with me, as far as *Creif* 1000 Stand of Arms; but without that expected Assistance, in Obedience to your Lordship's repeated Orders to me, I marched to the Protection of the Forts, and shall To-morrow consult with the President, what is most expedient for his Majesty's Service to do next.

I must observe to your Lordship, that the Horses of the Country to

carry our Provisions, have been so ill supplied in many Places, that I have been forced to leave some of it on the Ground, where we have marched, particularly this Day, which as it is now very late at Night, I despair of having brought up to us.

I have halted but one Day since I left *Stirling*, and then it was to have Bread brought up to us.

The Men I have with me are in good Spirits, and we wish only for an Opportunity of attacking the Enemy, where the strong Passes do not make it impracticable.

The President met me on my March To-day; I am to send this Letter to his House at *Culloden*, who will endeavour to get it safe conveyed, which at present is very difficult. I shall write as often as I can see a Probability of my Letters going safe.

We have now Intelligence that the Enemy has followed us all Day, though our Out-Parties saw but one Detachment of them. By the best Information I can get, their Numbers are Three-times as many as we are; but that shall not hinder my engaging them, if I can get an Opportunity.

If I make Mistakes, or omit any Thing, I hope your Lordship will impute it to the Fatigues and Hurry of a long March. It is impossible to subsist Troops here till Harvest comes on, without having it from the South, which makes Ships of War very necessary for Convoy. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD, &c.

JOHN COPE.

Numb. XXXIV.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

Camp at *Inverness*, 31st August, 1745.

THE last Letter I had the Honour to receive from your Lordship, bears Date the 24th Instant. I writ to your Lordship the 29th, which was the Night we arrived here.

Expresses have been sent to Lord *Fortrose*, and Lord *Sutherland*, and all the Chiefs North of this Place in his Majesty's Interest, to send in their Men armed; if not armed to send them here, and I can furnish 1000 Stand of Arms to put into their Hands. Letters to this Effect were written a considerable Time ago, both from Lord President, Lord Advocate, and myself; the good Effect of them I am not yet sensible of.

I send your Lordship inclosed, a Copy of the Opinion of the Commanding Officers, taken at *Dalwhinny*, as I mentioned in my last. I told them I was ready to march up the *Corriarrick*, but thought it would be proper to lay the Information I had before them. I did not give my

own Opinion, but told them I desired theirs, and then would resolve what Rout to take.

We are all since convinced, that the Disposition, not an ill one, made by the Enemy, might most probably have the Effect as apprehended in the inclosed Paper.

I have Information, that *Lochgarry*, Lieutenant in Lord *Loudon's* Highland Regiment, has joined the Rebels with *Glengary's* Men, and those he had listed for Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, and is made a Lieutenant-Colonel in their Service. Old *Glengary* came with the Duke of *Athol* to me at *Creif*, and gave Personal Assurances of his Attachment to the Government, whilst his youngest Son has carried all, or most of his Clan, into the Pretender's Service. *Cluny M'Pherson*, a Captain in Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, was, as he writes me, getting his Men together to join us on the March, but the Night before last he was taken in his Bed by the Rebels, at his House betwixt *Garvamore* and *Ruthven*, and consequently his Men are of no more Use to us. The Night before last, the Rebels attack'd the Barrack at *Ruthven*, where I had left a very good Serjeant and twelve Men, with a good Quantity of Ammunition. The Rebels, to the Number of three or four hundred, summoned the Serjeant to surrender. His Answer was, Not whilst he could defend the Place. In the Night they endeavoured to set Fire to the Gate, upon which the Serjeant kill'd and wounded three or four of their Men, which sent them off. There is nothing of Value in the Barracks but Meal, which I could not bring with me, but ordered it to be put down the Well, in case they could not defend the Barrack. I have just now received the inclosed from the Serjeant, whom I recommend to be made an Officer for his gallant Behaviour.

I must take Notice of one Expression in the Opinion given by the Officers, which is in regard to *Stirling*; one only amongst them mentioned going back to *Stirling*, but was convinced by the rest of its being impracticable, and inconsistent with the Orders I had received. I was not with them, so knew not the Contents of the Paper till they brought it me signed.

Since writing the above, in Consultation with Lord President and Lord *Loudon*, we have unanimously agreed to the following Expedient, to make these Troops useful to *Britain*, in case something better does not cast up in the mean time; which is, to send a Boat away from hence with these Letters to *Edinburgh*, the Communication by Land becoming very precarious, and at the same time an Order to General *Guest*, to take up immediately a sufficient Number of Transports to come hither, to transport these Troops to *Leith*. As the Passage is very short, it's possible we may get there before the Rebels go far South. I am very sorry to have seen a Paragraph in a private Letter, received this Morning from *London*, that our Troops from *Ostend* are stopt from coming to *Britain*: This, amongst several others, has been a Consideration that has weighed with us Three for sending for

Transports. But I beg, my Lord, it may be understood at the same time, that sending for these Transports may only be attended with the Expence of them; for if we are joined by a Body of Highlanders, by which it may be practicable to force our Way, I shall certainly attempt it.

I have paid due Obedience to the strict repeated Orders your Lordship has done me the Honour to send me, by coming here to protect the Chain, and would have done more, could I have got at the Rebels upon any other Ground than in such Passes, as every one here has been of Opinion, must have been destructive to the Body of Troops with me.

The Lord President gave me a Hint, in his Letter to me of the 26th Instant, of the Difficulties I should have with the Artillery, to march over steep or boggy Grounds. His Lordship is of the same Opinion with us in regard to the Danger the Troops might have been exposed to in the Passes.

By the last Accounts, the Enemy now lie about *Garvamore*, keeping Detachments out on each Side of them: Their Numbers are reported to be upwards of Three thousand; and, as I am inform'd, they expect to be joined by the Duke of *Perth*, and some other considerable Persons from *Braemar*, where they are raising, their Men. Circumstances may so change, that what I write I intend to do one Day, may be altered the next; and I am rather too far a Distance from *London*, to know if what I project be agreeable to Opinion so far off, which makes my Situation the more difficult. But I consult with the Lord President and Lord *Loudon*, both zealous and active for the publick Good, in what may tend most for his Majesty's Service at this critical Juncture. From the first I treated this as a serious Affair; I thought it so, I am sorry I was not mistaken; my Fears were for the Publick, and for the Publick only they still continue the same. I came to engage the Rebels, they would not let me, but in Passes, as has been described. I'll engage them if I can; I'll do my best for his Majesty's Service.

I send your Lordship such Intelligence as I can get, but am under an Obligation not to mention some of the Authors Names at present. Though Money, and Application to Friends, have not been wanting to be better informed; yet your Lordship may observe by what I send, that that necessary Service is difficult for me to have. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD, &c.

JOHN COPE.

*Serjeant Molloy to Sir John Cope, in Sir John's to the Marquis of Tweeddale, of the 31st of August 1745.*

*Ruthven Redoubt, August 30th 1745.*

Honourable General,

THIS goes to acquaint you, that Yesterday there appeared in the little Town of *Ruthven* above 300 Men of the Enemy, and sent Proposals to me to surrender this Redoubt, upon Condition, that I should have Liberty to carry off Bag and Baggage. My Answer was, that I was too old a Soldier to surrender a Garrison of such Strength, without bloody Noses. They threatened hanging me and my Men for Refusal. I told them I would take my Chance. This Morning they attack'd me about Twelve o'Clock, by my Information, with about 150 Men: They attack'd Fore-Gate and Sally-Port, and attempted to set the Sally-Port on Fire, with some old Barrels and other Combustibles, which took Blaze immediately; but the Attempter lost his Life by it. They drew off about half an Hour after Three. About two Hours after they sent to me, that two of their Chiefs wanted to talk with me. I admitted and spoke to them from the Parapet. They offered Conditions; I refused. They desired Liberty to carry off their dead Men; I granted. There are two Men since dead of their Wounds in the Town, and three more they took with them, wounded as I am informed. They went off Westward, about eight o'Clock this Morning. They did the like March Yesterday in the Afternoon, but came back at Night-fall. They took all the Provisions the poor Inhabitants had in the Town; and Mrs. *M'Pherson* the Barrack-Wife, and a Merchant of the Town, who spoke to me this Moment, and who advised me to write to your Honour: And told me there were above 3000 Men all lodged in the Corn-Fields West of the Town last Night, and their grand Camp is at *Dalwhinny*: They have *Cluny M'Pherson* with them Prisoner, as I have it by the same Information. I lost one Man shot through the Head, by foolishly holding his Head too high over the Parapet, contrary to Orders. I prevented the Sally-Port taking Fire, by pouring Water over the Parapet. I expect another Visit this Night, I am informed, with their Pateraroes, but I shall give them the warmest Reception my weak Part can afford. I shall hold out as long as possible. I conclude. Honourable General with great Respect,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

MOLLOY, *Serjeant*.

My Lord President, be pleased to deliver this to General *Cope*.

*Intelligence in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale, of the 31st August 1745.*

THAT upon *Friday* the 27th, the Highland Rebel Army were encamped, according to my Information, at *Lagan Archdroun*, and meant, as this Day the 27th, to have attacked the Troops in *Corriarrick*: Just as I was coming from hence, I understood by my Express, that they intended to change their Rout, and march to *Lochtroch* or *Harach*; and according to my Information, the Highland Rebel Army are now 3000 strong.

