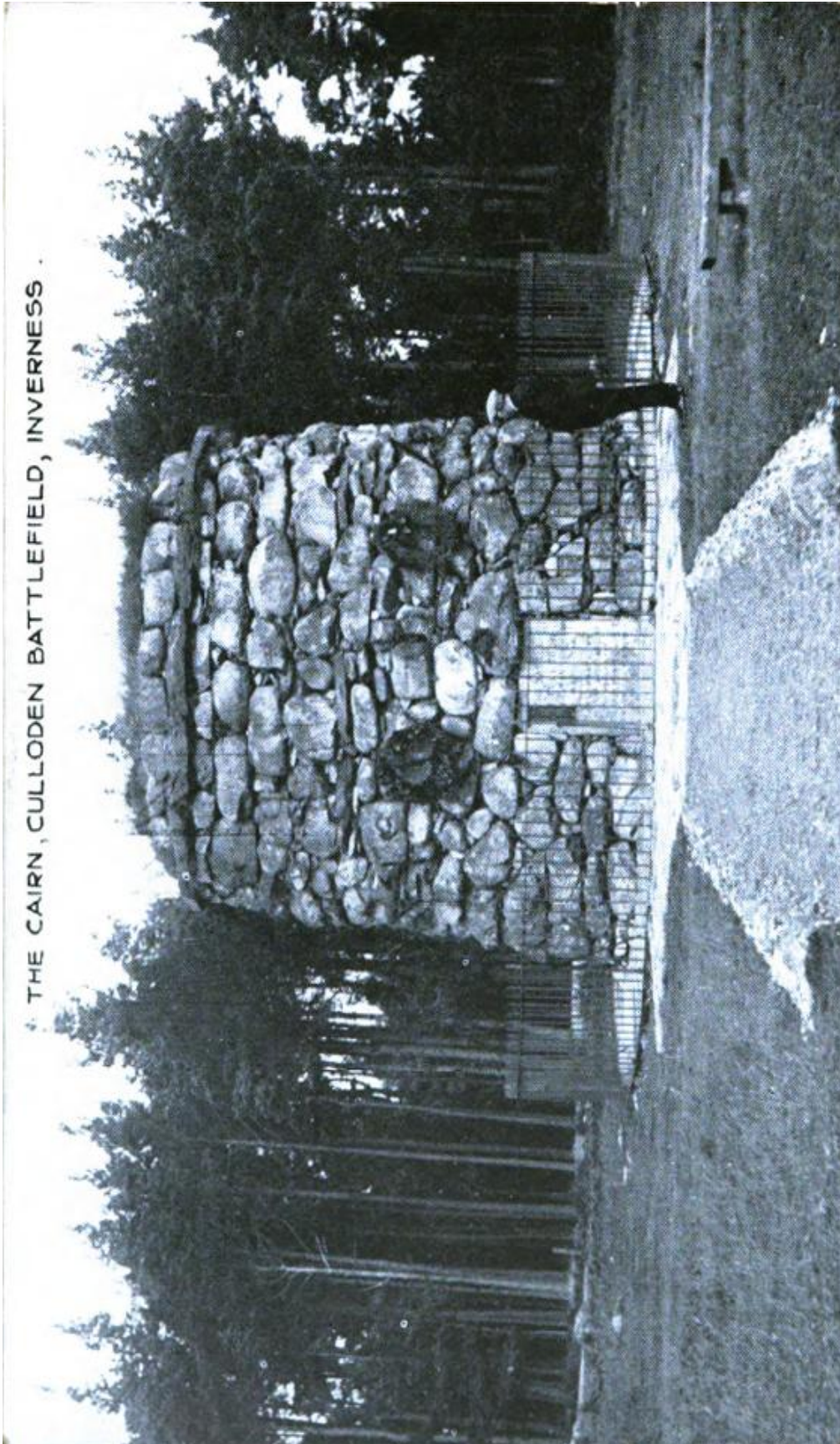


THE CAIRN, CULLODEN BATTLEFIELD, INVERNESS .



AN OLD STORY RE-TOLD

FROM THE

NEWCASTLE COURANT

THE REBELLION OF 1745

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION

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NOTE.

The following compilation appeared in the *Newcastle Courant* from week to week, and for that purpose was written in sections as it appears. It was not intended to be a complete history of the Rebellion, but merely a reproduction of what was said in the North of England concerning the movement at the time it took place.

(15,840) Novels dealing with Prince Charlie.—Can you give me a list of novels dealing with Bonnie Prince Charlie?—D. S., Harrow.

[You would be interested in the following novels: Scott's "Waverley" and "Redgauntlet"; "A Prince in Petto," by John Ayscough; "Mr. Misfortunate," by Marjorie Bowen; "The Flight of the Heron," by D. K. Broster; "Scotland's Heir" and "King of the Highland Hearts," by Winifred Duke; "The Shoes of Fortune," by Neil Munro; "The Macdonald Lass," by "Sarah Tytler"; "High Treason," anonymous; "The Little Maister," by R. H. Forster; "The Yeoman Adventurer," by G. W. Gough; "The Young Clanroy," by C. G. Lang; "A Loyal Young Rebel," by D. H. Parry; "For Bonnie Prince Charlie," by Escott Lynn; "The Red Curve," by J. G. Sarasin; "Ricroft of Withens," "Under the White Cockade," and "The Lone Adventure," by Halliwell Sutcliffe; "Poor Sons of a Day," by Allan McAulay; "Claymore," by A. D. Howden Smith; "Muckle John," by Frederick Watson; "The Golden Fleece," by H. C. Bailey; "Shallows," by Frederick Watson; "Petticoat Government," by Baroness Orczy.]



PORTRAIT OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

THE REBELLION OF 1745.

We purpose re-telling the story of the Rebellion of 1745 as it is told to us in the old files of the *Newcastle Courant* of that and the following years. Fresh matter will only be added to make the original account connected and intelligible. The narrative is one of the most interesting chapters in British history, and, as there is a similarity between the state of feeling and conditions in the northern parts of Scotland then and what is taking place in Ireland now, the republication of the story is not out of place.

THE SITUATION PRECEDING THE REBELLION.

To comprehend the political situation in 1745, a few words of introduction are necessary. We learn from the *Courant* that England had been drawn into a war with France. It is usually called the War of the Austrian Succession, and begun in 1740, and continued until 1748. England joined in it as the ally of Maria Theresa, whose title to the ancestral dominions of her father, the Emperor Charles VI., was disputed by Bavaria, France, Prussia, and other States. Charles had no son, and to make the rule of his daughter sure he had got nearly all the European Powers to sign a paper called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which they bound themselves to uphold her claim. But when Charles died, in 1740, the Elector of Bavaria contended that by right the Austrian lands which had come to Charles by inheritance should come to him. He accordingly set about conquering them, whilst Frederick II. of Prussia seized Silesia; and France, wishing to weaken Germany, sent two armies across the Rhine to aid Bavaria. Only England and Holland held to their agreement. In 1743, united forces of British and Hanoverians, 40,000 strong, commanded by King George II., marched to Aschaffenburg, and encountered and beat the French near Dettingen. In this battle England was merely fighting as the friend of Maria Theresa, and France as the friend of the Bavarian Elector, who had been chosen Emperor the year before. But in 1744 the French took up the Stuart cause, and tried to land 15,000 men on the English coast. A storm scattered the expedition, and a declaration of war followed. The war was carried on chiefly in Flanders, and the *Courant* of that time is filled with

accounts of battles and sieges, marches and counter-marches. The Allies were led by King George's younger son, the Duke of Cumberland, who, in May, 1745, advanced with 50,000 British, Dutch, and Austrians to drive away the French besieging army from before Tournay. The French, led by Prince Maurice of Saxony, made a stand at Fontenoy, where a hotly contested battle was fought, and in the end the Duke of Cumberland had to lead off his men. Tournay then fell, and the Duke was called back to England to meet the danger threatened by the adherents of the Stuarts, whose cause had gained fresh life from the war between England and France.

ENGLISH LEGISLATION OF THAT TIME.

Parliament assembled in the middle of February, 1745; the Pelhams were then in power, and the King announced in his brief speech from the throne that he had, in conjunction with the Queen of Hungary and the States General, concluded a treaty with the King of Poland which he would order to be laid before both Houses. "Let me earnestly recommend you," said the speech in conclusion, "the continuance of the same steadiness and harmony in your deliberations, which cannot fail to give great encouragement to my allies, and to add great weight to our efforts." Parliament was prorogued early in May, and among the bills which had been passed was a bill for allowing additional bounties on the exportation of British and Irish linen, a bill for preventing the exportation of foreign linens under the denomination of British and Irish linens, a bill for preventing the importation and wearing of French cambrics and lawns, a bill for the prevention of excessive gaming, a bill for preventing the stealing of linen hanging out to dry, and a bill "for preventing carts to be shod with iron within the bills of mortality," and for allowing such carts to be drawn by three horses. There were also bills for suppressing piracy and for indemnifying smugglers. In his speech from the throne the King referred to the operations of the allies, which had had the effect of weakening France, and intimated his intention to prosecute the war with vigour in order "to the procuring a safe and honourable peace."

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT HOME.

The country was then in a bad way. The agricultural community especially were suffering, and more farms were advertised to be let and estates to be sold in the Courant than

than there are to-day. In the Highlands, murrain had carried off 6,000 head of black cattle, and the taxation under which all classes groaned impeded trade. Here are some items from a February issue of the Courant:—"We hear that the duty on soap and candles amounted last year (1744) to £750,000; on leather to £180,000; and on licenses to persons retailing spirituous liquors £106,000. During the same period the duty on malt amounted to £608,760 lbs, which was £98,000 more than the preceding year." The payment of the Civil List was in arrear, and to raise the money it was proposed to put on another 6d. duty on every pack of cards, as least burdensome to the poor." We also read :—"To-day, the C---s agreed that the duties on Salt, and on red and white herrings, continued to the 25th of March, 1753, be further continued to 1759." As the year -went on the weather was very wet, and farmers and labourers alike suffered. In a letter from London of June 13 it is stated that—"A great number of merchants on the Royal Exchange have come to a Resolution to make a gathering every Day during the Continuance of Rainy Weather, for the poor Destitute Haymakers, who being a great distance from their several Homes, are Objects of Compassion, and in pursuance of their laudable Undertaking a handsome Collection was made Yesterday, and carefully distributed among the most needy; a very punctual exactness being kept between those who have travelled a great way to serve their country, and those who bring Hay Forks in their hands, only to obtain part of their Charity." Everything was done that could be done by a system of protection to force trade, and a London letter, dated June 15, states that—"Yesterday several Printed Calico Gowns were publicly burnt in Spittlefields, and as the Wear of Printed Calicoes is directly contrary to Act of Parliament, it will be advisable for those Ladies, &c., who have such, wholly to lay aside the wear of them, otherwise the Law will be put in full force against them, several Persons being employed as Informers for that purpose."

PRIVATEERING AND SMUGGLING.