*Disposition, &c. of the Rebels on the Corriarrick, <sup>27</sup>/<sub>29</sub>th August 1745, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 31st of August 1745. The Intelligence by a Highlander who lives in the Neighbourhood, about four Miles from it.*

ON each Side of the *Corriarrick* there were four hundred Men, who were to lie concealed till the King's Troops were entered on the Ascent; and on the opposite Ground their Cannon was so disposed as to take the different Turns of the *Corriarrick*. which were also concealed, so as not to be perceived till they came to use them. Below there were eight hundred Men concealed, who were to rally upon the Rear of the Troops after they had passed them. On the Top there was a more considerable Body than the Sixteen hundred; and that their greatest Body was at *Snugborough*. He also said the Bridges were cut down.

27th August 1745.

I WAS in the Enemy's Camp, and saw the Persons following, *viz.* as I was told, the Pretender's eldest Son, the Duke of *Athol's* eldest Brother, Sir *John M'Donald*, Brother's Son to the Earl of *Antrim*, Mr. *Kelly*, *Lochiel*, *Alpine*, *Clanronald*, *Keppoch*, *Barrisdale*, *Scobthouse*, *Lochgarry*, with Seven hundred of *Glengary*, joined them. This Night *Daltrekin* joined them with Threescore. Before I left the Camp, *Glenmorison* was expected with One hundred. Six hundred *M'Leans* were expected, to be commanded by *Lochbny*. The Pretender's Son encourages the Deserters with a Reward of nine *Louis d'Ors*. The private Men have 8*d.* per Day of Pay. *Tuesday* Night about Seven o'Clock I left them, and they then intended to meet our Army next Morning, if we came by *Corraharrac*, if not, to meet us at *Slockmuick*; and if our Army did not meet them at all, I understood they were to march Southward. They had seventeen Swivels, Holster Pistols for the Men that had none of their own. Whoever comes to the Camp arm'd, has Twenty Shillings of Reward. They threaten Fire and Sword to everybody that does not join them. There was a Letter sent, signed by the Pretender's Son, to *Fraser* of *Toyres*, the Day I came off, and another that Night, signed *Donald Cameron*, to join the Prince that Night, or early in the Morning, and that he was that Night at *Invergary*, Great Promises are made to any Officers that desert from our Army. The above is all I saw or heard, from the Time I left the Army by the General's Orders, till this Date, which is the 29th Current.

Numb. XXXV

The Returns of the Number of Officers in the Action, referred to in the Proceedings, were delivered out of the War-Office to his Royal Highness the Duke; and as soon as they should have been given back, the certified Extract of them was intended to be here inserted; but on Application to his Royal Highness, by Lieutenant Colonel *Napier*, the said Returns are at present mislaid.



## Numb. XXXVI.

*Dates of Sir John Cope's Letters  
to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

*Dates of the Marquis of Tweed-  
dale's Letters to Sir John Cope.*

N <sup>o</sup> Wrote from <i>Edinburgh,</i> dated 2d <i>July</i> 1745.		N <sup>o</sup> Wrote from <i>Whitehall,</i> dated 2d <i>July</i> 1745:	
1	—	1	—
2	—	2	—
3	—	3	—
4	—	4	—
5	—	5	—
6	—	6	—
7	—	7	—
8	—	8	—
9	—	9	—
10	—	10	—
11	—	11	—
12	—	12	—
13	—	13	—
14	—	14	—
15	—	15	—
16	—	16	—
17	—	17	—
18	—	18	—
19	<i>Crief</i> —	19	—
20	<i>Crief and</i> } 21	20	—
	<i>Amobrie</i> } 22	21	—
21	Two Letters } wrote from } <i>Dalwhiny</i> } 27 thro' Gene- } ral <i>Guest</i> }	22	—
22	<i>Inverness</i> —		
23	<i>Ditto</i> —		
24	<i>Camp at Ditto</i> 3d <i>Sept.</i>		
25	<i>Aberdeen</i> —		
26	<i>Off Dunbar</i> 16		
27	<i>Dunbar</i> —		
28	<i>Lawder</i> —		

The above is a complete List of the Letters, with their respective Dates, that passed between the Marquis of *Tweeddale* and Sir *John Cope*, from the 2d Day of *July*, to the 21st of *Sept.* 1745.

Signed

ANDREW MITCHELL.

Numb. XXXVII.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 2d July 1745.*

I HAVE received yours of the 25th of *June*. His Majesty has been pleased since he went to *Hanover*, to give me the strongest Instructions, that the utmost Endeavours should be used to discover, and bring to Justice all Persons concerned in inlisting for Lord *John Drummond's* Regiment, or in other treasonable Practices. I therefore recommend this to you, and the rest of his Majesty's Servants in *Scotland*, in the most earnest manner, not that I had any Reason to doubt of your Zeal and Diligence in this Affair, and the Lords Justices recommended it to me particularly, that I should write to you on that Head. And they thought the Officers belonging to the Highland Regiments were the properest Persons to be employed in that Service; but in case you should think any other Officers belonging to the other Regiments now in *Scotland*, will be more diligent, you will no doubt employ them as you shall judge proper.

The Notice you give me that *M'Lean*, said to be Servant to Sir *Hector*, had endeavoured twice to make his Escape, is remarkable; and to be sure it was right, that he should not be permitted to be about Sir *Hector*: It was with this View that I directed in my Warrant, one Messenger to take Care of Sir *Hector*, and the other Messenger of the other two. I find by yours, that Lieutenant *Campbel* had left *Scotland* before you received mine, acquainting you with the Lords Justices having signed Leave of Absence for him, of which his Royal Highness the Duke was also informed. You will remember, that I acquainted you here in *London*, of the Information the Solicitor had received from General *Guest*, in relation to one Mr. *Drummond*, with whom the said Lieutenant seemed to be acquainted; and therefore I must own, I could have wish'd he had been more particularly spoken to in relation to that Affair, than what you mention to me, before he had been sent to *Flanders*. As for Mr. *Drummond* himself, who you inform me writes, that he can give no Intelligence in the Business in which he is employed, I think the Government, nor any of his Majesty's Servants, ought to be so trifled with; and as I have Reason to know by another Channel, that one *Drummond*, probably the same Person, passed through *Holland* to *France* with some Recruits, I think he should be sent for in order to be examined. You will consult with the Advocate and Solicitor on this Matter.

I am; SIR, &amp;c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. XXXVIII.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 6th July 1745.*

I Herewith transmit you an Extract of a Letter complaining of great Abuses committed in the Highlands, which I hope are not true. However, I make no Doubt you will enquire into them, since doubtless it will be expected, that an effectual Stop should be put to such Practices, now that there are additional Companies raised for the Protection of the Highlands.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. The Prisoners are not yet arrived, but they are expected the Beginning of next Week.

*Extract of the Letter above-mentioned.*

24th June 1745.

I N this Part of the World there is nothing remarkable, except the Progress of the Banditti from *Lochabar*. Last Week all the Gentlemen in the County of *Nairn*, and in a manner all those of *Murray*, agreed to put their Estates under the Protection of *M'Pherson of Cluny*, Son-in-law to my Lord *Lovat*, paying him, I think, half a Crown in the hundred Pound for his securing them from having their Cattle stolen. I own, I think it a Shame to the Government, that this should be necessary: Surely Protection and Security, to the honest Part of the Subjects, is the End for which Government was instituted, and a little Attention to this, should be, I think, well worthy of a *Scotch* Secretary of State. The Method that the Gentlemen, in many Parts of the Low-Country, have taken of securing themselves, by paying a Tax to some of the Highlanders, certainly tends rather to increase the Evil than diminish it; for, if they are among the Rogues that they pay to, they, by this means, receive a Reward for their Villainy without any Danger of being hang'd; and if one could suppose, that any of those, who have these Watches, had been honest before, this makes it their Interest to turn Thieves, both to make it necessary to continue their Watch, where it is already established; and likewise to oblige other People, who have not yet submitted to it, to pay them for their Protection.

So soon as *Nairn* and *Murray* had made this Step, the Gentlemen of the Shire of *Bamf* were favoured with a Visit from *Cluny*, to let them understand, that though they were a Matter of-seventy Miles from the Thieves, yet as he had now secured *Murray* and *Nairn*, so that they durst take no Prey there, they would probably molest that Country, though no such Thing had ever happened there before; and therefore he advised them to take the Benefit of his Protection. This Language was very easily understood, and I don't doubt, but in less than a couple of

Years, *Cluny* will make his Protection very necessary.

Numb. XXXIX.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 11th July 1745.*

I HAVE the Honour of your Lordship's of the 6th Instant, and shall make Enquiry relating to the Extract of a Letter, which your Lordship was pleased to inclose to me, of which I have given a Copy to Lord Advocate.

I send your Lordship the inclosed Letter from Captain *Campbel* of *Inveran* to me, from which, I hope, some good Effect may be expected: And I have no Doubt, so many People being employed, both Civil and Military, in searching after any that may be concerned in enlisting Men for the *French* Service, or any other illegal Practice, will put a Check, if not an entire Stop to such proceedings for the future.

I am very glad to find by your Lordship's Letter to Lord Advocate, that Affairs abroad are not in so bad a Way, as by the Post before we had Reason to expect; but I shall continue to keep the Troops alert in their different Stations. I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

*Captain Duncan Campbel to Sir John Cope, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis the 11th July 1745.*

SIR,

*Creif, 8th July 1745.*

AGreeable to my Letter to your Excellency of the 26th of *June*, the Gentlemen commanding the other additional Highland Companies, and I, have met some Days ago, and are now here together, and after deliberating upon the most prudent and probable Method of executing the Lord Advocate's Warrant, we hope they may succeed as to all of them, except *Clanronald*, whose Situation puts it out of our Power to attempt any thing by Force or Stratagem, if we are not so lucky as to find him out of his own Country. But, as we cannot think of taking any of them in an open Way, it may take some Time before our Schemes take Place; at the same time, your Excellency may trust to our Diligence and Application, and that we shall, slip no Opportunity.