Privateers swarmed in the North Sea. In the Courant, for the last week of February we read:—"We hear that several Bristol merchants have purchased His Majesty's ship The Hastings of 40 guns, in order to fit her out as a privateer." Indeed, privateering was carried on as a business by French and English merchants alike. Sometimes a good prize was taken after hard fighting, which involved fearful loss of life. Here for instance is an "Extract from a letter from Charles

Eown in South Carolina, dated December 26th.”—“Since my last, Captain Franklyn, in His Majesty’s ship The Rose, brought in a very rich French ship, call’d The Conception, from Carthagenah for the Havannah, of 450 tons, 20 guns, and 323 men, of which he kill’d 127 in the engagement, and only lost 5 of his men, and 13 wounded. The crew of the Rose consisted of 175 men in all. They fought five hours and a half, yard arm and yard arm. Captain Franklyn says she is worth £200,000, being the richest ship taken during this war (Anson’s prize excepted). They have already found gold and silver to the amount of 500,000 pieces of eight, without any search; but almost every other piece of timber is hollow, and filled with gold, and every prisoner was also loaded therewith.” English ships were not always so successful, and the record in the *Courant* gives a very different account from that which is occasionally found in popular histories. Sometimes the fear of privateers and press gangs led to curious blunders. A correspondent writing from North Shields, May 3rd, says:—“We had a great Bustle here last night, (which no doubt hath reach’d you before this time) it being reported by some Coblemen from Cullercoats, that they were alongside of a large brig, and that no Men were aboard of her but French, and standing along Shore, the Charles and Swift Men of War being both in the Harbour, the latter being unrigg’d, and all her Guns out, could not stir. However, Captain Hill, commander of her, order’d his long boat to be mann’d with 23 Hands, arm’d with Blunderbusses, Cutlasses, &c., himself being also in the Boat with them, and (with permission) got Captain Upton of the Charles along with him, in his boat with 22 Hands, and went off in order to retake her; when she saw them she made all the Sail possible from them; they fir’d several Times from the Boats at her without effect, for she would not bring to; the Captains then went on board of Captain Paull, a Collier in the Road, and made all the sail after her they could, and at length came up with her, when she prov’d to be a Ship from Virginia, coming North about, and the reason they gave for not bringing to was their being afraid of a press.” Smuggling went on apace, and we read in the London letter of the *Courant*, of Feb. 23:—“We hear from several Parts of Kent and Sussex that the Smugglers’ Behaviour is intolerable, the mischief they daily commit calls loudly on the Legislature for Punishment; no longer ago than the beginning of this week a gang of them assembled together at Farnborough in Kent, and in a tumultuous manner assaulted Mr Wynn, the master of the George Inn, and after that broke all the Windows in the House, besides other very considerable Damage.” Smugglers

were encouraged in these acts by numbers of the people, and most audacious exploits are recorded. We read that, early in June, “as a sergeant, corporal, and drummer were beating up for Volunteers in the Middle of a full Market at Cranbrook, in Kent, a Party of Smugglers took them all prisoners, lock’d them in the Cage, and beat up for smugglers with their Drum, offering Five Guineas, at the Drum-Head, for any Stout Man that would enter into their Service.” This, however, is surpassed in the following:— “London, July 11.—Yesterday morning, about one o’clock, ten smugglers well mounted, and arm’d with Guns, Cutlasses, &c., rode first down Ludgate Hill into Fleet Street, and then came back into the Old Baily, where they delivered their cargo, and rode off again without molestation.”

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE PERIOD.

The social condition of the people, both high and low, was often uncouth, if not positively bad. Cock-fighting and horse-racing were favourite amusements. Twenty guineas are advertised to be fought for by 16 stags or cocks, at John Dawson’s pit, near Newgate, on the 15th April. Another fight—a Welsh main for £30—is advertised at the new covered pit near the door to the Black Bull Inn, Gateshead. The advocates of women’s rights will be interested in the following, which we find in the *Courant* Edinburgh letter of March 5:—“A certain Gentleman having lately been married to a young Lady, they were attended, as usual on a Marriage Evening, to their Bedroom. But the Company being requested to withdraw, and leave the married Folks to strip and go to bed by themselves, they accordingly retired, and the Door was bolted behind them. Immediately the Bridegroom set himself down, and, with an Imperious Air, desired the Bride to pull off his Shoes. Madam stared at the Proposal, and ask’d him what he meant. He said he was in good Earnest, and as she had vowed Obedience to him as her Lord and Master, she must testify her loyalty by a Submission to his reasonable will and pleasure; and for his part he would commence the Marriage State in the manner he intended to carry it on. The *Nymph*, unaccustomed to such usage from the *beau monde*, said she would let him understand that she was at worst his wife, his equal, and what not. Yes, Hussy, says he, you are my Wife, and at the same time my principal Servant, wherefore be obsequious directly; and rising up, bounced about the Room, swaggering like a Conqueror. Poor Letitia’s resolution was by this Time brought down, so that she at least became complaisant enough, not only to pull off both his shoes and

stockings, but also to ask if he had any further commands. None, replied he, this night, but that you immediately go to bed. She then begged hard he would graciously condescend to go to bed first, and that then she would. This being done, she, getting up her clothes, &c, unbolted the door and made off; so that he has not since seen her. The gentleman is now actually in a Process of Adherence with her." Sometimes the rough element in Newcastle gave trouble, but the magistrates had a rough and ready way of dealing with vagrants in these days, and thus we read under Newcastle, May 18:—"Last Tuesday Warrants were issued forth by the Magistrates to the Constables and other Officers, for apprehending all vagrant and disorderly persons, several Outrages and Disorders having lately been committed in the public streets of this Town, in virtue of which Warrants 28 persons were brought before the Magistrates the Day following, four of whom were whipt, one sent for a soldier, four committed to the House of Correction, and the rest sent by vagrant passes to their respective settlements." Of course the services of the hangman were often in request, and a Newcastle paragraph, dated April 13th, runs thus:—"Saturday last, Abraham Dealtry was executed at Tyburn, near the city of York, for robbing on the highway; but after having hung ten minutes, he was cut down, and put into a coffin by his Friends, and carried in a cart in order to be buried in Trinity Churchyard; they observ'd Signs of Life in him, had him blooded, and he revived. He is now a prisoner in York Castle; but 'tis hop'd will be reprieved."

THE SOLDIER OF THE LAST CENTURY.

The gaols supplied the army, and the pressgang the navy with men, and both officers and men were sometimes found wanting. Here is an odd paragraph:—"London, July 20—We hear an Academy will soon be erected at the Court End of the Town to teach young Gentlemen to curl and paper up their Hair, in order to *qualify* them for Posts in the Army." Again, under date, Edinburgh, May 21, we find the following curious story:—"This Morning, about Nine o'Clock, the Recruits in the City Jail belonging to the Scots Regiments in the Service of the States General having mutinied, and engag'd to stand by one another at all Hazards, stript to the Buff, and endeavour'd to break open the Doors; the Alarm being given without, and the City Guard being come up, they only served to increase their fury. They continued at the Doors and Windows in this tumultuous Manner, and none could get either in or out, till the Magistrates order'd down the Fire

Engine, which play'd so successfully upon them as soon made them quiet, and retire to the middle of the Jail, upon which the City Guard got in upon them, and with clubs knock'd down the Ringleaders and secur'd the rest.—*How will such Men stand fire when cold water makes them fly?*"

ARRESTS OF TREASONABLE PERSONS.

What with privateers on the seas and disaffection at home the authorities had their hands full. A frigate was sent by the Admiralty to cruize between Scotland and Ireland for the protection of trade. On the 4th of June, Sir Hector MacLean, Bart., and Mr George Blean of Castlehill were arrested in Edinburgh, and both committed to prison, the former to the Castle and the latter to the city gaol. They had come from France, and were suspected of bearing arms in the service of that kingdom, and other treasonable practices. The pair were subsequently sent to London for trial, and passed through Newcastle on their way towards the end of June. By the 10th of July they reached London under a strong guard, and were kept in custody by one of the King's messengers. Then we read after turning over a few leaves:—"Edinburgh, July 30.—Last Sunday morning, Mr John Graham of Glengyle, jun., was committed Prisoner to the Castle, on Suspicion of Treasonable Practices." As usual there were those who traded on treason. From Edinburgh, June 18, it is mentioned:—"Last week, one David Hay, who has gone sculking about here, calling himself the eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George, and imposing on several people for sums of money, was imprisoned in Selkirk Jail for debt; and 'tis hop'd he will meet with the just deserts of his perfidy." In the next week's issue we find that Hay proved to be one David Gillis. He had been in the service of a nobleman whom he had tricked, and upon him were found two bills for large sums, and several letters by him, signed Chas. Stuart.

GENERAL LOYALTY.

Although the people had little sympathy with the Stuarts, the 22nd May, the anniversary of Charles II.'s Restoration, was observed with demonstrations of joy in Newcastle. At the same time we have the following paragraph:—"London, July 6.—We hear that in the present Circumstances of the Affairs of Europe, the Chiefs of several of the Highland Clans, as well Lords as Gentlemen (animated by their zeal for the publick) have offer'd their Services at the Head of their Vassals to his

Majesty, to oppose the increasing Power of France, and to raise Regiments in such manner as his Majesty shall be pleas'd to order."

PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES.

The first intimation of preparation to prevent a rising in the North is in a statement which comes from Edinburgh on April 23. We read:—"On the 10th instant One hundred Centinels as Pioneers, carrying with them Pick-axes, Shovels, Wheelbarrows, Dumcrafts, Hand-screws, &c., left there in order to form a road of communication in the Highlands from Dumbarton to Inverness, and thence to Fort William. They are to be joined in that work by an Hundred men of the other two Four Regiments in Scotland." More alarming reports got into circulation, and we read:—"Edinburgh, Aug. 5.—We hear that the Detachment of Troops, now employ'd on the Roads in the West Highlands, have receiv'd Orders to join their respective Corps, and some even insinuate that a Train of Artillery will be sent to Perth, and a Camp form'd there."

REPORTED LANDING OF INVADERS.

At last it was reported from various quarters that a landing had been effected in the West of Scotland:—"Edinburgh, Aug. 13.—Last Thursday night, an Express arriv'd here from the North, with Advice that some Officers, or Gentlemen had landed in the Bay of Rona, on the Western Island of Uist, from on board a small frigate; since which the Hon. General Cope has had Conferences with the Ministers of State here, the Lord Provost, &c., and suitable Orders have been despatch'd to the Troops. 'Tis said Letters from Perth and the West have come to the same Purpose; and the Magistrates have given the necessary Orders to the Officers of the Train'd Bands and Constables, &c. On Friday sixteen Waggons load, with Chests of Small Arms, were brought from the Castle, and embark'd on board a Yacht at Leith, to be sent under Convoy of the Happy Janet to Inverness. On Saturday, a quantity of Powder and Ball was brought down from the said Garrison, for the Use of the Troops and Garrisons. And yesterday four Field Pieces, four Cohorn Mortars and about a Dozen of Waggons, containing Powder, Ball, Grapeshot, and other Military Apparatus, were sent from the Castle to Stirling." Under the same date we read that the Edinbuigh Magistrates "took under Examination a Person who some Days ago was sent Express on Private Business to the Island of Mull, and

return'd on Sunday Morning, who declares upon Oath, that the People there declar'd to him that they saw 50 or 60 ships off that Island, and that he went to the Shore himself, but being short-sighted could not see them. We hear an Express is arriv'd here from the Governor of Inverlochy, advising further of the landing of People in the West Highlands, from aboard of Ships belonging to our Enemies; and 'tis insinuated that some Troops have made a Descent at Ardnamurkan, in the Country of Mordearr, Argyleshire, a Place opposite to the Island of Mull, 30 Miles North from Inverlochy. This morning an Express arriv'd here from the North, and one was despatched for Argyleshire. The Post who left Inverness last Saturday says that they had no Account there of the landing of any either in the Highlands or Islands."

SECRECY OF THE MOVEMENT.

It seems surprising; how little was known at the time the rebellion of 1745 began of what was actually taking place. That the people of Newcastle should have been in the dark while very serious events were transpiring in the North is easily explained, for there was only a post on alternate days from Edinburgh to London, and these were frequently delayed in bad weather. But the Government appear to have had no certain information, and although Prince Charles landed at Loch Moidart on the 25th July, it was not known in Edinburgh for at least a fortnight afterwards. Charles sailed on the 2nd July, and it was not till the 30th of the same month that Lord Tweeddale, the Scottish Secretary of State in London, was informed even that he had left Nantes, and the Prince had actually been five days in the country before it was known that he had left France. A despatch from Edinburgh of August 20, in the *Courant* of August 24, says:—"Advice is come that the Pretender's youngest Son was seen on the 9th instant a Hunting in Lochaber. By the Inverness Mail arrived (at Edinburg) the same Day came a great many Letters from Lochaber, and the more distant Countries in the North which are quite silent as to the landing of men, or Appearance of Troubles in that Country; and only contain the good News of the Prospect of a plentiful Crop."

NEWS AT EDINBURGH OF THE INVASION.

The people of Edinburgh soon obtained positive information, however. The *Courant* of August 24, also contains an "Extract of a Letter from Inverary, Aug. 13," to

the following effect:—"Just now we had two Expresses from Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, informing that the Pretender with 300 gentlemen landed at Loch Moidart last week: There is another ship they expect every moment; and that they have got some to join them since they landed. Letters from the North West talk of some then landing there as a thing certain, and that they had arms with them, &c., but their number and proceedings are unknown." This naturally caused no little excitement, which was increased on the receipt of a despatch from London announcing the arrival of the Prince in Scotland. The Lord President at first dissredited the information, but the writer of the letter quoted above, mentions the arrival of troops at Edinburgh, and the marching of troops from that city to the camp at Stirling. Then it goes on to say—"Yesterday above 1,000 stand of arms were carried out of the Castle, 'tis said, to be given to the militia in the west country. About six o'clock on Sunday night one of his Majesty's messengers arriv'd here, preceded by a postillion blowing his horn, who, after delivering in some letters at the Post Office, went directly and deliver'd his dispatches to his Grace the Duke of Argyle. He came from London in two days and a half."

FORMATION OF A MILITARY CAMP AT STIRLING.

Sir John Cope was commander of the forces in Scotland, and he immediately gave orders for drawing together such troops as he had to Stirling. These were very few. There were two regiments of dragoons, Gardner's and Hamilton's, both new in the service, and the whole force, exclusive of the garrisons, numbered only a few thousands. We read:—"Sir John Cope, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, takes all prudent Precautions possible against all events. The army, which consists of near 5,000 men, is encamp'd or ready to march on the first orders. His Excellency has also appointed Major Caulfield Quarter-Master General of the Army; Major Mossnan Adjutant-General; Englisfield Griffith Commissary General of Provisions; and Captains Rogers and Coney his own Aid-de-Camps; and has order'd the Castle of Edinburgh to be stored with Provisions of all kinds." As to the force which the Pretender had at his back, or its leaders, nothing certain was known.

CURRENT RUMOURS.

In the *Courant* of the same week, another letter, an extract

from which appears as “from a Gentleman in Edinburgh, in Scotland, to his Friend in this Town,” mentions the current rumours in the Northern capital:— “They talk,” it says, “of the Pretender’s Second Son being in Company, also the Marquis of Tullybearin, Old Lochiel, and some others of that way of Thinking,” Neither in London nor in Edinburgh was it thought that the Pretender would give much trouble. At the end of its London letter of Aug. 24, the *Courant* has the following upon his Majesty’s return from Hanover;—

Now George returns, our Faith’s Defender,
 We fear not Old or Young Pretender;
 This Hope of the presumptuous Foe
 Could from his Absence only grow:
 He fills our Hearts when safe at Home,
 And leaves no Peace for France or Rome.

MORE RUMOURS.

The Edinburgh letter of Aug. 23 of the *Courant* says:—“All the Letters from Inverness agree that the intended Commotions in the West Highlands will be prevented, or at least very speedily quash’d in the bud. One of these Letters, dated the 28th inst., says several of the Camerons and McDonalds are in Arms, but, thank God, there are no sovereign Forces or Council amongst them, so that any Commotion these Madmen occasion must be very soon quash’d. Sir Alexander McDonald dined on Monday last with the Lord President and McLeod. Sir Alexander has given all Assurance that neither he nor any of his people shall aid or abet the Invaders of our Country.” Another Letter says— “A body of 24 of the Rebels came lately into the country of Ranoch, and would have carried along with them 100 Men of the Inhabitants, in order to make them Accomplices, with the same Facility as they formeily used to drive off Cattle. ‘Tis said a Detachment of them made a Captain of the Army Prisoner two Miles from Fort Augustus. Their Numbers are uncertain, as they stand dispersed for want of Provisions. I could wish them twice as numerous as they are, so that they might be necessitate to eat up one another. However, they must be starv’d to Death with cold, having nothing to cover them in the Night but the Canopy of the Heavens.” A third Letter says—“The Young Chevalier is certainly landed in the Highlands, with about 40 Men, and is seemingly joined by 500 Clans. I am told they are commanded by Gen. McDonald, Uncle to the Earl of Ancrum; That a Detachment of the Rebels having come down to Ranach, carried along with them

several People to accompany them in their distracted Purpose to the Hills. But all is not sooth that is said. However, they are more like to pay the Price of their Temerity before the Harvest begins, than do much mischief." We also read in this Edinburgh letter—"Letters from Fort Augustus and Fort William, dated the 14th and 16th inst., insinuate Apprehensions of Visits as on Sunday and Friday last from the Rebels. 'Tis said they have erected a Standard, the motto *Tandem Triumphans.*"

THE REBELS IN THE FIELD.

In the meantime the Pretender and his followers had not been inactive. We read in the same letter—"We hear that two additional Companies of General St. Clare's Regiment, commanded by the Captains Scott and Thomson, on marching from Fort Augustus to Fort William, had been attack'd by a body of Highlanders and roughly handled, some being kill'd, and 'tis said the rest taken Prisoners."

MARCH OF THE GOVERNMENT TROOPS.

At last the Government troops made a move. Cope was eager enough to march into the Highlands with such forces as he had, and crush the insurrection at once. He proposed this scheme to the Lords Justices in England, George II. being at the outbreak of the movement at Hanover, and they warmly approved of it. An Edinburgh letter in the *Courant* of August 31 says:—"On the 20th and 24th inst. the Army decamp'd from Stirling, and are gone away to Tay Bridge, and only three women are allow'd to each Regiment. We hear a great man, Cohorns, Shells, &c., are to be sent after the Army from our Castle. A great Quantity of Camp Equipage pass'd thro' the City lately for the Army; and last Thursday Col. Lascelles set out from hence also for the Army." It was, however, the most fatal scheme which could have been adopted, and had Cope instead secured all the passes into the Lowlands he could have blockaded the rebels in their own pastures. Once he left his camp for the Highlands, the rebels could chose their own ground. Cope continued his march to Fort Augustus, which he hoped to make the centre of his operations; but before he reached that place he was met by an English officer, who informed him of the capture of the two companies sent to reinforce Fort William, and of the raising of the rebel standard. He was further told that the rebels meant to dispute the passes at Corry Arrack, which lay

directly in the line of his march. After consulting with his officers on the position of affairs, Cope decided to take a side route, and endeavour to reach Inverness and Fort George. The resolve was a fatal one, for it left the road open to Stirling and the Lowlands.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHIEFS.

One of the first steps taken by the Government was to ascertain the feeling of the various Highland chiefs, and a "Letter (in the *Courant* of Aug. 31) from a Gentleman of Character, with Gen. Cope, says, his Excellency receiv'd a Letter the 22nd inst. from the Laird of Grant, assuring that he will in two Days hence join our army with 1,000 of his People; and McIntosh writes, he'll do the same with 400 of his Men." Another Letter says, "We expect our advanced Parties will talk with those of the Enemy once this Week; and that we shall be bodily with them against Tuesday or Wednesday next, in order to cock up the young Pretender's Beavor, who is now said to dress in the Highland Uniform. We hear his Army consists mostly of Boys and old Men." It is stated in another letter of the same date, "that the Highlanders do not exceed 2,000 Men; and last Night a Gentleman, said to be the Son of Rob Roy, came to Town with News from the Highland Host. The Laird of Glengarry, who came to Gen. Cope on Wednesday last at Almene, inform'd that they were about 2,000 Men, and these the Riff-Raff of the Highlands. 'Tis talk'd they have got a few Cannon among them, also several Tents; and that their Camp is as long as between Leith and Edinburgh." "A Letter from Strathspey, Aug. 22 (in the *Courant*, Sept. 7), says, that they are under some Apprehensions there of a Visit from our Highland Neighbours, but that if they do not exceed 1,800, as Reported, their Rhodomontade must go for nothing. Ludovick Grant of Grant, junior, has wrote Requisitorial Letters to the People of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, to continue firm to their Royalty at all Hazards. Castle Grant is put into a State of Defence against all Events except Cannon. I know not if the Highlanders have any, but am sure there are no Foreigners amongst them."

THE PRETENDER'S MANIFESTO.

The following is an extract of a letter from a Gentleman at Edinburgh) to his friend at Newcastle, dated Aug. 17:— "There is a Manifesto publish'd here, but few copies of it to be met

with, by the Pretender's Son, Charles, wherein, amongst other Things, there are large Promises of securing All in their Rights and Liberties, and likewise of dissolving the Union and taking off the Malt Tax. There are none of the Clans in Person, they say, with the Chevalier Charles, but about 2,500 of these Men, except without their Chiefs, viz., the McDonalds of Clanronald, the McDonalds of Keppoch, the McDonalds of Glengarry, and the McDonalds of Kenlock Moidart; together with the Camerons of Lochyell and Stewarts of Appin. Sir Alexander McDonald, the principal Man of the Clans, has wrote to Gen. Guest, giving him the strongest Assurances that all his people will remain quiet, which he desires he may communicate to Sir John Cope, Commander-in-Chief of the King's Forces. P.S.— The Grants and McLeods to the number of 1,500, promise to join General Cope.”

MARCHING AND COUNTER-MARCHING.

A letter dated Edinburgh, Sept. 3, in the *Courant* of Sept. 7, says:—“General Cope was met, at the Head of his Army, on the 25th past, at Dalnachardon, 12 Miles beyond Tay Bridge, by the Inverness Post. The Army march'd on the 26th for Dalwinnie, 12 Miles from Garviemore, on the Hills of Corruyerock, but filed off to the Right, the Inverness Road by way of Ruthven in Badenock: Badenock is 26 Miles from Inverness.” A letter from Fort Augustus, in the same paper, says that “the Highland Army had decamp'd from Lochyel, and seemingly were marching for Badenock; and that their Friends gave out they were to wait the King's Army on Covrnerach Muir.” According to another paragraph:—“The Breadalbane Post, who left Lochray last Saturday, assures that the Main of the Highland Army lay at Dalnachardah on Friday, and were supposed on March Southward that Day. We are well informed, the same Body of Highlanders came to the Blair of Athole on Saturday at Two after noon, where the young Chevalier dined with several Gentlemen in Lowland Dress; at least it is informed, that a very agreeable and handsome Youth dined there, and so called: That Day they expected another Body of their People, and were to march, as is said, by Sunday.”

ALARM AT EDINBURGH AND GLASGOW.

At Edinburgh, preparations were made for whatever might happen:—“On Thursday last (says a letter dated Aug. 27), the

Lord Provost, Magistrates, &c., in Council, ordered each Squade of the City Guard to be augmented to Thirty additional Men. This, with the certain Appearance of the well-disposed Inhabitants in Arms, will give a powerful Diversion to the Disturbers of the Peace in case they should approach the City. They likewise ordered by Proclamation that all Innkeepers, Stablers, &c., should acquaint the Captain of the City Guard of any Persons come to lodge at their Houses, whether known or not, under the severest Penalties. And the Officers of the Train Bands have taken up Lists of their several Companies. Strict Search has been made thro' the Printing Offices of the City for Manifestoes." Another letter, dated Sept. 3, says:—"Last Tuesday the principal inhabitants of this city met with the hon. magistrates, and after long and mature Reasoning unanimously Resolv'd to appoint a Committee to wait on the Ministers of State, and concert with them what Measures are most proper to be taken in this critical Time. Later expresses came in. One reported that a Danish vessel had spoken with another vessel, which stated that 12,000 horse and foot were ready to embark at Brest and St. Malo at the first notice for the North of Scotland, whereupon the magistrates with the officers of the guards visited the walls and gates. A Council was also called, wherein it was resolved that the Train'd Bands should mount Guard and do Duty, and that a second Augmentation of the City Guard should take Place." Private letters both from Glasgow and Edinburgh were very despondent. The following is an "Extract of a letter from a Gentleman at Endinburgh to a Friend in this Town: —I am heartily sorry to inform you that trade is at an entire Stand. The Highlanders not being opposed in their Progress, as every one expected, have proceeded to the neighbourhood of Perth, where every one that has any effects are carrying them off. We are all entire Strangers to what is transacting in the North, and are all on the wing, expecting to see some great overturn or other; but the issue seems not easy to guess at." The following is an "extract of a letter from a gentleman at Glasgow to his friend in this Town:—No Orders are given for Raising our Militia, nor have we Arms. Stirling Castle is in good Order, and Strong; and the Governor has given Orders, that if the Disaffected do not keep out the Rebels he will cause their Houses to be Burnt. The Pretender has sent his manifesto to this Place promising we all shall enjoy our Lives and Liberties; but I hope none will trust him."

BATTLE OF PRESTON PANNES.