Your Letter of the 25th, I received in due Time, and have communicated it to the other Captains, who, and all their Officers will, I hope, give all imaginable Application to discover the practice of Listing Men for the *French* Service; and since we have met together, we have been at Pains, in the Course of our Travelling through the Country, to find out the Truth of the Matter, by employing Country People we could trust, as well as such of our Companies as we have

Confidence in, but cannot discover, that any such Practice has been in the Countries we have present Access to for some Time past. However, we shall continue our Diligence by Rewards and otherways; and if any Discovery of that Kind cast up, or a Suspicion of it, your Excellency shall be acquainted with it.

Sir *Patrick Murray's* Company is now compleat, and their Arms and Cloathing arrived, as I hope my Arms are, by this Time, at my Head-Quarters; but Captain *M'Intosh* has hitherto got no Account of the Arms of his Company from the Agent or otherways, nor was there any Mention of them in the Bill of Loading sent of the Arms of Sir *Patrick Murray's* Company or mine; but for the greater Dispatch, in case they may be at *Leith*, the Bearer, a Serjeant in Sir *Patrick Murray's* Company, and some Men, are sent from hence for them; and Captain *M'Intosh* has sent for a Serjeant and Command of his Men, to meet them at *Perth*, in order to bring them by the most expeditious Way to his Head-Quarters; and if he is not disappointed of his Arms, we shall be all ready to be reviewed by your Excellency, when and where you are pleased to order us.

The Sword-Belts of Sir *Patrick Murray's* Company, I see, are not come with the rest of the Accoutrements, and probably it is the Case with mine, in which Event I shall be glad to be inform'd, how we are to apply for them, or to provide them.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

DUNCAN CAMPBEL.

Numb. XL.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 13th July 1745.*

I HAVE the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 9th Instant, which Lord Advocate sent me last Night, and desired I would call on him early this Morning, which I did accordingly. The Contents of your Lordship's Letter to Lord Advocate are not communicated to any body, but the Solicitor-General and myself; and as no other is likely to be informed of it, than the Person who is to be employed, I am in hopes he may succeed.

Lord Advocate will inform your Lordship of the Method most probable to answer your Lordship's Commands. I have written with the Lord Advocate's Letter, and inclosed to the Gentleman who is to be employed, an Order for all military Persons to give him Aid and Assistance, when he shall think fit to call on them for his Majesty's Service.

I have put off my Journey to the Highlands, at least, for some Time, as a Regiment is to relieve that which is there: I had sent my Horses

over the Water, in order to see the Regiment which is to relieve before they march, and I shall return in three or four Days. If I had stop'd my Journey, upon the Express coming in last Night, Lord Advocate and I were of Opinion, it might have caused some Suspicion of the Contents of it; as there are many watchful Eyes over every Step taken by the King's Servants; and as the only Plan we could think of was settled this Morning, it was not right to give any Suspicion.

I may possibly get some Intelligence on the Road; whatever occurs I will certainly acquaint your Lordship with it. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb, XLI.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR.

*Whitehall, 23d July 1745.*

I HAVE received yours of *July* the thirteenth. Late on Saturday last, Captain *Montagu*, my Lord *Sandwich's* Brother, arrived Express from Commodore *Warren*, with the good News of the Surrender of *Cape Breton*, which is now in his Majesty's Possession. The Lords of the Regency have ordered the Guns in the Tower and Park to be fired, as usual on such Occasions: You will likewise give Orders to the Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, that the Cannon there be immediately fired thereupon. The Conquest of this Place will be found of the greatest Consequence to the Nation; and I believe, there will be great Rejoicings this Evening in the City of *London* on this Account.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. XLII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 23d July 1745.*

LAST Night I had the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 18th Instant. I have not any thing to add, to what my Lord Advocate tells me he has informed your Lordship of, since my Journey to *Aberdeen*, in which I could not learn any thing worth mentioning to your Lordship.

I did not take any Steps to give any extraordinary Alarm to the People of this Country; but as some ill-minded Persons catch at every Piece of ill News to the Government to raise their Spirits, the King's Servants, who met upon that Occasion, thought it right to give Orders for the Troops to keep themselves in Readiness, that the Friends of the Government might see our Care to protect them, by our giving proper Orders, which might deter our Enemies from attempting any Surprize;

and as your Lordship is pleased to recommend it to his Majesty's Servants in *Scotland*, to keep a strict Look-out at this Juncture as absolutely necessary, I shall take all Care in my Power for that End. I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. XLIII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 25th July 1745.*

I HAVE received three Letters by Express this Evening, of which I send your Lordship Copies. I have sent to the Ferries, and shall do all in me lies to recover the Disappointment that Captain *Campbel* has met with. I must observe to your Lordship, that by the Duke's being returned to his own House, he had no Intelligence of any Warrant being out against him. The inclosed is all the Account we have of it as yet. The Post does not allow me to say more. I am,

My LORD, &c.

JOHN COPE.

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Campbel of Inveraw, to Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney at Stirling, in Sir John's to the Marquis of Tweeddale, 25th July 1745.*

SIR,

BY a Warrant from Lord Advocate, I made an Attempt this Day to apprehend the Duke of *Perth*; in which I failed by trusting too much to his Honour. I have an Order from *Sir John Cope* for all the Troops in *Scotland* to assist me; in Consequence of which, I hope, you'll take Care to secure the Bridge of *Stirling*, or any other Pass, you can think he can go to the Low-Country by, in your Neighbourhood: And, if he keep the Highlands, I hope will be able to secure him in some little Time.

I am, SIR, &c.

*Creif, 24th July 1745.*

DUN. CAMPBEL.

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Campbell of Inveraw, to Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney at Stirling, in Sir John's to the Marquis of 25th July 1745,*

SIR,

IN the Hurry this requires, I could not find a proper Express to go to *Edinburgh* with *Sir John Cope's* Letter, and all my Men, and *Sir Patrick Murray's* are employed in what we are now about; therefore must recommend it to you, on Receipt hereof, to forward the inclosed to Sir

*John Cope* in the most expeditious Manner.

I am SIR, &c.

*Creif*, 24th July 1745.

7 o'Clock Afternoon..

DUN. CAMPBEL.

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Campbell of Inveraw, to Sir John Cope, in Sir John's to the Marquis of the 25th July 1745.*

SIR,

I Have this Day made an Attempt to apprehend the Duke of *Perth*; and though I had my Company under Arms at his Gate, and some Friends in the House with me, by which I thought all secure, trusting too much to his Honour, he slip'd out of our Hands into the Woods, which I have now surrounded by Sir *Patrick Murray's* Company and mine. Whether we can get him, soon taken, is a Question; but if your Excellency approve of it, I am determin'd we shall have little Rest, if he keep the Highlands, till we have him. I have writ to Colonel *Whitney* to secure the Bridge of *Stirling*, and all the Passes in that Neighbourhood, in case he should attempt going into the Low-Country. Your Excellency will give the proper Orders with regard to the Ferries of *Leith* and *Kinghorn*. This unlucky Accident gives me great Uneasiness, but I hope to retrieve it. I laid the most probable Scheme for it I could think of, though it failed. Whatever Commands your Excellency shall have for me, direct to this Place, where Notice shall be got of me. I am, with great Esteem,

SIR, &c.

*Creif*, 24th July 1745.

DUN. CAMPBELL.

Numb. XLIV.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh*, 30th July, 1745.

I Have received the Honour of your Lordship's Letters of the 23d and 25th Instant.

I have caused the Guns of the Castle of *Edinburgh* to be fired as your Lordship directs.

I am pleas'd to find my Zeal and Activity for his Majesty's Service at this Juncture, is satisfactory to your Lordship.

I shall not fail to continue to have a strict Eye upon what is passing, and keep the Forces in this Country in such Disposition, as in my Judgment shall be most proper for frustrating any Attempts any Person may make to disturb the Peace and Quiet of his Majesty's Government; and as far as the Nature of the Security will permit, I will be cautious of alarming his Majesty's Subjects too much.

I shall not give leave to any Officers to be absent who are here at



present; and shall write to some others to repair to their Posts.

Lord *Loudon* is using all the Means possible to raise his Regiment with the utmost Expedition; for which Purpose his Lordship is setting out for the Highlands, where I am informed that several of his Captains have already enlisted a considerable Number of Men, of which I shall make a Return, as soon as I can collect the Reports made to me of the Men raised.

Your Lordship will receive from Lord Advocate by this Post, the Examination taken of *Glengyle*, now Prisoner in *Edinburgh* Castle.

Last Night, at eleven o'Clock, I received a Letter from Captain *Campbell* of *Inveran*, of which I send your Lordship a Copy. I likewise take the Liberty of troubling your Lordship with a Copy of my Answer to him.

I have employed several Highland Officers, as well as others, towards the South, the North and West of *Scotland*, to search after the Duke of *Perth*, and sent to them Lord Advocate's Warrants for apprehending him.

I should have done myself the Honour of writing to your Lordship by the last Post: But I waited to hear from *Inveran*; which I did not do till last Night, since his first Letter; of which I sent your Lordship a Copy. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. XLV.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall*, 8th August, 1745.

THIS is to acknowledge yours of the 30th of *July*, with the Copies of the Letters inclosed from Captain *Campbell* of *Inveran*, and the Copy of your Answer to him. I am sorry for the Disappointment this Gentleman met with, and shall only observe, that I don't find he made the least Search for Papers or Letters, which was a great Omission. I have nothing to trouble you with since my last. I am, in my own Opinion, in great Hopes you will receive no Visit from the Pretender's eldest Son this Year. However, I don't say this, that you should slacken your having a strict Eye on what is passing, or keeping the Forces in such a Disposition, as in your Judgment shall be most proper to frustrate any Attempts that may be made against his Majesty's Government, We have received Accounts, that *Mordaunt's* Regiment has passed from the Army in *Flanders*, and got safe into *Ostend*.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. XLVI.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh, 15th August 1745.*

I Have just now received ast Express from the Duke of *Argyle*, with Intelligence that the young Chevalier and the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, with several other *Scots* Gentlemen, are arrived at *Moidart* and *Arsaig*. The Vessel that brought them is gone: She is the same that came with the Ship the *Lyon* attacked. The Duke understands she has brought 2000 Stand of Arms, which are distributed among the Clans, and it is said they are to be in Arms in, eight Days Time. There are no Forces along with them; they depend intirely upon the Encouragement they have had from their Friends in *Britain*. The Chevalier is to act as General. Agents and Expresses are dispatched to his Friends; and when they are in Arms, he designs to publish his Manifesto, assuring all of Liberty and Property, and Indemnity for past Faults. It is said he has a Commission of Guardian or Regent of these Realms from his Father.

I am well informed, that they have sent Mr. *M'Donald* of *Kenloch-Moidart* into the Low-Lands, to settle their Scheme there; and I understand he is come towards *Stirling*. This *M'Donald* is one of the principal Actors in this Attempt. I expect the Duke of *Argyll* here To-morrow. I shall, not detain the Express. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant.

JOHN COPE.

P. S. Hearsay from *Perth* tells, that the Duke of *Perth* was seen on Thursday last near *Creif* in Disguise, and that *Abercairny* is gone to the Isle of *Sky*. Besides the above Intelligence, I send your Lordship others that have come to me.

Edward Wilson *to Major Wentworth, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 15th August, 1745.*

Dear Major,

*Berneria, 9th August 1745.*

I Am sorry to give you this Trouble, but cannot omit giving you the earliest Account of what has happened. This Day a large *French* Ship passed by this Place, within Gun-shot, under *English* Colours, to a Place called *Callick-Stone*, about two Miles distant; at which Place were riding at Anchor four *British* Ships, *viz.* *Princess Mary*, *Snipe* Commander, *Unity*, *Thomson*, *Margaret*, *Moyes*, all loaded with Meal and Barley, bound for *Ireland*, and one from *Gottenburgh*, loaded with Iron (the Name I do not know) *Millar* Commander, all which continue riding at Anchor under *French* Colours. By the best Information I have had, there has been landed a great many Arms not far from this Place; and this Day a great many Highland Gentlemen dined on board her, many Boats going to and from the said Ship: But what they are I know not. A great

many more *French* Ships are daily expected in these Parts, which have lately been seen not far from this. This Affair, by Information, gives Part of the Neighbouring Gentlemen Pleasure. In case they attempt the Barrack, we cannot hold out long, they being well armed and manned, and will, perhaps, be assisted by some of the Country People; but shall give them all the Powder and Ball we have here. I send you this by Express, to whom you may communicate it as you think, proper. I should be glad to have a Line from you by the first Opportunity. I dispatched a Man into the Mountains, to take a View of the Ships, and get the best Information, which agreed with the rest I have examined.

Notwithstanding the Ships have a fair Wind, they have not sailed as yet, Friday 4 o'Clock in the Morning. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

EDWARD WILSON.

*Letter to Sir John Cope, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of 15th August 1745.*

Dear SIR,

*August 10th, 1745.*

SINCE writing to you Yesterday, I was credibly informed, that there was a Letter found dropt in the Highway in *Caitness*, from a Gentleman there to one at *Edinburgh*, making Mention of an intended Rebellion, the Persons Names and Numbers, of Men to be raised, being in Cyphers. I was also informed by a Friend and Correspondent, that he was warned by one of that Faction with Tears in his Eyes, as he was a Friend and Well-wisher to him, to take Care of himself, Family and Friends; for that he was sent for Express to come to *Lochaber*, and get all his Men in Readiness, for that in about fourteen Days, they expected a Landing of Men from *France*. His Reason for warning his Friend was, he said, that a certain very powerful Clan in the West of *Ross* were all to join in this Insurrection, and that as there were some Family Quarrels betwixt his Friend and that Clan, he was informed, they were resolved to ruin him out of Revenge for that. I thought it my Duty to acquaint you of this by Express, as I always will of any such Thing that I hear. What is in it, you can best judge from what other Informations you get. I shall, with, the utmost Diligence, get Captain *Sutherland's* Company and my own to our Rendezvous at *Thirso*; and may I beg the Favour, that you will acquaint me by this Express, as he will return before we possibly can be ready, whether or not, for the Reasons I mentioned in my Yesterday's Letter you would think it advisable to leave us in this Country. I have given *Duncan Grant* Directions, to whom I send, this to be forwarded to you by Express. You may depend I shall do my utmost to get all the Information I can. And I have the Honour to be, &c.

*Lord Lovat to General Guest, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 15th August 1745.*

My Dearest General,

*Beaufort*, August 10th 1745.

MY Esteem and Attachment is so great for you, my dear General, that it is impossible for me not to pay my Duty to you, by writing once a Week, which I hope you will pardon, since it is the Effect of my sincere Respect.

I hope this will find you and worthy Mrs. *Guest* in perfect Health; and I beg Leave to assure you both of my most affectionate humble Duty and best Respects, in which my Sons and Daughters join me.

We are daily alarmed here from the South and from the West, about Invasions, and the Chiefs of Clans taken, or being ordered to be taken up. I wish I was as young as I was in the Year 1715, I would engage to the Government, for a moderate Reward, to suppress any Disturbance that Highlanders will make this Year.

If I was in a Condition, I would go with my Cousin *MLeod*, who goes to *Inverary* to see the Duke of *Argyle*, and stay there with his Grace till he went to *London*; and then I would follow, him to that Place as soon as I could; but I'm not able to travel there. I will endeavour to go to *Edinburgh* with very short Journeys, and shew myself every Day to his Majesty's Generals till the Duke of *Argyle* come there; and then I will endeavour to go and kiss his Majesty's Hands at *St. James's*; and whatever Success I may have for an Equivalent for my Company, I am resolved to ask it, since it is my just Right, and that the King ordered, when Sir *Duncan Campbell* and I were broke, to give us an Equivalent.

They write very odd News from *London* to *Inverness*, about our Army abroad, which are not fit to be wrote, therefore I shall say nothing of them; only I'll beg of my dear General, to let me know any News you have from the Army, or Affairs abroad, that may be communicated to any Person; it will be comfortable to a Man who is troubled with so many false Rumours and Reports from several Parts.

I beg of you, my dear General, to do me the Honour to offer my most humble Compliments to General *Cope*: I hope to do it in Person in a few Weeks. I shall long exceedingly to have the Honour to hear from my dear General. And I am, more than, I can express, with uncommon Esteem, Gratitude and Respect,

My dearest General,

Your most obedient, most obliged and most affectionate humble Servant,

LOVAT.

Alexander Watt to Dun. Grant, *Merchant in Inverness, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 15th Aug, 1745*

SIR

I Have only Time to acquaint you, that a *French* Ship passed Yesterday at 3 o'Clock with *English* Colours to the *Callick Stone*, where she took four Vessels, three laden with Meal and Barley, and the fourth with Iron, and all to *Ireland* and *Clyde*; and notwithstanding a fair Wind, she still lies there with her Prizes and it is uncertain what her Design may be, 'tis possible she may attempt the Barracks, which can make but a small Defence. I am told some of our Country Gentlemen dined on Board in the *Hyle*, and were well entertained. As soon as she arrived at the *Callick* she hoisted *French* Colours, and obliged all the Ships to submit, and made them Prisoners. There is a good many Gentleman on Board. She came from the Sound of *Mull*. Was informed, that a good many more Vessels were seen and dispersed to different Places. It is likewise reported there was a good many Arms landed in that Country. We are all in an Uproar, not knowing how soon we may be attacked. You may use this as you please; pardon Haste, and I am,

SIR, Yours,

ALEXANDER WATT.

N. B. *Inverness*, 11th Aug. 1745. One o'Clock Afternoon. What Mr. *Watt* means by the *Callick Stone*, is the Ferry betwixt *Bernera* and the Isle of *Sky*. I know it very well. He means by the *Hyle*, the narrow Sea betwixt the Island and the Main.

D. G.

Numb. XLVII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Edinburgh*, 17th Aug. 1745.

I Have the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 13th Instant. All possible Diligence has been used in getting Bread and Biscuit, and I am in hopes it will be ready on Tuesday next, before which Time I shall be at *Stirling*.

Since writing my former Letters, I had upon serious Consideration resolved to send a Detachment of 300 Men to support the Garrisons in the North, and to awe the People in their Neighbourhood. This Resolution I took, not thinking it safe to leave the Capital of this Part of the Country exposed to a second Landing, which I thought conformable to the Instructions I received last Year from the Council, to keep the Troops as much as possible collected into one Body and to have them in Readiness to march; but on Receipt of your Lordship's Letter of the 13th Instant, received this Morning by Express, I have stop'd the Detachment who were under Orders to march To-morrow

Morning.

I shall have along with me *Murray's* Regiment, eight Companies of *Lascells's* Regiment, two being left in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, five Companies of *Lee's*, and two Companies of Lord *John Murray's* Highland Regiment. Major-General *Hamilton's* Dragoons are ordered into the *Cannon-gate*, for the Protection of this Place, and Colonel *Gardener's* Dragoons are ordered to *Stirling*: Two additional Companies are left at *Glasgow*, and two at *Stirling*, all four very weak. The third Company of Lord *John Murray's* Regiment is at *Inverary*, to assist the civil Magistrates in seizing the Boats, in order to prevent the Rebels from coming from the Western Islands, and in other Services. The Men raised for Lord *Loudon's* Regiment in the North are ordered to *Inverness*, which are put under the Direction of the Lord President.