The road to the Lowlands lying open, the Pretender promptly took it, and in the third week of September he entered Edinburgh. Three days later he led the Highlanders westwards to meet Cope's army, which had sailed to Dunbar. What took place is narrated in the *Courant* of September 28, in the following despatch, "From the Head-Quarters of the Chevalier, September 21.—The Grants of Glenmoriston join'd the Chevalier's Army, September 20. That Morning he put himself at the Head of the Army at Duddingston, and presenting his Sword, said, *My Friends, I have flung away the Scabbard*. This was answer'd with a cheerful huzza. The Army march'd and drew up on Carberry Hill, where we learn'd that General Cope had fallen down into the Low Country, East of Preston Pannes. Thus directed our March along the Brow of the Hill till we descried the Enemy; upon which the Highlanders gave a Shout by way of Defiance, expressing such Eagerness to run down upon them, that nothing less than Authority could restrain them from coming to Action directly. Some Gentlemen went out to observe their Camp and reconnoitre the Ground while the Army advanced till it came opposite to and at half a mile distance from the Enemy. These Gentlemen, returning, informed that they had got into a Fastness, having a very broad and deep Ditch in Front, the Town of Preston on the Right, some Houses and a small Morass on the Left, and the Frith of Forth on the Rear. This made it impracticable to attack them in Front but at the greatest Risk. That Evening Mr Cope discharged several cannon at us. A gentleman who had seen their army that day advised us—"That they were above 4,000 strong, besides Volunteers, Seceders, &c., from Edinburgh, and a great many Gentlemen of their Tenants; that Gen. Hamilton's Dragoons stood on their Right, Col. Gardner's on the Left; the Regiments of Lascelles and Murray, five Companies of Lees's, four of Guise's, three of the Earl of Loudon's, and a Number of Recruiters for Regiments abroad and at home, formed the Centre, and that they were all in top Spirits.' Both Armies lay upon their Arms all Night. Mr Cope's threw off several Cohorns to let us understand that they were alert, and had large Fires at several Places round their Camp. Our men continued very silent; not one word was heard. About three in the Morning of Saturday, the 21st we got off the Ground and marched Eastward; then, turning North, formed a Line, in order to prevent the Enemy's Retreat thro' the East Country, while another Body of Men were posted to provide against their stealing a March upon us toward Edinburgh. The

disposition of the Attack being made, the Chevalier made a Short Speech to his People; after which we march'd to engage them thus:— The Right Wing was commanded by his Grace the Duke of Perth as Lieut.-General, and consisted of the Battalions of Glengarry, Clan Ronald, Keppoch, and Glencoe. The Left by Lieut.-General Lord George Murray, consisting of the Camerons of Lochiel; the Duke of Perth's Battalions, Ardsheils, the Macgregor, &c., the Right Wing in the March extended itself so far towards the Sea that being arriv'd in a Hollow they could not observe the enemy now drawn up till our Left was actually engaged, which exposed our Left to the Flank and Fire of the Enemy; upon which also their Artillery played, but did no other Mischief, than carrying off the calf of a Gentlemen's leg., The Signal being given to form and attack, pull'd off their Bonnets looking up to Heaven, made a short Prayer and ran forward. They received a very full Fire from Right of the Enemy, which kill'd several; but advancing up, they discharg'd and threw down their Muskets, and drawing their broad Swords gave a most frightful and hideous Shout, rushing most furiously upon the Enemy, so that in 7 or 8 minutes, both Horse and Foot were totally routed, and drove from the field of battle; though it must be owned that the Enemy fought very gallantly. Some dragoons form'd soon after on a neighbouring Eminence, but observing our men marching to attack them, fled to Dalkeith, others took Shelter in the neighbouring villages, others again got to Leith; Major Cawfield rode up to the Castle of Edinburgh and was followed by a few dragoons. We knew not what became of General Cope, are only informed that he escaped in a boat and got aboard the Fox Man-of-War. As the Second line, which was commanded by the Lord Nairn, and consisted of the Athole Men, Strawan's People, the Macklachlans could not come up to have a Share of the Honour, and the nobility, gentry, &c. stood on horseback as a Reserve. We had kill'd on the Spot in this battle of Salt Preston, near Seaton House; Capt. Robert Stuart of Ardshail's Battalion; Capt. Archibald Macdonald of Keppochs; Lieut. Cameron of Lindeora, and Ensign James Cameron of Lochell's Regiment; Capt. James Drummond, *alias* Macgregor, mortally wounded, of the Duke of Perth's Regiment, and about 30 private Men and 70 or 80 wounded. On the other hand the Enemy had kill'd Col. Gardner; Capts. John Stuart of Phisgill, Rogers and Bishop; Ensign Forbes." Then follows a list of prisoners.

How the news was received in Newcastle we shall state next week.

THE OCCUPATION OF EDINBURGH.

The battle of Preston Panns was fought, and General Cope's army almost destroyed, before it was known in London that the Pretender had entered Edinburgh. The battle was fought on the 21st September, and what took place a few days before, when the Chevalier entered Edinburgh, is thus narrated in the *Courant* of Saturday, September 28th:—"Edinburgh Sept. 24.—The Magistrates and principal Inhabitants of the City having met on the 16th inst., and finding that there was no appearance of Gen. Cope and his Army, and that the two Regiments of Dragoons were at Muslebrough, they resolv'd to capitulate with the Rebels; and accordingly Deputies went out to Gray's Mill and met the Chevalier, and ask'd time for drawing up a Capitulation. He gave them four Hours, and requir'd a positive Answer by Two o'clock in the Morning; but no such Answer coming, and only a further Delay ask'd, the young Chevailer refus'd to hearken to any Thing further, and order'd a Detachment of 900 men, under Cloud of Night, to storm the Town, and accordingly, early in the Morning, when the Netherbow Gate was opening to let in a Coach, they rushed in, and took Possession of the City, making the Soldiers of the City Guard Prisoners of War. The Chevalier marched his army the 17th to Holyrood House, and encamp'd on the King's Park. At one Afternoon the Highland Army spread Carpets on the Cross, and after cloathing the Heralds, Pursuivants, &c., carried them thither, where, with Sound of Trumpets, they proclaim'd the Declaration and Act of Regency, and Manifesto in consequence of said Act of Regency. This Day a Proclamation was read over the Cross, promising Indemnity to all the Gentlemen Volunteers, and requiring them to repair to their respective Employments; and also requiring the Ministers of the Established Church of Scotland to preach in their respective Churches as usual, promising them all protection for the future. Yesterday the Inhabitants of this City, by Proclamation, were desir'd to complain if any Injustice was done them by any of the inhabitants; and promising satisfaction and Reparation for all Damage by them committed, or to be, &c. A message was sent up to the Magistracy of this City, requiring that 1,000 Tents, 6,000 pairs of Shoes, a proportional number of Water Cantines, &c., be provided for the Use of ths Highland Army against this Day, and promising Payment therefore, how soon the present Troubles of the Nation are over. Upon Saturday last, there was a message sent by the Chevalier to the Ministers of the Gospel of this City, desiring them to continue to preach as

usual; only that they should forbear Names if they should pray for the King, or Royal Family, which accordingly was that Evening notified to them at their respective Dwelling Houses; and in Consequence thereof, the Bells were ordered and did ring yesterday for both Forenoon and Afternoon Sermons, but none of the Ministers appeared at either Diets, so that we had no preaching in the Churches yesterday, which we conjectured was owing to their being all, or most of them from home. Though we have no acting Magistracy, and our Lord Provost remains a Prisoner, yet the City is in the greatest Tranquility amidst warriors. The Highland Army have seized upon all the warlike Utensils that were in the City Arsenal, and have requir'd all private Persons who have Arms to deliver up."

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CASTLE.

Although the rebels entered the city they failed to secure possession of the castle. The *Courant* of Oct. 12 contains the following "Succinct account of Edinburgh Castle:"—"The city of Edinburgh consists of one large and pretty broad Street, which runs in a Descent all the way from the Castle to the Netherbow, which is the City Gate, and from thence, through the principal Suburb, called the Canongate, down to the Abbey of Holy-Rood House, which was the Palace of the Kings of Scotland, in Times of Settled Peace and Tranquility, for when their Dominions were vexed (as they too often were) with civil Dissensions, they were wont to keep their Court in the Castle. It stands on the Summit of that Hill, on the Slope of which lies the City of Edinburgh, and is, properly speaking, only accessible on that Side next the City, where there is a considerable space between the Houses and the Castle, which on that Side is covered by a Half-Moon, well supplied with cannon, beyond which there is a deep ditch and a Draw bridge. The form of the Castle is very irregular, following that of the steep, rough, and craggy Rock upon which it stands, and may, as near as one can guess, occupy about three-fourths of a Mile. It is well wall'd all round, and properly flank'd with Bastions, yet still its principal security consists in its Situation, since it is not easy to approach it, either in order to scaling or in the usual Way of breaking Ground before it; neither is it very practicable to take it by Sap, the Rock being so hard that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to penetrate it. There have been two considerable Sieges of this Place, the one a little before, the other in many People's Time now living; and notwithstanding its great strength it was taken both Times; the first was by Cromwell,

who besieged it in the month of October, 1656, and spent some time endeavouring to undermine it, but at last was obliged to have Recourse to his Batteries, and by a brisk Bombardment, which did a great deal of Mischief, he forced the Governor to capitulate, which he did, however, upon very good Terms, securing all the rich Effects which had been laid up there by Persons of all Ranks, who had free Leave to fetch them away, and Cromwell, immediately after the Place surrendered, publish'd a Proclamation commanding that the Terms he had granted should be religiously observed by his Officers and Soldiers on Pain of Death. He found in it 52 Pieces of Cannon, most of them Brass, 10,000 Small Arms, and a vast Quantity of Ammunition and Provision. The chief Reason that the Place yielded so soon was the want of Water, for though there is a Spring in the Castle, by which they are well enough supplied, yet it has been always found that upon a constant firing of these Cannon the Spring is in a manner dried up by the Concussion of the Rock. The Second Siege was 1688, when the Duke of Gordon held it out for King James II., notwithstanding all the Propositions that were made him by the Convention, in order to induce him to surrender. This was much wondered at in those days, because the Duke was not of a very martial Disposition, nor thought to be extremely well qualified for such a Command. But the famous Viscount of Dundee prevail'd upon him by the Hopes of Succour to be brought him from the Highlands to act as he did, and it was some time before King 'William's Forces were in a Condition to besiege it, which at last however they did. His Grace had but a small Garrison, and that one very indifferently provided, yet he had made a very good and long Defence, till the Bombs had reduced the Buildings within the Castle Walls to a Heap of Rubbish, and then surrendered it upon honourable Conditions, on the 13th of June, 1689. In the last Rebellion, in the year 1715, there was an Attempt made to take it, by the Assistance of some Persons within, but being timely discovered, and the scaling Ladders proving too short, it was prevented; some who were concerned in it paying for their Temerity with their Lives, being beat to Pieces in their Fall over the Rocks, and a Sergeant of the Garrison, who had been concerned in the Design, was hanged upon the Castle Wall."

PREPARATIONS AT BERWICK FOR RESISTING THE REBELS.

We now take up the narrative after Cope's defeat. All possible means were taken in the counties of

Northumberland and Durham to oppose the progress of the rebel army. Berwick was put into a state of defence, and made a depot for arms and ammunition. The inhabitants formed themselves into 15 volunteer companies, chose their own officers, and undertook garrison duty. They were incited to this by the arrival of General Cope and the remnant of his army, a body of dragoons who entered Berwick on September 21. The population had also been strengthened by refugees from Edinburgh and the district, who had fled south on the approach of the Highland army. In addition to these, the same day that Cope entered the town a man-of-war arrived in the Tweed with 700 Dutch soldiers. The Town Council of Berwick, in further proof of their loyalty, adopted the following address, which we find in the *Courant* of September 28:—

“To the King’s Most Excellent Majesty. The humble Address of the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of Berwick-upon-Tweed. “Most Gracious Sovereign, We, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the Borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed, in Guild Assembled, with the greatest Sincerity congratulate your Majesty on your seasonable and happy Return to your British Dominions at a Time when your inveterate Enemies abroad, and rebellious Subjects at home, have enter’d into a most detestable Conspiracy, to deprive your Subjects of the best of Kings, of their Religion and Liberties, to introduce Popery and Slavery, to overturn our present happy Constitution, and destroy the Balance of Power in Europe. Give us Leave, Sir, to assure you that we shall on all Occasions manifest our Loyalty by our Actions, and contribute all in our Power to render abortive their pernicious and traitorous Designs, shall be steady in our Duty to our Country, in support of your Majesty’s Rights, and the Protestant Succession of your Royal House. The united zeal of all true Britons in the same glorious Cause must soon convince your Enemies how vain the Attempt is to shake a Throne founded on the Interest and Affections, and supported by the Hands of a Free, a Brave, and a Grateful People.”

THE DEFENCE OF NEWCASTLE.