A Messenger who brought the inclosed Letter from Major *Wentmorth*, had Difficulty in escaping, being searched coming over the *Corriarrick*, being attacked by two different Parties; so that the Correspondence betwixt this and the North will become very difficult. The Messenger informs me, that the Reports in that Country are, that a considerable Body of *French* is landed, at least it is so given out among the Pretender's Friends. I have good Reason to believe that 300 landed out of the Ship. The Messenger's Report (be it true or false) spreads among all the common People, and I am of Opinion will have its Influence.

I have this Morning received Credit from Mr. *Pelham*, and have taken what Steps I can to know where Specie may be had. I shall have great Difficulty to know how to dispose of the Arms your Lordship mentions when they arrive, as they will not be near sufficient to answer the Demands I have had from the Heads of Clans in his Majesty's Interest; and being informed from the most knowing People here, that if the well affected Clans had Arms in their Possession, they could not appear in them as the Law stands at present, without being liable to the strong Censures of it. This, my Lord, will shew you, what Assistance I am to expect from the well affected Clans in their present Situation. This, my Lord, I have good Reason to suggest to you, and beg Pardon for mentioning what must be extremely well known to every body in this Country.

The Report I sent up of *Abercairny's* having left his House, stands thus: He was going Northwards, within twenty Miles of his own House: he heard of an intended Invasion, and returned to his own House, where, I believe, he still is.

Inclosed I send your Lordship the Informations I have received, which are corroborated by what, without these Informations, I should call flying Reports; but they gain Credit in all Parts, which may too much encourage our Enemies, and make our Friends fearful of acting, especially as they represent themselves to be naked of Weapons for

their Defence. I am unwilling to keep the Express any longer; and in my Hurry of Business at this Juncture, if I have omitted any thing, I hope I may be excused.; am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

P. S. The Duke of *Argyle* arrived here yesterday at Noon, with whom I have had the Honour to talk upon the Subject.

Since my writing this, I have received the inclosed Letter\* from Lord *Glenorchy*, which, I am hopeful, is only a Repetition of the other Intelligence from other Parts, I have had the Honour to send you up; what the Messenger before-mentioned, coming from the Highlands, reported to me last Night, is much about the same Number. These various Reports bring me seriously to consider the latter Part of your Lordship's received this Morning, which says 'It is impossible, at this Distance, .to give any particular Directions; your Judgment and Conduct will enable you to make the best of the Circumstances that may occur.' This brings me to say, it will be impossible for me to form any Judgment for my Conduct, even after the Troops are first put in Motion.

I have sent to all Parts for the best Intelligence I can get, which will meet me upon my March, and which must direct me to proceed in this critical Juncture.

I hope I shall have your Orders how to conduct myself for the Preservation of these Troops, they being almost all I have in this Country; which Orders, if sent immediately, may possibly overtake me on my March, considering with how great Caution I must move, depending on Circumstances as they arise.

Edward Wilson *to Major Wentworth, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 17th of August 1745.*

Dear SIR,

*Bernera, 10th August 1745*

THIS Moment I received yours by Express; have been conversing with Captain *Millar*, who was taken by the *French*, as I gave you an Account in my last. He is ransom'd for 650 Pounds Sterling. He says upon his Oath, which he offered, the three Ships loaded with Meal are ransom'd for 220 Pounds Sterling each: But upon Account they put into a Harbour in *Knodart*, to offer the said Meal to a certain Person in that Place, his Name I know not; which said Person is to give a Receipt for the Cargoes, upon which the said Ships are to pay only the half of the above said Ransom. The said Meal is for a Body of *French* and

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\* This Letter is copied from the Original in the former Part, of the Appendix, Numb. XXV.

Highlanders, which are lying at *Knodart*, sixteen Miles distant from this Place, as I am inform'd at all Hands.

Captain *Millar's* Men likewise say, That when they were ashore at *Skey*, they were in a Hutt, and saw four or five new Firelocks, which did not appear to be like this Country Arms. The Persons that were in the Hutt drank the Pretender's Health; the Sailors were oblig'd to do the same, and so made to the Barrack.

This Day, by Day-break, the *Frenchman* made sail for the North. We have been under Arms these two Nights, but daily expect a Visit from the *French* by Land and Sea, from the above-mentioned *Knodart*. In case we are attack'd, we shall make but a-small Defence against any Ships or large Body of Men, not having any Cannon, and not half mann'd, in all Probability we shall be surrounded.

It is impossible to get any right Information concerning any Surprize; am afraid great Part of the People here join against us. Your Advice in this Case will be very agreeable. Pray my Service to *Scot*; upon his Letter Mr. *Hunt* and self have escaped being Prisoners aboard the *Frenchman*. I think at present we are in a very bad Situation, the Garrison being weak. I am.

Dear Major,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

EDWARD WILSON.

P. S. I sent an Express to you on Friday Morning 4 o'Clock to *Inverness*, which I hope reached you.

Edward

Edward Wilson to Major Wentworth, in Sir John Copes to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 17th August 1745.

Dear SIR,

*Bernera*, 11th August 1745.

I HAD an Express from Captain *Millar* about the same Time I sent your Express off, which was to the same Purpose of yours. I dispatch'd a Man of this Country for Intelligence, who brings me as follows: That he was very well inform'd, by one who had, supp'd with the young Chevalier the Night before last at *Knodart*. or thereabouts; the said Gentleman further inform'd him, that he could bring six thousand Men, whenever he did demand them, and that there had gone three or four Expresses to *M'Leod*, and Sir *Alexander M'Donald* of *Skey*, but it's believed without any Effect. This Evening the *French* Man of War, that took the four Vessels, was seen about eight or ten Miles from this, lying at Anchor; and is believed is waiting for more Meal-Ships coming North about. Your Express, after I delivered the Letter to him, staid eight Hours here, which I did not know of. As soon as I heard it, I sent him off; and he promised me he would not sleep till he reach'd *Fort-Augustus*; notwithstanding that, I am inform'd, he lay all



Night in the *Glen*. He went from this Sunday Evening at 8 o'Clock. People here give him a bad Character, I am,

Dear Major,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

EDWARD WILSON.

*Major Wentworth to Sir John Cope, in Sir John's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 17th August 1745.*

SIR,

*Fort-Augustus, 13th August 1745.*

SINCE the last Account from *Berneria*, I have received the two inclosed Letters which I have sent for your Perusal. The People in general in this Neighbourhood seem mightily rejoic'd to find the Chevalier is so near them; and within these two Days, all the Gentlemen of any Figure, in this Part of the World, are all gone off. One *Glengary* said yesterday, before he left Home, to the Blacksmith that was shoeing his Horses, that both these Barracks should be in his Possession before Saturday Night. I have taken all possible Care to arm against the worst that can happen, as far as lies in my Power, both in regard to our own People and the Garrison. Our Men have very hard Duty, having both the old and new Barracks to defend; but I thank God, are in very good Spirits. Here is a very good Train of Artillery; but I cannot find one Man, who knows how to point a Gun, or ever saw a, Shell fired out of a Mortar. There being only two Gunners, and they not having been much accusom'd to it; however, as far as lies in my Power, I am endeavouring to instruct them. As soon as I am able to procure any further Steps that the *French, &c.* are taking, I shall not fail to give you early Notice. If we are called upon, I hope we shall do our Duty; and I pray God grant us Success, with the hearty Endeavour of,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

HU. WENTWORTH.

*Declaration of William Ross, Master of the Margaret of Stromness, in Sir John Cope's Letter to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 17th Aug. 1745.*

WILLIAM ROSS, Master of the *Margaret of Stromness*, loaded with the Wreck of the Royal Prince of *Copenhagen*, stranded on North *Ronaldsba*, declares, That, on Saturday being the eleventh Instant, he was at Anchor in the Road of *Cannay*; that being scarce of Provisions, he went ashore to purchase some, where he fell in Company with one Mr. *M'Donald*, as he thinks, entitled *Auchlade*; but a Taxman of the said Island of *Cannay*, who presently understanding, that the Declarant had some Ammunition, great Guns and small Arms, belonging to the said Wreck, confined him in the Room in which they were sitting drinking, having with him about six Men or seven, each with some Kind of Arms: That said *M'Donald* held often a Pistol to the

Declarant's Breast, threatning to put him to Death, unless he would go over with his Ship to *Loch-Moidart*, and deliver his Arms there: That whilst he was under Confinement, said *M'Donald* sent Men on board, who searched the Declarant's Vessel for the Arms, which being under heavy Cables and other Lumber, they could not find out. That in the Morning, *M'Donald* and his Guards having got very drunk and asleep, he escaped from them and got aboard. That some little Time thereafter, *M'Donald* came to the Shore, and called on board his Ship, that if he came not immediately on Shore, he would hang one of his Crew, who had been left on Shore, before his Face. That his Sailor was afterwards discharged, by the Interest, as he understood, of the Baillie of *Cannay*, who was very much displeas'd at *M'Donald's* Conduct: That he was inform'd, that *M'Donald* had a Captain's Commission from the Pretender's Son, call'd by them Prince *Charles*. That the Catechist, who was well-affected to the present Government, inform'd him, that the Pretender's Standard was to-morrow or *Thursday* sennight, which of the two he is not positive, to be set up at some Place near *Fort-William*, the Name of which he has forgot. That the same Catechist inform'd him, that the Pretender's Son had been some Weeks in these Parts. That he and two other Vessels, bound to the *Firth of Clyde*, and one to *Liverpool*, immediately sail'd from *Cannay*, being afraid of the Consequences of a longer Stay, and declares this to be the Truth. At *Greenock* this Fourteenth Day of *August* 1745 Years.