The occupation of Edinburgh by the rebels was known in Newcastle on the 18th September, and four days after news reached the town of the defeat of General Cope at Preston Panns. Before this—on the 19th—an agreement was signed by

813 persons by which they voluntarily bound themselves to appear in person, or to provide substitutes, to act in concert with the regular troops against all the King's enemies. On the 20th September they mustered at the Guildhall, were formed into companies, and mounted guard for the first time. The Town Council voted the following address, which we find in the *Courant* of September 28:—

“To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

“The humble Address of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriff, and Common Council of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in common council assembled,

“Most Gracious Sovereign,

“We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, beg leave to present to you our most sincere congratulations on your Majesty's safe Return to your British Dominions, which, though at all times is a matter of great joy to your faithful People, yet must be so in an extraordinary Degree at this time, when this your Kingdom is actually invaded by the Power of France, the constant Enemy of this Nation, in aid of a Pretender to your Crown. But we trust the same good Providence that hath so once guarded your Majesty and the British People, will now bless your Arms with Success, and support and defend your Majesty in the Possession of the Throne of their Realm, and the happy Establishment of your Royal House; that can be the only means to preserve to us the many blessings we now enjoy under your Majesty's most gracious Government, the free Exercise of our Religion, the Security of our Liberties, and the Preservation of our Trade and Property. As the Situation of this Place exposeth us to an early Attack, we think it our Duty to assure your Majesty, that our utmost Care and Vigilance shall be used to preserve this Town in a steady Attachment to your Majesty's Sacred Person and Government, and that we shall on all Occasions exert ourselves to the utmost of our Power in Defence of your Majesty against all your Enemies. We shall heartily rejoice on the great Success of your Majesty's Arms in America, and that the like Success may always attend your Majesty's constant Endeavours for the Glory and Honour of this nation is our daily Prayer and most ardent Wish.

“Given under our Common Seal the 12th day of Sept., 1745.”

The same issue of the *Courant* contains the following:—
“On Sunday morning last we were under a great consternation here on receiving the disagreeable News of Gen. Cope and his Army's being defeated by the Rebels

between Five and Six on Saturday morning, the 21st inst., near Glassmain, between Preston Panns and Haddington; where 'tis said we had killed between 2 and 300, and about 1,200 taken prisoners; besides all the Artillery, Baggage, and Equipages belonging to our Army. General Cope, Brigadier Fowkes, Major Singleton, and several other Officers, arriv'd at Berwick; from whence we are assur'd that some Thousands of Dutch Forces arriv'd lately there, and that they intend to give the Rebels a warm Reception should they dare to approach that Place. We are now in high Spirits, having receiv'd the News of the Rebels marching again for Edinburgh. However, we have lately got several more Cannon, and are assur'd that 10,000 Troops will soon arrive here from the South; so that we hope to give a good Account of the Rebels if they come to pay us a Visit. Lord Mark Kerr and Col. Frazier are arriv'd here. On Wednesday last, part of the Militia from the County of Northumberland came to Town, viz.,—about 400 Horse and above 200 Foot, well arm'd, and headed by many fine Gentlemen, who are determined to defend his Majesty, his Government, and the Religion and Liberty of this Kingdom against all Invaders." The arrival and departure of suspicious persons from the town were carefully watched, and it is narrated the same week that—"Last Thursday morning, upon Advice that three Gentlemen, and four Servants, were arriv'd at Mr Moorclew's House at Winlaton, a party of 36 Soldiers and one Officer, accompanied by George Bowes, Esq., and 22 of his Men, went thither and seiz'd them; upon which the Gentlemen, &c., deliver'd up their Arms, and said, they came that Way for Privatness on their Road to London from the North; the Gentlemen, &c., were carried to Gibside. 'Tis said one of the Gentlemen is nam'd Dundas." The following paragraph also occurs:—"This Week Gavin Robinson, Alexander Napier, Samuel Proctor, and John Hixon were committed to Jail on Suspicion of Treasonable Practices."

On the 24th September Admiral Byng was off Berwick with seven ships of the line, and on that day the Northumberland volunteers, numbering 400 horse and 200 foot, marched into Newcastle. The whole of the gates except three on the town walls were built up, the walls were repaired and 200 guns placed upon them. The work of defence was carried on with such vigour, that on the 26th—only eight days from the time it was known that Edinburgh had fallen—Lord Mark Kerr inspected the walls and declared them to be in a good condition for defence, and two days after this the volunteers joined the other troops and had their duties assigned to them. To stop the rebels at Newcastle was to stop them at

Sunderland, which, moreover, could have been defended by a fleet. Sunderland accordingly furnished Newcastle with 10 heavy guns, and offered a number of men. The following advertisement appears in the *Courant* of Oct. 12:—"Northumberland, Oct. 11, 1745—Whereas an Association has been entered into by the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others of the County of Northumberland, for the Defence and Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, against the Rebellion now actually carrying on in Scotland; and, whereas, in pursuance of the said Association, a great number of Gentlemen and others, well armed, have this Day appeared as the several Towns of Morpeth, Hexham, and Alnwick, in this County, the said Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others, have unanimously agreed to maintain the Men so sent in by them at their own Expense, and to keep them together to be regularly exercised, and to attend when and where his Majesty's Service may require, until the present Troubles are quell'd. The Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others who have not had notice hereof, may, and are hereby desir'd to appear in Person, or to send such well arm'd Men as they shall think proper to some of the Towns above mentioned. *Note.*—The Officers to command will be Noblemen and
 ** Gentlemen of the County, and serve at their own
 * Expense.

"All the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others who have sent Men to Morpeth, Alnwick, or Hexham, for the Defence of the Kingdom on or before Friday next, one Month's pay from the date hereof after the Rate of Seven Shillings per Week for each Man's Pay, and One Shilling per Week for Contingencies. Notice will be left at Mr Fenwick's, at the Black Bull at Morpeth; at the Post House in Alnwick, and at the Globe in Hexham, who are the Persons appointed to receive the same."

PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE AT YORK AND DURHAM.

The north-country was thoroughly aroused by the last week of September. The *Courant* of Sept. 28 says:—"York, Sept. 24—By an Express arriv'd here yesterday, we have the good News of 4,000 Men being on their March from London under the Command of Major-Gen. Wentworth. There was such a Concourse of Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, &c., at York Castle this day that the like has not been seen for some hundred years past; when an Association was enter'd into for the Defence of his Majesty's Person and Government. The

Subscription the first Day is said to amount to above £20,000, and 'tis said is not yet finished. The same is carrying on chearfully in this City; and everybody subscribes according to their circumstances. What Forces will be raised or in what manner, is not yet known, but they talk of a Regiment of Light Horse to be rais'd at present. The following advertisement appears in the *Courant* of October 12:—"Durham, October 9, 1745—Whereas a Regiment of Horse is in part raised by way of Association, and now quartered in the city of Durham, a general meeting is desired of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and others of the County of Durham, at the Castle of Durham, on Tuesday, the 15th day of October inst., on or to perfect and complete the same, when it is hoped all Friends to his Majesty and this County will make their personal Appearance. And as Horsemen are thought more necessary than the Foot 'tis also hoped that such Persons as were chargeable with Foot to the Militia will now agree to contribute to the raising of the Horse."

GOVERNMENT MEASURES.

What the Government were doing to put down the rising is indicated in several brief paragraphs. Troops were withdrawn from Flanders, and the London letter of the *Courant* of Sept. 24 says:—"Last Saturday, in the afternoon, 1800 Swiss and Dutch troops landed at the Tower, and were billeted at Lime house and the adjacent Parts of the City, till such Time as they have Orders to proceed on their March." In the same issue we are told:—"Early this Morning a great Number of Cannon, and Carriages laden with Ammunition, design'd against the Rebels, were drawn out of the Tower by 120 Horses, in order to proceed to the North with all Expedition." Meanwhile, a price was set on the heads of the Pretender and his son:—"They write from Dublin that on the 13th inst. a Proclamation was issued by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of that city, offering a Reward of £6,000 for apprehending the Pretender and his eldest son, or either of them, in that kingdom, or attempting to Land in that Kingdom."

OPINION ON THE REBELLION.

Leading articles were not a necessary feature in old newspapers, and what was thought of the Rebellion was reflected in letters and news. Some of these letters are rather curious. One headed "The Briton," signed "W.," and dated

from Cambridge, appears in the *Courant* of September 28. After a eulogy of liberty it runs thus:—"To possess insecurity the Effects of our Industry, is the most powerful and seasonable Incitement to be Industrious; and to be able to provide for our Children, and leave them all that we have, is the best motive to beget them. But where Liberty and Property are precarious, as they ever will be to Protestants under a Popish Government, Labour will languish. In a word, Liberty is to live upon one's own Terms; Slavery is to live at the arbitrary Will and meer mercy of another. Under such a Government, a Subject worth £20,000, To-day, may, by a sadden edict, or Order, be a Beggar To-morrow; and lose his Life, without having deserved to forfeit it. The property of a whole Kingdom shall be great, or little, or none, just at the Mercy of a Secretary's Pen, guided by a Cardinal, a Jesuit, a Woman, or whosoever is uppermost for the Day. Should the present Invaders of the publick Peace succeed in their Attempt, the Possessors of impropriations, and of Abbey Lands, who are protected by the Constitution in their possessions, would be immediately deprived of them; and probably would be told they were treated with great tenderness and clemency in not being called to an account for the bygone Rents and Profits, from the time of the Beformation to the present time. The same Fate would certainly attend the Purchasers and possessors of Forfeited Estates which formerly belonged to Persons attainted of Treason or Rebellion in Great Britain or Ireland. All who are interested in the Publick Funds, which contain so great a part of the Wealth of the Kingdom, are concerned in the most effectual manner to support an Establishment which supports them; and which, if lost, they are certainly undone and lost with it. All honest men will exert themselves on this occasion, and oppose the Scheme and Attempts of the Pretender and his Accomplices, whose Success is incompatible with the Honour, the Property, the Religion, the Liberty of Britons.

Remember, O my Friends, the Laws, the Rights,
 The gen'rous Plan of Power delivered down,
 From Age to Age, by your renown'd Forefathers
 (So dearly bought, the Price of so much Blood)
 O let it never perish in your Hands!
 But piously transmit it to your Children.
 Do thou, Great Liberty, inspire our Souls,
 And make our Lives in thy Possession happy.
 Or our Death glorious in thy just Defence.—Cato.

From the first the Rebellion was regarded by the loyal

portion of the population as an attempt not only to restore the Stuarts but to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion. This comes out very clearly in what we find narrated in the *Courant*. The following couplet appears in the issue of Oct. 12— “*On his Grace the Archbishop of York putting on a Lay Military Habit:—*

“*May Priestly Arms, as well as Prayr’s succeed
And prove our church-true militant indeed.*”

In the *Courant*, of Saturday, October 12, appears the following “Letter of the Lord Bishop of Durham, sent to the Clergy of his Diocese upon the present Rebellion”:—

“Reverend Brother,

“You are too near North Britain to be ignorant of the Rebellion, set on Foot in that Neighbourhood, headed by a Pretender to his Majesty’s Crown, educated in the Popish Religion and trained up in the Maxims of Italian Policy, and the Practice of French Tyranny and Arbitrary Power; and, as there is Reason to believe, this Rebellion is intended to be supported by two potent and bigoted Foreign Princes, avowed Enemies to our Country and Religion. The dreadful Consequences of a Civil War alone in your Borders (of which your past Experience cannot but make you sensible), are enough to rouse the Spirit of every true Englishman; but if to this is added, the sweeping Destruction that must follow the Landing of a formidable Army from abroad, then no stronger Motive remains to restore the Feeling of the most Lethargick among us, of those that retain the least Spark of Concern for their Spiritual or Civil Liberties; and to fire them with Zeal, Courage, and Indignation equal to the Occasion. I think so well of my Clergy, who must be the more immediate Sufferers, should these Attempts succeed as to believe that not one of them will be wanting to do his Part, to prevent the spreading of these desolating Evils in the Beginning, by opposing and repelling the Causes of them. And in this Belief, I intreat, exhort, and require them all, and you in particular to encourage and strengthen your Parishioners in their Loyalty, and active Obedience to his present Majesty King George; to lay before them the Obligation of the many oaths with which they have bound their Souls to defend his Government, and to make them sensible of the National Happiness of all Kinds, which they enjoy under his Majesty’s Gracious Reign, and which must be all lost in the Flood of Calamities, that will overflow them and their Families, by a Change of Government. I shall hope you will make these Things the Subject of part of your Pulpit Discourses, not

forgetting to explain to them the Nature, Tendency, and Spirit of Popery; and its utter Incompatibility with the Civil Rights of a Protestant Society, as well as its Danger to the Salvation of every knowing Christian. Especially inculcate upon their Minds (for it can't be too often repeated) the Folly of being deluded by the fair Words, Assurances, or even Oaths of Princes of that Communion to continue to their Protest and Subjects the full Exercise of their Religion, and the Possessions of their Legal Rights and Privileges. Had not a Trial been made of the Force of such Assurances more than once in this Kingdom since the Reformation, such Credulity might be excused and pitied. But when the most solemn Promises have proved mere seasonable Expedients to mount or retain a Throne, and in a Church where Mental Reservations (which alter the Meaning of Words from the Sense they are commonly taken in) are justified, and the Bond of Oaths can be Dissolved, and the Breach of Oaths pardoned by a Confessor; where such Doctrines and such Casuistry prevail, every Protestant who regards his safety should take Warning how he relies on Securities of this Nature. But above all things, for it is the principal Thing, be frequent and earnest in calling your People to Repentance and Amendment of Life; and at this Juncture especially to be fervent in Prayer; to humble their Souls in Fasting, and other Expressions of a Contrite Heart; to moderate their Pleasures and Diversions, and Luxury, which hath spread itself through most Articles of Living, as the only Way to become good and serious Christians, as well as good and zealous Protestants; And then must be both to be intituled to those Deliverances, which God is ready to vouchsafe to those who return to Him in Sincerity. I shall not fail to join my Prayers with yours for a Blessing on your Labours in so interesting a Cause, and commending you and those under your Charge to the Protection of the Almighty,—I remain, your affectionate Brother and Diocesan—E. DURESME.”