WILL. ROSS.

*Declared, as above, before me,*  
JOHN ANDERSON.

The above Declarant further inform'd me, that the Catechist told him, the Pretender's Standard was to be set up at two more Places in the Highlands, the same Day.

JOHN ANDERSON.

Numb. XLVIII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

*Creif, 20th August 1745.*

I SEND your Lordship Lord *Glenorchy's* Letter, which met me on our March hither. The Contents of it are confirm'd from the Duke of *Athol*, by a Gentleman he sent to meet me here. I expect more Intelligence to be brought me this Night, by several People I have sent out to the Enemy.

I have, at last, got Bread for three Weeks, which is the most I have been able to get, though all Hands have been employ'd from the first Alarm.

The Duke of *Athol* is mov'd to *Dunkeld*, from his House at *Blair*, not thinking himself safe there. I have brought with me One thousand Stand of Arms to put into the Hands of those I can enlist to go along

with me, and Five hundred more at *Stirling* for the same Purpose. I shall send your Lordship any material Intelligence that shall arrive to-night. I suspect the Letters which were to be sent to me last Night (as soon as the Post came in) by Express, are intercepted, as I expected them at *Stirling* this Morning, and as yet have had no Notice of them, of which I gave the Lord Advocate Information by the Messenger who carries this to *Edinburgh*.

I shall do the best I am able for his Majesty's Service. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD, &c.

JOHN COPE.

P. S. Three of the Name of *M'Donald*, in one of Lord *John Murray's* Highland Companies marching with me, have deserted; and some of the Name of *Cameron*, in the same Companies, are suspected of going off the first Opportunity.

The common Channel of Correspondence in the Part of the Country where the Enemy is, is entirely stop'd and well guarded by their Friends.

*Lord Glenorchy to Sir John Cope, in Sir John's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 20th August 1745.*

SIR,

*Taymouth 19th August 1745.*

I Dispatch this Express to acquaint you, that a Gentleman directly come from the Enemy, has sent me Information, that the Pretender's Standard was to be this Day set up for certain; and that they were to march directly Southward, in high Spirits, and Expectation of a great Rising in the South of *Scotland* and in *England* in their Favour. They will certainly pass through this Country in a few Days, and as we are entirely unarmed and defenceless, I am, with great Regret, obliged to remove myself and Family under your Protection. I shall set out on *Wednesday*, and will probably pass through *Stirling* on *Thursday*, where I hope to see you. I need not tell you, how much Uneasiness I am under to be obliged to go away before an Enemy, from an Incapacity of seeing them. I don't pretend, that I could absolutely stop them if I had Arms, but I believe I could harrass them, and at least retard their March, which I am told will be very quick; and that the young Pretender is for pushing directly to meet you, and declares he will die or conquer. They give out, that there is to be a Landing in *England* at this Time. I write this in great Hurry, so you must excuse the Inaccuracy of it; but you may depend upon the Truth of it. I heartily wish you Success, and am very truly,

SIR, &c.

GLENORCHY.

P. S. Your Express to *Fort-Augustus*, who brought me your Letter,

passed here to-day; I wish he mayn't be stopt on the Road: I advised him to conceal, and even destroy your Letter, if he is taken.

Numb. XLIX.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

*Creif, 21<sup>st</sup> August 1745. Amobrie 22.*

My LORD,

I Mentioned in my last Letter to your Lordship, that I had brought with me a Thousand Stand of Arms, in Hopes to have had as many Men, at least, in this Part of the Country from the Duke of *Athol* and the Lord *Glenorchy*; but to my great Concern, I find by them, who have done me the Honour to come here this Day, I shall not be able to make use of many of them, if any at all. The Duke of *Athol* says, he has some Men, called *Highland Watch*, to the Number of twenty or thirty, which if they can be got together, (being a Doubt, as one Man lives a great Distance from another) his Grace will send to meet me; but doubts whether he can persuade any others to come along with them; so that I am embarrassed extremely with Arms that I can see no Probability of making Use of: Out of them I have armed forty of Lord *Loudon's* Recruits, which had not yet joined their Companies, and will endeavour to carry on with me a little farther two hundred and forty more, in Hopes of some few more Men of Lord *Loudon's*, and some of the Duke of *Athol's*: The rest I will send back to *Stirling*, under a Guard of Dragoons, which I was obliged to employ as an Escort to some Bread not ready at our marching.

This I writ Yesterday, but the Express being out of the way, I could not send till this Day the 22<sup>d</sup>, from *Amobrie*, where we are forced to encamp this Night, though I did intend to go further; but the Difficulty of getting Horses to march at Day-light, and they being weak, keeps the Men so long on the March, that I must leave many behind, (which I cannot well afford) if I made long Marches.

I have heard Reports for some Time, of Men being taken going to *Fort William*, which are now confirmed. The two additional Companies of *St. Clair's* were on the 15<sup>th</sup> Instant attacked at *Highbridge*, and, as I am told, as they were endeavouring to retreat, the Enemy on the Side of the Hills fired on them, and obliged them to surrender; one Officer was wounded, some Men killed and wounded.

I am still under the utmost Difficulty of getting Intelligence, for the People in this Country keep every thing they know very private: Such as I pay and promise great Rewards to for returning with Intelligence, I see no more.

My Men are in good Spirits, and we all wish extremely for an equal Piece of Ground to give them Battle on. I'll do the best I can for his Majesty's Service.

I send your Lordship the inclosed Manifesto. The only Gentlemen I

have seen yet on my March, and I do not expect to see more, are the Duke of *Athol*, Lord *Glenorchy*, and Lord *Menzie*.

I shall be forced after this to be very cautious what I write, as I cannot well depend upon the Messengers. I had great Reason to believe that my Letters were intercepted, as I mentioned in the last Letter I had the Honour to write to your Lordship. The Express who brought me the Post-Letters of last *Monday* Night, which were to have been sent off as soon as the Post came in, told me, he was not dispatched from *Edinburgh* till the *Tuesday* Afternoon: That might be a Pretence made by the Man for his loitering. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD, &c.

JOHN COPE.

Normand M'Leod *to the Earl of Loudon, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 21st August 1745.*

My LORD,

*Dunvegan, 13th August, 1745.*

I Wrote to your Lordship Yesterday, but as I am dubious about its getting at you, I will repeat the Substance of what I then said. I opened a Letter from Captain *M'Kay*, directed for my Son, wherein he says it is your Lordship's Orders, that he forthwith send one of his Subaltern's with all the Men he has raised to *Stirling*. As I wrote you last Week, he and both his Subalterns are in a Part of my Estate called *Harris*, about thirty Miles of Sea from this, recruiting; and I dare say his Company will on his Return be compleat; but then, were they here, as they are unarmed, and that all the Places they must pass are full of armed Men, they would certainly all be taken Prisoners; so that I beg your Lordship's further Orders, (by that Time he will be returned from *Harris*) and they will be obeyed be the Consequence what it will.

Sir *Alexander M'Donald* is recruiting for your own Company, and sends a near Relation of his to bring the Men to you; he proposes to send them at the same Time that my Son's Company it ordered.

Were there a Method of sending Arms here by Sea, Sir *Alexander M'Donald* and I could immediately bring 1500 Men to any Place they would be ordered, if it is thought necessary for his Majesty's Service: And I assure your Lordship, both of us are ready and willing to do all in our Power to support the Government, which your Lordship may communicate to Sir *John Cope*, or any other Person you think proper. I am

Your LORDSHIP's, &c.

NORMAND M'LEOD.

Numb. L.

*Sir John Cope to General Guest, transmitted to the Marquis of Tweeddale in  
General Guest's of the 29th August 1745.*

Dear SIR,

*Dalwhinny, 27th August 1745.*

**I**Ntelligence is difficult to get; I have sent many at great Expence, and none or few Return, and those that do, have given false Accounts. All agree the Enemy is upward of 3000, and design to dispute the Passage upon and in the *Corriarrick*; fight them I will, if there is a Possibility. My Disappointments have been great, by not being joined by one single Man since I set out. Nothing but the strongest Orders received at *Edinburgh*, and since received at *Creif*, would have prevailed with me to have come farther than *Creif*; but I had no Choice left me to make, therefore Consequences I am not accountable for. Shew this Letter to Lord Justice-Clerk and Lord Advocate, as also the other upon Credit, Copies of both which send to the Marquis of *Tweeddale*.

The Difficulty I have had on my March in many respects, I have not Time to mention; getting Horses to carry Provisions has been one of the chief; some have been lost. It has been impossible for me to have marched faster, without having left all the Provisions for the Men behind. As I told you at Parting, I could not send any Orders relating to the Troops and Garrisons in the Low-Countries, therefore I left them entirely under your Command and Care. If any Thing happen there, I wish you the same Success I wish myself.

I am, &c.

JOHN COPE.

P. S. Read the inclosed, seal it, and send them all by Express to *London*. It is absolutely necessary to send more Arms, &c. to *Inverness* with the utmost Expedition.

Numb. LI.

*Sir John Cope to General Guest, transmitted to the Marquis of Tweeddale in  
General Guest's of the 29th August 1745.*

Dear SIR,

*Dalwhinny, 27th August 1745.*

**I** Am extremely concerned to find your Letter, without Date, that there should be any Difficulty to find Money to pay for the Biscuit and other Things absolutely necessary for the Service; for, by your Command in my Absence, you are vested with the same Power I am, to draw for Money for the publick Service; as I mentioned to you before I left *Edinburgh*: Lest it should be necessary for my Authority for so doing, this is to require Mr. *Allan Whiteford* to give you Credit in the same Manner for the King's Service, as he had Directions from the Treasury to give to me. And pray use all the Dispatch imaginable in sending every Thing you can think of necessary for the Support of the Troops to *Inverness*, as likewise more Arms and Ammunition that can

be spared. I hope the Arms, &c. are, by this Time, come from *London*. I think it absolutely necessary that a Man of War, or Men of War, be sent immediately to *Inverness*. I have this Moment received your Letter, which I am answering, and am just going to march.

Yours, &c.

JOHN COPE.

Numb. LII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD,

Camp at *Inverness*, 3d September 1745.

I Had the Honour to write to your Lordship the 31st of *August*, which I sent by Water to *Leith*, as I do this.

Sir *Robert Monroe's* Son and Brother came in here last Night with some Highlanders, which are to be made up to the Number of Two hundred Men this Day. Not seeing any Likelihood of being joined by more, we march To-morrow, and have no other Way of carrying Mouth Provision with us but by the East Coast; and even to subsist that Way, we take a Vessel with Meal, under Convoy of the *Happy Janet*, to keep along the Coast; and I expect the Transports, which I have sent for from *Leith*, to meet me at *Aberdeen*, having given Orders for that Purpose; and will make the best of my Way, either by Land or by Water, to meet the Rebels, who, I hear, sent a Detachment with the Duke of *Athol's* elder Brother to *Blair-Castle* on the 31st of *August*; and their whole Force were designed to march Southward, some said towards *Perth*. They had sent a Detachment of about three hundred Men, towards *Abrothe* for Arms they expected to be landed there; some few of their Men, as yet, being armed only with Durk, Sword and Pistol. My Information is, that Yesterday Morning about four of the Clock the Rebels had an Account of Troops landed at *Leith*; which my Informer tells me he believes occasioned their halting Yesterday: They expect a Rising under the Duke of *Perth*. The Troops landed they reported from *Ostend*; I wish it were true.

I am very sensible the Information I have sent your Lordship, from time to time, has not been very clear, and my Informers frequently deceive me; but such as it was, I thought it my Duty to send.

I have not found any body here yet, either Civil or Military, who thought I could do otherwise than I have done, consistent with the repeated Orders your Lordship did me the Honour to send me. I have been always obliged to write in a Hurry, which, when read by Persons more at Leisure, I hope, from their Indulgence, they will not impute any Mistake or Impropriety of Writing to my Want of Application to carry on his Majesty's Service. I am, with great Respect.

My LORD, &c.

JOHN COPE.

Numb. LIII.

*the Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall*, 4th Sept. 1745.

MY Lord *Stair* has proposed that a Number of blank Commissions be sent down to *Scotland*, to be distributed among the well-affected Clans, according as the Lord President, who is well acquainted, and has a considerable Interest among them, shall think most proper for the publick Service. Such a Number of Highlanders being joined in Regular Companies, will not only prevent more Men from rising for the Pretender's Service, but Part of them may go and live at Discretion in the Counties the Rebels have left, or if it shall be thought more necessary, either the whole, or Part of them may march with you wherever the Service may require,

I am, SIR, &amp;c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. LIV.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall*, 10th Sept. 1745.

ON the 8th of *Sept.* I received yours of the 31st of *Aug.* with some Papers inclosed, all which I have laid before the King, and have also communicated them to some of his Majesty's Servants here. His Majesty approves of your Idea of endeavouring to force your Way with your Army into the Low-Country, if practicable; but in case of Circumstances, of which we at this Distance cannot judge, you shall think that not so fit for his Majesty's Service, then you are to embark the Troops, at *Inverness* as you propose; and in Case the Rebels should be in Possession of *Edinburgh*, (which God forbid) before you can arrive there, in that Case you are to disembark them at *Berwick*; and by the Accounts I have received from the Lord Advocate of the 6th of *Sept.* I understand the Shipping was ready, and would sail the next Day. The Duke of *Newcastle* is to write to the Lords of the Admiralty, that a Convoy be ordered to *Inverness* to attend the Transports, since it is judged here, that it will be hardly safe to venture them without a Convoy. We are surprized to find by yours of the 31st of *August*, that by your latest Intelligence, the Enemy were still lying about *Garvamore*; whereas our Letters from *Scotland* by a former Express, brought us Accounts, that the Pretender's Son with his Army had passed *Blair*.

You will observe by my Letters of the 4th and 7th of *Sept.* which I hope you have received, that his Majesty has signed and sent down some blank Commissions for forming the Highlanders out of the well affected Clans into regular Companies, as also the Purposes for which they may be employed. In Case this Scheme succeeds, it will be necessary that, you appoint some Officer belonging to your Army, or one of the Lieutenant Governors of one of the Forts, to have the



Command and Direction of these Companies when you leave the North, and you will advise with the President of the Session about the same. I must take Notice that Captain *Rogers*, who brought the last Dispatches from you, insisted that they should be sent immediately to *London*, without waiting till his Majesty's Servants at *Edinburgh* had an Opportunity of meeting with Mr. *Guest*, in order to know, something of your Situation; and in consequence, I received no Letter by that Express from any of his Majesty's Servants at *Edinburgh*, which must be avoided for the future, since it is impossible for us here to form any Opinion, if we are not, at the same Time that we are acquainted with your Situation, informed how Matters are at *Edinburgh*. There are some Battalions of *Dutch* ordered to sail for *Scotland*, and will be there as soon as the Weather will permit.

I am, SIR, &c,

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. It is reported that the *Elizabeth* Man of War is sailed from *Brest* with Arms and Ammunition, as is supposed for the Rebels; but of this we have no certain Account.

Numb. LV,

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall*, 12th Sept. 1745.

I Am favoured with yours of the 3d Current from the Camp at *Inverness*, which I laid before the King. At this Distance it is impossible to give particular Directions, with regard to what should be done, and it must be left to you to pursue such Measures as you shall think most expedient for his Majesty's Service.

As you take Notice in your last and former Letters, that every Body, civil and military, thought you could not do otherwise than you have done, consistent with the Orders you had received from me; I must observe, that the Orders sent you were such, as their Excellencies the Lords Justices desired might be transmitted to you. and were all agreeable to the Plan laid down in yours of the 10th of *Aug*. And you will also give me leave to observe, that in my Letter of the 13th of *Aug*. when I acquainted you, that the Lords Justices approved your Conduct, and were particularly pleased with the Resolution you had taken of marching with as many of the Troops as could be assembled into those Parts where Danger was apprehended; I signified to you their Opinion, that so soon as you should receive Information that any Number of the Disaffected were gathered together, you should immediately attack them; and towards the End of my said Letter I added these Words, "It is impossible at this Distance to give particular Directions; your Judgment and Conduct will enable you to make the best of the Circumstances that may occur." And I think that all the Orders given were plain and clear; but as in yours of the 17th of *Aug*.

you seem to ake Exception to the above quoted Words, I must declare to you my Opinion, that whatever Orders are given to a Commander in Chief, his own Prudence and Judgment must direct him in the Execution of them, according as Circumstances may happen.

As General *Guest*, and others his Majesty's Servants at *Edinburgh*, inform you how Matters go in the Low-Country, I need say nothing of them; but I hope you will take every Opportunity of letting me know what you are a-doing, and what you intend to do for his Majesty's Service.

I am, SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. LVI.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My LORD, *Aberdeen*, 14th Sept. 1745. Four in the Morning.

I Have just now had the Honour of your Lordship's of the 7th Instant, as likewise by the same Express, Letters from Lord Advocate and General *Guest*, with an Account of the Rebels March towards *Stirling*, which agrees with the Account I had Yesterday from some I sent out to get Intelligence. Even so near to the Rebels as I am, I have never been able to get an exact Account of their Numbers; which is not to be wondered at, as they are straggling about, and in different Bodies, some leaving and others joining them daily. Their Numbers have never been so much my Consideration as their Motions. I marched from *Inverness* hither without a Halt, and arrived the 11th, and found the Transports were come here a few Hours before. I got them Water and Provisions on Board with all Expedition imaginable, shipp'd the Artillery, &c. and was ready Yesterday to put the Men on Board had the Wind served. We see no other Chance of overtaking the Enemy, or getting Southward before them, than by Sea.

The Rebels drew all the Boats on the *Tay* on the South of it; and when it was considered the Number of Days (even with forced Marches) that it would take to get to *Edinburgh* or to *Stirling*, the Time a Body of Troops would take in crossing the *Tay* and the *Forth*, even had we Boats to carry us over, the Chance of a quick Passage by Sea was worth taking, since the Use of these Troops to *Great-Britain* at this Juncture, may be of great Consequence.

Lord Advocate sent me a large Packet to forward to the President, which I received together with your Lordship's Letter of the 4th Instant, on my March hither. I dispatch'd the Packet and a Letter to the Lord President, by a Messenger of his own on the 10th Instant, it was the safest Hand I could send it by, and I hope it got safe.

*Glenbucket* and some Men he has pick'd up, are still at *StrathBogy*, or about in the Country, take Horses, and search for Arms.

I dare say, the President will make a good Use of the Commissions your Lordship has sent him, if he can persuade any of his Neighbours to rise.

Duplicates to be sent of Letters and. Papers of Consequence, would, in my humble Opinion, be very proper.

I have done myself the Honour of writing to your Lordship, whenever I have seen a Likelihood of my Letters going safe, and I hope I shall be excused having writ through General *Guest* sometimes, for want of Time to write more at large; for every Body with me can witness I have had full Employment, both Day and Night, ever since the 10th of *August*.