VOLUNTEER HELP FOR THE KING.

The gentry came forward nobly with money and men in support of their King. In the *Courant* London letter of Oct. 3, we are told—“On Tuesday a Subscription was opened by several eminent Citizens, for raising Money to be applied in providing of Forces for the Defence of themselves and the Neighbourhood of the City of London, to which was subscribed in a few hours £15,000.” In another letter of two days' later date it is stated:—“Yesterday, John Peeke, Esq., and several other Gentlemen of Spitalfields, waited on his

Grace the Duke of Newcastle with the names of such men as are entered in their Pay for one Year, to serve their King and country as Occasion may require; the number of which is very near 3,000, his Grace was extremely well pleased, and told the gentlemen how acceptable it would be if they would be pleased to wait on his Majesty with the same." The Welsh gentry were equally loyal, and in another paragraph it is reported: "Sir George Wynne, Sir Charles Wynne, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, and Sir Robert Grosvenor, and Mr Philip Warburton, entered into an association for raising, arming, and clothing, at their own expense, a body of 500 men."

THE DEFENCE OF NEWCASTLE.

In the meantime national and local preparations for defence proceeded, nothing more than defensive measures being thought of as yet. In a London letter of Oct. 5, we have a report as to what the Government intended doing:—"We hear that four Camps will be formed for the security of the kingdom, viz., one on Barham Downs, near Canterbury, a second on the South Downs in Sussex, a third near Yarmouth, and the fourth at Exeter." While the Pretender's movements were still uncertain, the people of Newcastle prepared for every likely emergency. Under date Oct. 12, it is recorded:—"Last Saturday, 600 Dutch of Gen. De la Roequet's Regiment, lately arriv'd at Berwick, came here from thence." The volunteers continued to drill; and in same paper we read:—"Last Wednesday and Thursday, a great number of Cannon, nine and eighteen Pounders, were carried from the Sandhill on their Carriages, and placed on the proper Parts of the Town Wall." Many persons outside the walls, and in the *Courant* of October 12 appears the following advertisement in reference to these:—

"Newcastle-upon-Tyne.—All Persons whatsoever residing Without the Walls of the said Town that have any Ladder or Ladders, are desired immediately to bring the same into the Town's Yard, behind the Hospital in the Manors. And it is Ordered that no Person whatsoever (except the proper Gunners) shall come near the great Guns within the said Town after Six o'clock at Night, And that no Person whatsoever fire a Gun or other Fire Arms, in or near the said Town, in the Evening, or at Night, when it is Dark, upon Pain of Imprisonment. And all Persons living without the Walls, but within the Liberties of the said Town, who have in their Custody any Fire Arms, are desired immediately to bring and deliver them at the Mayor's House. And all Persons living

within the said Town, who have in their Custody any Pick Axes or Shovels, are also desired forthwith to deliver them at the same Place. And Notice is hereby given that the Fair customarily held here on the 18th Day of October yearly, will not be held on the 18th inst., but some Time after, of which Publick Notice will be given.—Cuthbertson.”

THE YORKSHIRE HUNTERS.

This was the name given to the cavalry raised by the York county gentry. Later on we hear of the force doing duty in Northumberland. We obtain a few particulars relating to it in an “Extract of a private letter from York, Sept. 30:—The Consternation was general throughout this County and City, on the first News of the Misfortune that befel the King’s Forces under the command of Gen. Cope, and rose at last to such a Height, that several Families were on the point of retiring from hence, in order to take Shelter in some Place of greater Security. But the Exhortations of his Grace the Lord Archbishop, the numerous Appearance of Nobility and Gentry, at the late Meeting, and the presence of Major-General Aolethorpe, soon dispelled those Apprehensions. Such Measures have been since taken, as have not only restored the Publick Tranquility, but given such new Life and Spirit to the People, that instead of quitting or thinking of quitting it, there are fresh Families coming every Day to this City. The Forces levied and paid by this County consist of 41 Companies of Foot, and Four Companies are raised at the Expense of the city. There is money already raised for paying them for four Months by a voluntary Subscription, to which even the Roman Catholics contributed, and that very cheerfully. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this Corporation waited upon Major-General Aglethorpe to thank him for the good Advice he had given them, and to desire him to view the Walls of their City, which he accordingly did, and their Posttrns have since been walled up, their Breeches repair’d, the Country will very soon be laid under Water, and a considerable Number of Pallisades are actually preparing; so that this City will be very soon in a Posture of Defence. Several Gentlemen of considerable Fortunes have resolved to form themselves and their Servants into a Regiment of Light Horse for the King’s Service. Such as compose it are to be mounted on stout Fox Hunters, and are to serve at their own Expense, under the command of the Hon Major-General Aglethorpe. They were this Day mustered upon a place called Knavesmire, and made a very fine Appearance. The Gentlemen who composed the

first Rank were all dress'd in Blue, trimm'd with Scarlet and Gold Buttons, Gold Lac'd Hats, light Boots and Saddles, &c., their Arms were short Buller Guns slung; Pistols of a moderate size and strong plain Swords. The second and third Ranks, which were made up of their Servants were dress'd in Blue, with Brass Buttons, their Accoutrements all light and serviceable, with short Guns and Pistols, and each with a Pole Axe in his Hand. There is no doubt this Regiment will do good service in time of Action." We also read from York that, "all the Pensioners, Invalids, and Soldiers upon Furlough, who shall be within or passing through that county, are requir'd by his Excellency General Aglethorpe, to report to the George, in Coney Street, in that city, where they shall receive commands in what manner they are to give Assistance to the new Levies."

APPREHENSIONS OF DISTURBANCE IN IRELAND.

No little uneasiness prevailed in Dublin, where the news of the Pretender's landing in Scotland and his success in the fight at Preston had raised the hopes of the Roman Catholics. We find in the *Courant* of Oct. 12 the following extract of a private letter of September 25:—"It is impossible that any stirs or commotions should happen in England without our having a share in them, more especially as it is well enough known that the greater Part of the Inhabitants of this Island are of a different Religion from that which is established by Law. But one would scarcely imagine that these Men should so far lose their Senses on the first Appearance of Troubles and Disturbances as to be guilty of treating with the utmost Insolence those who for so many Years have behaved towards them with so much Lenity and Tenderness. However, that such is their Temper and Disposition will appear plainly from the Paper enclosed, upon which I shall make no Reflections, but content myself with assuring you that the Matter of Fact is true; and that this paper was actually as is said at the Top, affixed to the Door of St. Paul's Church in this City. You may be sure, Sir, that such things alarm us, though they can have no other Effect than to make us still more firm in so good a Cause as that of Freedom and the Protestant Religion, and more Vigilant in its Defence:"—"A copy of what was posted up on Sunday Sept. 15, 1745, on the Door of St. Paul's Church, Dublin:— A Warning to the Protestant Vermin, who are like Beasts. After devouring up these 50 Years and more, our Roman Lands and Livings, you are all to be put to the Sword without Delay, your pretended Preachers are uncircumsised Philistines, Sacrilegious poluted Ministers,

Jereboam's polluted Priests, inordinate and unordained Apostles, they were sent by God in his Divine Anger, to deceive these Three Kingdoms; but the Time is but short, that J— III. of England, VIII. of Scotland is to reform you all, otherwise, that after the vile Bodies are consumed with Fire, the Internal Souls may broil in Hell, as most worthy they deserve. Martin Luther and John Calvin, you are to be put to death in your Pulpits. Lord d— you all; licentious Sculpture, learned Impenitents. Rev. ix., Luke iv. 45, Acts iv. 17."

THE LOYAL GARRISON AND THE REBEL ARMY AT EDINBURGH.

Lieutenant-Governor Preston, who held the Castle at Edinburgh, reported on Sept. 20 to the Marquess Tweeddale "That he had Plenty of Provisions, and a constant and regular Supply from the City; and that his Garrison was 400 strong; all in good Spirits, and under no Apprehensions from the Rebels," Now and again brisk firing took place between the garrison and the Highlanders, and in thus peppering each other several persons were killed. In an Edinburgh letter, dated Oct. 8, we read—"The Highlanders last Thursday posted a Guard at Livingstone's Yards, to prevent Provisions being carried to the Castle by Wallace Tower, which being composed of a score of men, newly raised in the City, and as such supposed to know the Avenues of the Neighbourhood, the Garrison of the Castle sallied in the Evening, and burnt down to the Ground the House of three Stories, possessed by John Cathcart, gardener, and a little Thatched-House hard by; they surprised the Guard and kill'd seven, and took the Officers Prisoners who commanded it, and other four. Next day, the Governor of the Castle sent a Messenger to the City of Edinburgh, informing that at Two in the Afternoon he intended to demolish with Cannon some old Building near the Castle Hill, from under cover of which the Highland Guard annoyed such as brought Provisions to the Castle, assuring the Citizens that no Damage should thereby ensue to them and their Effects. The Cannonading accordingly began, and continued with great Fury all Afternoon without any Damage to the Town; so soon as it became dark, the Governor to prevent any bad Consequences from throwing the Bombs into the said Houses, a party of the Garrison sallied out, and set first one House on Fire, and after this was burnt set the other on Fire; also in the meantime the Party continued on the Castle Hill till the Houses were burnt down, and fired some shot to prevent the Highlanders approaching; and the inhabitants running into the Streets to see where the

Fire was, two men were killed, and one, I hear, was wounded. The Garrison at the same time threw up a Trench to prevent the Highlanders' Approach. All the next Day the Firing continued, the Streets in the Lawn Market appeared like a Desert, and several People fled to the Country for Refuge, especially those whose Houses were nigh the Castle. A Journeyman Wright was killed by the Garrison making a Sally out about Ten o'clock, and a Woman was wounded below the Cross; a Horse had his Foot shot through at the same time, several Houses were damag'd, particularly a Shop in the Lawn Market, one in the End of the Lacken Booths, and pierced through several Houses on the Castle Hill. What loss the Garrison or Highlanders sustained is not known. Sunday, a Proclamation was put up, intimating that the Communication was to be opened with the Castle, which made the Inhabitants pretty easy."

STATE OP AFFAIRS IN THE REBEL ARMY.

Already rumours of dissensions in the Rebel camp had got abroad, and while the Pretender was waiting for reinforcements his wild followers gave him some trouble. In the London letter of the *Courant* of October 12, it is said:—"There are several private Letters from Edinburgh which mention that the Rebels were grown to a great height of Insolence there, that one of them was by Order of the young Pretender apprehended for ravishing a woman, which so enrag'd the majority of them that they seemed determin'd to return home, upon which he thought proper to suspend the Prosecution," In the same letter it is further stated "that a Party of Highlanders, who were coming to join their Fellow Rogues at Edinburgh, have been dispersed by a Body of the well affected clans." In Newcastle it was currently reported the same week "that the Highlanders, since their late success, have inclin'd to desert, 800 of them having left the Chevalier in a few days, and gone home; and besides have begun, when out of Fear of a superior force, to plunder all the villages about Haddington and the sea coast, even to the Borders, which makes them hated by the Country People. And 'tis likewise assur'd, by an Express arriv'd yesterday, that about 40 Highlanders were taken prisoners at Dunse, by a detachment of Horse and Foot from Berwick, they having come there for plunder." As for the young Pretender himself:—"We are told that the Rebels' Mock King is now so highly disguised, knowing himself to be in a strange Country, and fearing that he is now deserted by those who promis'd him their Assistance, that he declar'd, that if these Persons

who had invited him, did not perform their Engagements immediately, he would send up their names to London, and make the best Retreat for himself he could. Notwithstanding what has been said by the Friends of the young Pretender, he is a true Son of his Father, and has given proof that he inherits his cowardice, of which there are several instances. It was with the preatest persuasion that he would lie at Holy Rood House for fear the Cannon of the Castle might touch his Person—Being in a great mob at Edinburgh, and a Shell being thrown among them out of the Castle, he ran away to his Horse, and, through Fear mounted with some difficulty. Nor was he in the Fight against Sir John Cope, choosing to be at a Distance.’

AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE OF THE PRETENDER’S MOVEMENTS.

In one of Wye’s letters in the *Courant*, dated Oct. 5— Wye was the Reuter, or rather the Press Association, of that period—is the following:—“We hear that Mr Macpherson, who lately escap’d from the Pretender, hath made some curious Disclosures relating to the methods which he took on his first landing in Scotland.” These disclosures are printed in the form of a narrative in the *Courant* of Oct. 26 and Nov. 2.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RISING AS RECORDED BY AN EYE WITNESS.

The *Courant* of Nov. 2 and 9, 1745, contain an interesting narrative. It is not stated how it came into the *Courant*, but there can be no doubt that it is a true story. It is headed thus, and then goes on:—

The following Account of the Conduct of CHARLES eldest Son of the PRETENDER, from the Time of his leaving Rome, to his Arrival in Scotland; and of the Progress of the Rebels in that Kingdom, is taken from the Relation of Mr James Macpherson, who was an Eye-witness of the whole, and took the first Opportunity of leaving the Rebels, into whose Service he was forc’d, and in which he had a Captain’s Commission.

Charles the Pretender’s eldest Son, who is now in the Twenty-fifth Year of his Age, having, in the Beginning of the Summer, taken a solemn Leave of his Father at *Rome*, and in the Presence of the Pope and Cardinals, having made a

solemn Vow that he would never forsake his Religion; set out with one *Patrick Graham* his Confessor, the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, General *Macdonell*, and some other Attendants, amongst which is one Mr *Fisher*, a Person who some Years ago murdered his Friend Mr *Darby* in the Temple, for which he hath a Pardon under the Pretender's Sign Manual, and is advanced to the Post of Major in the Highland Army.

Having passed through *France* by Land and visited the *French* King in his Camp, from whom he obtained five Independent Companies, besides a large Quantity of Arms, and a Ship of War, together with further Promises of future Assistance, he departed from *Brest*; where the aforesaid Soldiers and Arms being put on board, in the beginning of *August* they sailed out of that Harbour; the Pretender's Son himself, together with those Attendants who accompanied him from *Rome*, being embarked in a small Vessel,

They had not been long at Sea before they met with one of our Men of War, between whom and the *Frenchman* a very sharp Engagement ensued; in which both Ships suffered extremely, and the latter was so entirely disabled, that she was obliged to put back into *Brest*.

During this Engagement, the small Vessel which carried the Pretender's Son escaped, and made immediately for the Western Coast of *Scotland*. And on the 10th of *August* in the Evening landed between the Islands of *Mull* and *Skie*.

One *Macpherson*, whose Hut stood about a Mile from the Sea shore, seeing these People land, had the Curiosity to advance towards them, and was told by one of his Countrymen that came with them who they were, and particularly, that the young Man was the Prince of *Wales* and the Son of his King. *Charles* presently came up to him, and giving him a *French* Pistole, asked him if he would not bear Arms for his King and Country, to which *Macpherson* readily answered he would, and then *Charles* very graciously held forth his Hand for him to kiss, which he accordingly did.

Soon after the Marquis of *Tullibardin* and five other *Scottish* Chiefs, took their Leave of their Commanders, and set out to disperse themselves among the Clans.

Charles spent three Days in visiting the several Huts of these Highlanders; amongst whom he distributed his Money very liberally, so that by the End of the third Day, he had enlisted upwards of 70 in his Party. He delivered them Arms (for he had Arms with him for 500 Men only) a sufficient Number of 6500 having miscarried in the *French* Man of War.

On the 14th of *August* the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, and two other of the *Scotch* Chiefs returned with a Body of above 300 of the Clans, who were immediately disposed into a Regiment, and called *The Royal Regiment of Highland Guards*. The command of which was given to the Marquis, one *Mackay* was made Lieutenant Colonel, and Mr *Fisher* Major. The Captains and inferior Officers were of the Clans.

This Regiment was no sooner formed, than the utmost Diligence was made use of to discipline them. Nor was much less Diligence used by the Confessor, assisted by another Priest whose Name was *Fraser*, to instruct them in the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and this with such Success, that upwards of 200 of these ignorant People were converted in less than a fortnight.

Had some of the well-affected Chiefs had it in their Power, in the Infancy of this Rebellion, to have armed their Clans, it might most probably have been crushed in the Eggshell; but there being a Provision by a very severe Law against this, without an Order of Council, and there being some Time as well as Difficulty required to obtain this Order, the Rebels had unfortunately an Opportunity to form themselves, before any such Step could possibly be taken against them.

By the 20th of *August*, before which Time the two other Chiefs were returned with their Clans, the Army of the Rebels were increased to the Number of 1200. They then proceeded to form two other Regiments, one of which was commanded by General *Macdonell*, and the other by the Pretender's Son himself.

On the 22nd, having made themselves Tents, they marched a few Miles, and encamped on a Hill, (for before this Time they kept in separate Companies, at some Distance from each other, in order to avoid a Discovery;) a Stratagem which had so good an Effect, that whoever recollects the Accounts which the News Papers gave us of the first landing of the Pretender, must remember with what Incertainty they spoke of a few Men being landed in the West of *Scotland*, who were sometimes Gentlemen from *Ireland* hunting, and sometimes were quite vanished, every subsequent Account actually contradicting the former; so that few, except the most credulous, gave any Belief to it, imagining it was rather a Story devised by some Persons for particular Purposes.

But to return to our History. The Rebels being now upwards of 1200 strong, began to place greater Confidence in their Strength.

On the 21st, therefore, they came to a Rendezvous on an open Hill, where they encamped in the Sight of the Country.

On the 22d they erected their Standard with great Solemnity: The Priests first washed it all over with Holy Water, and blessed it; then a certain Number of *Ave-Marys* and *Pater-Nosters* were said, besides Prayers to the Saints; in all which Acts of Devotion *Charles*, distinguished himself with greater Zeal (if possible) than the Priests themselves. In the Afternoon of this Day in which they erected their Standard, they were reinforced by a Body of 200 Highlanders, who brought them an Account that the King's Forces were marching towards *Stirling*.

The Chief Care of the Rebels began now to be the procuring Provisions, as their Mouths grew very numerous; in order to which they sent out a Party, who, on the 22d in the Evening, drove a Herd of black Cattle into the Camp, which were receiv'd by them with great Joy.

On the 23d, a Party of 400 of the Rebels, chiefly belonging to the Royal Regiment of Highland Guards, attacked and defeated a small Part of the King's Forces, under the Command of Capt. *Scott*. The Captain himself was wounded in the Arm; and a Serjeant, even after the Battle, was cut all to Pieces; which Fate all the rest had shared, had it not been prevented by one *Stewart*, a Captain of the Highlanders. These Fellows had already so well profited under their Popish Instructor, as to learn the Language of *Heretick Dogs!* and the true Arts of propagating Religion with Fire and Sword.

The Rebels began now to increase considerably, and by the 28th, they were full 2000 strong. At this Time they added a Battalion to the Regiment of Guards, and likewise formed a third Regiment, of which the Duke of *Perth* was declared Colonel.

General *Cope* had now assembled a pretty considerable Body of the King's Forces near *Stirling*; but the Ways towards the Rebels were such, that it would have been impracticable to come at them without the utmost hazzard of losing the whole Army in the Attempt. Nor had he indeed any other Way of attacking them, than by taking a vast scope round; which he declined, as he chose rather to keep himself posted between them and the City of *Edinburgh*, well knowing that could the Capital of *Scotland* be preserved, any Success they might have of assembling a Body in the Highlands, where they must soon be starv'd would be in the End fruitless and effectual.

However, the Alarm of their Success daily increasing in *England*, the General receiv'd peremptory Orders to march forwards, which he did; and in the mean Time the Rebels gave him the Slip, and on the 29th march'd towards *Perth*, the Duke of that name leading the Van, *Charles* marching in the Centre, and General *Macdonell* in the Rear. This evening they were joined by the Lord *Geo. Murray*, Brother to the Duke of *Athole*, and by three other Gentlemen, one of whom is Brother to an Earl.

On the 30th, they marched no more than three Miles, on Advice that the King's Forces, under the Command of his Excellency Lieutenant General Sir *John Cope*, was marching towards them.

On the 31st. they came to *Perth* which they took Possession of without any Opposition: Here Mass was celebrated publicly, and *Charles* and most of the Army assisted at it. Then the Pretender's Declaration was quickly read at the Market Cross, after which he was proclaim'd with great Solemnity. A Minister of the Kirk meeting with *Charles* in the Street, offered to give him Advice, not to show so great Zeal for his Religion, and reminded him of the Fate which his Father had met with in the last Rebellion, which he attributed to his Disregard to the holy Presbytery and adhering to Popery, to which, the Minister said, he had sacrificed his Crown. *Charles* answered coldly, his Father preferred an heavenly Crown to an earthly one: Upon this, one of the common Soldiers reviled the Minister, and spit in his Face; for which Fact, without any other Merit, he was within two Days afterward preferred to be a Lieutenant.

One of the Highland Chiefs, who, tho' he had simply embraced the Party of the Rebels, was however a rigid Presbyterian, declared the highest Indignation at this Preferment, and ventur'd to remonstrate against it to *Charles* himself: He was answered, that his Word was not to be controuled, nor the Reasons of his Conduct to be enquired into by the Subject. And the very next Morning this poor Man was found shot in his Bed; nor was any the least Enquiry made after the Murderer.

Such is the Spirit of Popery and arbitrary Power, to which the Blood of many Millions have been shed for Sacrifice.

While the Rebels lay at *Perth*, they had frequent Alarms of the King's Forces being ready to attack them, on which Account the whole Army, amounting to 3,600 men and upwards, and which were disposed in three Regiments, were drawn out, and lay one whole Night and Day under Arms; but

no Enemy appearing, on the 2d of *September*, at Ten in the Morning, they marched back into their Camp. The same Day the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, at the Head of 500 Men, took Possession of the Duke of *Athole's* House at *Blair*, whither the next Morning *Charles*, the Duke of *Athole*, Lord *Asgill*, Lord *George Murray*, and some more, repaired, and were entertained by the Marquis, who was saluted there by the Title of the Duke his Brother.

The Duke of *Perth* summoned many of his Tenants to meet him at *Blair*, and bring with them all the Rent they owed him, on Pain of being treated with the utmost Severity. He likewise order'd as many of them as could procure Arms to furnish themselves therewith, and bring them along with them: Most of these obey'd his Summons, and produced him all the Money and Arms in their Power. But instead of discharging these poor Wretches, after they had deliver'd him their Rent, (and some of them more than was due) he insisted on their bearing Arms in the Pretender's Cause. To this likewise several submitted; three however resisted, declaring, that besides the Inconvenience which the Neglect of their Affairs would subject them to, and the Danger of the Undertaking, it was against their Conscience to assist the Cause of Liberty against the true Religion of their Country; to which one of them had the Boldness to add, he was sorry to see his Grace embark'd in such a Cause: Upon this the Duke flying into a Rage, snatch'd up a Pistol which lay in his Tent, and immediately shot the poor Man through the Head. After which the other two made their Escape from him, and one from the Camp, the other being pursued and kill'd by one of the Rebels, who was Witness to the whole Transaction.