If I have a Wind, which just now seems a little favourable, to carry me soon Southward, I hope this Sea Expedition will be found most expedient for his Majesty's Service. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD, &c.

JOHN COPE.

P. S, I send your Lordship Copies of Letters handed about to the Rebels Friends, which seem to me not to be genuine.

*Copy of the Spanish Ambassador's Letter to the young Chevalier, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 14th Sept, 1745.*

AS soon as I received Orders from my Court in regard to your Royal Highness's Affairs, I did not lose a Moment to make proper Applications here. His Most Christian Majesty did not hesitate to promise immediate Assistance of Arms and Money, and gave Orders to prepare both. Immediately I dispatched a Courier to the King my Master, to inform him of these Resolutions; and I can assure your Royal Highness, that his Catholick Majesty will conform himself to the Dispositions of the Most Christian King his Nephew, and will assist you in an equal Proportion. These are fixed Resolutions, on which your Royal Highness may lay your Account.

But this is not all, his Most Christian Majesty added, that as soon as he saw the Dispositions of the People which have called you over fortified, and that they shall form themselves into a Body, by the Presence of your Royal Highness, he will encrease those Succours, by sending Troops to the Place that shall be thought most proper to sustain them, among which, I have all Reason to believe the *Irish* Brigade will be appointed. The King my Master will do the same, and will furnish an equal Number of Troops.

I have the Honour to inform your Royal Highness of these Dispositions, with a Satisfaction as lively as my Wishes for your Success in the just Undertaking are sincere. I beg your Royal Highness to receive here the Assurance of it, as well as the profound Respect with which I am,

## The Prince DEL CAMPO FLORIDO.

*Aloft*, 1st Aug. 1745.

P. S. We wait here with the utmost Impatience for the News of your Royal Highness's landing.

*The Duke de Bouillon's Letter to the young Chevalier, in Sir John Cope's to the Marquis of Tweeddale, of the 14th September, 1745*

UPON Receipt of the obliging Letter with which your Royal Highness was pleased to honour me, I flew with Tears in mine Eyes to the King, and conjured him to support your generous Resolution; painted to him, in the liveliest Colours, the Dangers to which you had exposed yourself, and, in fine, laid and did all I could express, from the irrefutable Attachment I shall ever have for your Royal Highness. You may judge of the Joy I received from his Majesty's Answer, when he assured me, that he had your Interest as much at Heart as I had myself, and that I might assure you, he would serve you. with every Thing you might stand in need of for the Success of your Project. I have insisted with the Ministry they should send you Troops. Their Answer was, they only wait Assurance of your being landed before they could send any Thing: That then it would be your Business, to ask and obtain what you should think necessary and useful for carrying on your Designs. Not knowing how to get this transmitted to your Royal Highness, I wrote Word of it to Colonel *Obrian*. I hope you will not leave me in the cruel Uncertainty of not knowing of your Arrival. Give me leave further to assure your Royal Highness, that you may dispose as you please of my whole Fortune and my Blood; and that in whatever Manner you shall think fit to employ me, you shall find in me all the Fidelity and Zeal that can be expressed, from the profoundest Respect with which I shall be, as long as my Life lasts,

TOURS DE BOUILLON.

These Letters are said to be brought by one *Arbuthnot*, who landed at *Aymolt*, and travelled from thence safely to *Perth*.

Numb. LVII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

*Off of Dunbar, Monday 7 at Night 16th Sept.*

My Lord,

WE make our Dispositions for landing at *Dunbar*, as soon as the Transports come up to us, and the Tide will let us go into the Harbour to land our Train of Artillery. We may Reasonably suppose the Rebels (by our Intelligence) so near, as they may obstruct our landing at *Leith*: besides, the Wind blows now directly out of the *Forth*. What Time it will take in landing our Artillery and Horses, I cannot yet say; but no Time shall be lost.

Orders are sent to provide Horses and Carriages at *Dunbar*. I am in

so great a Hurry I can't keep the Boats longer. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD, &c,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. LVIII.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale.*

My Lord,

*Dunbar, 18th Sept. 1745.*

ALL possible Diligence has been used in disembarking the Troops, Artillery, &c. I found here *Hamilton's* and *Gardener's* Regiments of Dragoons, extremely fatigued with the forced Marches they made to arrive here.

It was no small Surprize and Concern to me to hear, that the City of *Edinburgh*, after having made a Disposition for its own Defence, had capitulated with the Rebels, who quietly took Possession of it Yesterday Morning at Five o'Clock. Various are the Reports of this Transaction. I am not yet enough informed to say any thing more upon the Subject, only that I am told, that a Messenger was at the Gate of the City at seven o'Clock the Night before the Surrender of it, giving an Account of our Fleet being in Sight. I shall proceed without Loss of Time to recover this Misfortune.

*Sir John Inglis* brought me your Lordship's and Lord *Stair's* Letter to General *Guest* of the 14th Instant. By the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General's Advice, I took the Liberty to open them. I immediately dispatched the *Happy Janet* Sloop, with a Letter to the commanding Officer of the *Dutch* Forces, to acquaint him with my having landed here; that *Montrose* and *Dundee*, as well as the City of *Edinburgh*, were possessed by the Rebels, and that he should land his Troops on the South Side of the *Forth*.

I have dispatched an Officer aboard a *Kinghorn* Boat, with a Duplicate of my Orders to the Commander of the *Dutch* Forces.

I march To-morrow Morning, and will do the best I can for his Majesty's Service. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

Numb. LIX.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 20th August 1745.*

LAST Night I received yours of the 14th Instant from *Aberdeen*, as also, at the same Time, yours of *Monday* the 16th, off of *Dunbar*, where you was making the necessary Dispositions for landing your Troops immediately.

It gave us no small Satisfaction to be informed, that you was there with your Army, at the same Time that we had the bad News that the Rebels were within three Miles of *Edinburgh*, more especially, that, from several Circumstances, we had but little Reason to doubt of their being immediately Masters of the Town, from hence we flatter ourselves here, you will be soon able to dislodge them.

The Earl of *Stair* writes to you, here inclosed, what Measures you are to pursue, should the Rebels march into *England*:

Possibly you will have heard, before this Time, that the *Dutch* Regiment which had Orders to go to *Leith*, had been forced, by contrary Winds, into *Burlington Bay*. General *Oglethorpe* sets out for that Place this Evening, in order to march them Northward, should the Winds have prevented their proceeding by Sea.

The second Embarkation of *Dutch* Troops are this Day all of them come into the River, they not having met with the Orders sent them some Time ago, for Part of them to go to, *Newcastle*. But Orders will be dispatched this Night, for two of the said Regiments to sail directly, without disembarking, for *Newcastle*.

We expect here To-morrow, or next Day, a large Body of our own National Troops, the last Mail from *Holland* informing us, that they were all embark'd, and ready to sail with the first fair Wind.

I have thus given you an Account of the Disposition making here for the Defence of this Part of the Kingdom; and I make no Doubt but we shall soon hear good News from you,

I am, SIR

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. LX.

*The Marquis of Tweeddale to Sir John Cope.*

SIR,

*Whitehall, 21st Sept. 1745.*

THIS Morning I received yours of the 18th Instant from *Dunbar*, which I immediately laid before the King. You may believe, we were all much surprized and concerned to hear, that the City of *Edinburgh* had capitulated with the Rebels, especially, when there was so near a Prospect of your coming with the Army under your Command to their Assistance.

His Majesty is pleased to find by yours, that you intend to proceed, without Loss of Time, to retrieve this Misfortune. I heartily wish you good Success, and am,

SIR, &c.

TWEEDDALE.

Numb. LXI.

*Sir John Cope to the Marquis of Tweeddale:*

My LORD,

*Lauder, Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> 1745.*

I HAVE only Time to acquaint your Lordship, that from the Situation of the Ground we chose, from our Troops being thoroughly well formed, and in good Spirits Yesterday in the Face of the Enemy all Day, and all Night on their Arms, that this Morning, at the Dawn of Day, the Enemy attacked us. Our Troops expected the Enemy, so that it was no Sort of Surprize. Notwithstanding this, our Troops gave Way; and all that the Officers could do, to carry them on, or to rally them, was to no Purpose, and we lost the Day. I tried to rally the Foot; it was impossible. I then tried the Dragoons, at a considerable Distance from the Enemy. I prevailed on about four hundred and fifty to keep together; with which Lord *Loudon*, Lord *Home*, and I, marched: And as the Enemy were partly in Possession of *Edinburgh* and *Musselburgh*, and being in Expectation of the *Dutch* soon landing, we thought it most advisable to march this Body towards *Berwick*. The Battle was fought in a Field near *Preston Pans*. I have dispatched Express to the Coast, that if possible the *Dutch* may be sent to land Southward. I have been unfortunate, which will certainly give a Handle to my Enemies to cast Blame upon me. I cannot reproach myself. The Manner in which the Enemy came on, which was quicker than can be described, (of which the Men have been long warned) possibly was the Cause of our Men taking a most destructive Pannick.

I cannot give any Account of the Numbers killed and wounded. The whole Baggage is taken, and the Military Chest and Papers belonging to it. The Fatigue and Concern I have had, render me incapable of being more particular. We only halt here an Hour, and then march as far as we can this Night. I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN COPE.

*Horse-Guards, ye January 1746.*

I DO hereby certify this to be a true Copy of the Report of the Proceedings and Opinion of the Board of General-Officers, on their Examination into the Conduct, Behaviour, and Proceedings of Lieutenant-General *Sir John Cope*, Colonel *Peregrine Lascells*, and Brigadier-General *Thomas Fowke*.

KING GOULD.