The Duke of *Athole*, who had retired to *Edinburgh* with his Family, on the News of the Rebels Approach, had taken such Care to convey away every Thing which could be either carried or drove off from his Territories, as well as his House, that the Marquis of *Tullibardin* had great Difficulty to provide a very moderate Entertainment for the Pretender's Son and his Followers; The Army therefore, (which was now grown very numerous) found very little Reason to be satisfied with the Plentifulness of their Quarters. The whole Army therefore, which on the 2d of *September* had encamped at the *Blair of Athole*, on the 3d marched back again towards *Perth*. In their March the Van Guard had like to have fallen in with a small Party of the King's Dragoons; upon which an Alarm was immediately spread through the whole Army of the Rebels, that Sir *John Cope* with the King's Forces was approaching; but these few Dragoons presently retiring,

delivered them from their Apprehensions almost as soon as they were risen, and quickly after some more welcome Guests arrived; for on the same Day about thirty Head of Cattle were driven to the Camp, for which the Pretender's Son promised the Owners Payment, when he had got Possession of what he called his Father's Crown.

On the 9th of *September*, the *Inverness* Post was stopt as he passed by *Athole*; he was immediately brought before the young Pretender, who ordered his Packets to be searched, and two Priests, one of whom is made a Bishop, and dignified by the Title of his Lordship, were appointed to read the Letters. Some of these Letters were detained, and the rest delivered back again to be conveyed as directed.

While the Army lay at *Blair* Mass was constantly celebrated twice a Day in the Chapel of the Castle; at which *Charles* never failed to assist, together with all the principal Noblemen, and others. Here 30 *French* Officers, together with the famous General *Cameron*, joined them, these were dispersed in a new Regiment, the Command of which was given to that General.

These Officers, who landed in a long small Vessel in the West of *Scotland*, brought with them Dispatches to *Charles* from his Father, and, as was reported, a considerable sum of Money. The Confessor likewise read a Letter publicly, which he had received from the Pope, containing Absolution and Indulgences to all those who would embrace the Catholick Religion and Pretender's Party: And many took him at his Word, particularly one *James Cameron*, who had so well recommended himself by expressing an extraordinary Zeal against Hereticks, that the Confessor procured him an Ensign's Commission: He was afterwards rebuked by His Brother, (who is a rigid Presbyterian) for going to Mass; upon this he swore, that he had got Heaven and a Pair of Colours both in an Hour.

The Rebels lay all this While in their Camp near *Perth*, where their Generals and other Officers lost no Opportunity of disciplining them with the utmost Expedition.

One Evening (when *Macpherson* himself happened to do Duty as one of the young Pretender's Guards) a Person came to the Camp, and was, by his Desire, conducted to the Presence of *Charles*, with whom he staid in close Conference, at which only the Dukes of *Perth* and *Athole* (for so the Marquis of *Tullibardin* was now called) were present, during several Hours. Soon after his Departure, it was rumoured through the whole Army, that the City of *Edinburgh* was to be

betrayed to them, and that they were to march in a Day or two to take Possession.

Accordingly on the 11th instant, at Break of Day, the Army marched, and came that Day to *Dumblain*, which is 22 Miles. The next Day they halted, in the Morning were drawn up and reviewed by General *Cameron*; and having been under Arms all that Day, advanced in the Evening as far as *Down*, which is only two Miles distant from *Dumblain*.

On the 13th they again marched at Day-break, and in the Morning pass'd the Frith at the Ford of *Frews*, five Miles above *Stirling*. Here *Charles* attempting to give an extraordinary Instance of his Bravery, by passing the water first, and mistaking the Ford, very narrowly escaped drowning, from which he was preserved by Lieutenant *Duncan Madson*, who at the Hazard of his own Life rescued him from the Waves; a Service for which he would certainly have been rewarded, had not Religion and the Priests (*Madson* being a firm Adherent to the Presbytery) opposed his Promotion. Indeed so strong is this Biass in the Mind of *Charles*, that not a single Instance can be produced of any Preferment being bestowed by him, unless on those who have embraced his Religion.

The Army having pass'd the Frith at this Ford, which is about five Miles above *Stirling*, halted for some Time, while a Council was held at their Front among the Generals, after which they were directed to march towards *Glasgow*, and they all apprehended the Design was to make an Attempt on that City; but on the 14th in the Morning, the Posture was changed; they turned short towards the East, and came to *Falkirk*; and on the 15th advanced within Sight of *Edinburgh*, their Van Guard being posted about three Miles to the East of *Gogar*, and which is about the same Distance from *Edinburgh*. Here they again halted, and were drawn up, in order, as they supposed to form the Attack of the Town; but were immediately surprised to see the young Pretender, with the Duke of *Perth*, &c., at the Head of the Royal Regiment of Guards only, advance directly towards the Town, where, as they soon after heard, the Gates were thrown open for their Reception. General *Guest*, with some of the King's Forces, some arm'd Townsmen, with the Bank, and most of the valuable Effects, and with Provision, as it was then said, for ten Weeks, being retir'd into the Castle,

The Declaration was then read, and the Pretender immediately proclaimed at the Market Cross, as he had been before at *Perth*; at which Ceremony some Magistrates (but

whether Voluntarily or by Compulsion was not known) assisted, with all the Gentry and Nobles of the Rebels Army. This Ceremony was accompanied by a triple Discharge of the Small Arms from the Guards, as well as from the Artillery, with most of which the Castle had supplied the Town for their Defence; and this Salute was again returned from the Army without the Walls; such, I mean, as had Fire Arms, which did not amount to a third Part.

In the Evening, some of those who had attended the Pretender's Son into the Town, returned into Camp, and gave an Account to the Rebels there of the Reception which *Charles* and his Friends had met with; and which (whether it arose from Fear or Favour I will not determine) was much more to his Satisfaction than he expected. Indeed, had the City been inclined to have made a vigorous Resistance, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for the Pretender's Forces to have taken it in any reasonable Time; especially as they daily expected a Visit from Sir *John Cope*, and who, it was said, was to have been greatly strengthened with a Regiment from the Townsmen of *Edinburgh*.

The Pretender, with his principal Followers and 500 of his Guards, were lodg'd in the Town, where he was treated with more Respect than Fear will well account for; the rest of his Guards took up their Quarters in the *Canongate*.

As to the main Body of Rebels, as soon as their several Guards and Picquets were fixed (for their Generals omit no Sort of military Discipline or Precaution) the rest of them were order'd into their Camp, in order to their Repose, which was very acceptable to Men who had little else besides the Noise and Smell of Gunpowder to regale themselves with for the last 24 Hours: This Want however was somewhat remedied the next Morning, when their Friends sent a pretty large Supply of Provisions to the Camp, which was nevertheless soon exhausted by so large a Multitude; and several Parties, without asking Leave of their Commanders, detached themselves up and down the Country to provide for their own Bellies.

The Rebels (as the Guards, &c.) within the Town, were now not much better supplied than those without, the Provision which the People cared to afford them being almost exhausted the first Day, and the neighbouring County having been pretty well drained by the Prudence of General *Guest*, Some of the most violent desired to be led on to the Assault of the Castle, though almost impregnable by Nature, and well furnished with Cannon, Ammunition, and Men. This Attempt

was too romantick and impossible, to receive any Countenance from their Commanders: And it was then with the utmost Difficulty that they were restrained from plundering the whole Town; however, the Consideration that they were their own Countrymen somewhat allayed their Fury, tho' it did not entirely prevent all Disorders; and many Violences were in spite of the superior Officers committed, as well on the Persons as Properties of the Inhabitants, both Men and Women; for all of whom (except those concerned in the Treachery of delivering up the Town) the Reader will have a just Compassion. God forbid that any City of *England* should ever be exposed to the same Danger!

As it was no easy Matter to prevent the Hunger of the Soldiers from committing Outrages at this Season, so the furious Zeal of the Priests, and of their young Pretender, now elated with Success, was as difficult to be bridled: And it was not without the utmost Persuasion, backed with some strong Remonstrances from the cooler and more politick of his Party, that *Charles* was prevailed on not to have Mass celebrated, and *Te Deum* sung in the principal Church of the City. Nor would this prudent Council have restrained him for the present from an Act which would have incensed the whole Kirk of *Scotland*, had not an Alarm of General *Cope's* being landed at *Dunbar*, by threatening immediate Danger, given some Assistance and Support to their Arguments. The Reluctance with which this Design was laid aside, and indeed the whole Temper of these Men, may well be gathered from the Language of one *Callaghan*, an *Irish* Priest, who had newly joined them, and who declared, in the Hearing of Mr *Macpherson*, that no farther Success was to be expected by those who durst not publicly celebrate the true Religion in Defiance of a Set of Protestant Dogs; nor could they hope the Lord would fight their Cause, who suffer'd his Temples to be polluted by Hereticks.

The News, however, of Sir *John Cope's* landing, a little deadned the Joy which the Encrease of Numbers, Want of Opposition, and the Betraying the Capital of *Scotland* into their Hands, had given the Rebels; and the more, as Fame had greatly enlarged the Strength of the King's Forces, who were reported to be augmented by two *Dutch* Battalions, and in themselves to be much more numerous than in Reality they were.

On the 19th, the whole Army of the Rebels was drawn forth, and having received a fresh Distribution of Arms from those taken in the City of *Edinburgh*, there were upwards of 4000 regularly armed, and full 3000 more, who were

provided with Daggers and other irregular Weapons, the whole amounting to between 7 and 8000 Men.

With 2500 of these, General *Macdonell* was commanded to keep Possession of *Edinburgh*, and the rest under the Command of General *Cameron* marched that Evening, and encamped at *Duddingston*, in order to meet and fight the King's Forces.

On the 20th, the *Grams* of *Glenmoriston* and some others joined the Rebels, who having by their Scouts received Information of the March of General *Cope*, advanced that Evening to a Place called *Carberry-hill*, where they pitched their Tents. Indeed they were now pretty well supplied with the Addition they had received from *Edinburgh*, with a sufficient Number for those Forces which they had with them, which amounted to upwards of 5000. In the Evening the two Armies came in View of each other, and accordingly, tho' the Rebels had pitch'd their Tents, both of them lay that Night on their Arms.

About Three in the Morning the Rebels began to move, and turn'd at first Eastward and marched about a Mile in Length, then facing about to the Left they formed themselves in five Columns; in which Posture they advanced towards Sir *John Cope*, *Charles* himself taking Possession of a neighbouring Hill, from which he might survey the whole Action.

It is said, he at first declared a Resolution of leading on his Army himself to the Charge, but was dissuaded from it by General *Cameron*, who told him, he would then put his own Life, on which the Success of his Father's Arms depended, on the same even Chance with that of the meanest Soldier; that it would be difficult for him to restrain his natural Ardour in the Action, and thus by exposing his Person, he might win the Victory, and lose his Cause. He added, that it would be Time enough for him to engage in such a Risk, when King *George* himself should in Person oppose him; but that *Sir John Cope* was not of Consequence or Dignity sufficient to justify his hazarding himself Arm to Arm against him.

These Arguments were backed by the Priests, who declared it was Presumption; at the same Time asserting, that by Invocation of the Saints, and by *Ave-Marys* and *Pater-Nosters*, he would lend more Assistance to his Cause than the Valour of Thousands could give to it.

Won, therefore, by these united Persuasions, he with his Priests ascended the Hill, where, while they devoted themselves to Prayers to the Saints, the Army proceeded to

the Charge.

About Four in the Morning, the Patrol brought an Account to General *Cope*, that the Rebels were in Motion in their Camp; upon this the King's Forces, who had lain all Night on their Arms, were drawn up in Order of Battle; the Foot being in the Center, two Squadrons of Dragoons placed on the Right, and as many on the Left, the remaining two Squadrons being drawn up in the Rear to support the Foot: The Artillery were placed in the Front to the Left.

This was the Situation of both Armies, when the Highlanders marched on to the Attack; and Sir *John Cope*, whose Disposition was truly good and military, rode several Times from the Right to the Left of the Line, encouraging his Troops, who all express'd great Spirit, and a Resolution of doing their Duty. This Disposition the General was afterwards obliged in some little to alter, by the Alterations which the Enemy made in theirs.

The extreme Column of the Rebels, which were to the Right, having advanced till they were opposite the Cannon, which consisted only of six small Field Pieces, immediately faced about, and ran with the utmost Violence up to the Mouths of the Cannon, which by an extreme Neglect of those whose Duty it was, never fired on them once: It was then that the brave Colonel *Gardner* order'd his Dragoons to charge them in Flank, which Service he could not prevail on them to perform; but having given them a single Discharge of their Fire Arms, they immediately turned about, and, like Men struck with a sudden Panick, ran away.

The Colonel having in vain attempted to rally them, (as did Lord *London*, who threw himself at their Head, and charged the Rebels) on a sudden quitted his Horse and charged with the Foot, who being attacked with great Fury by the Highlanders, and seeing themselves defeated by the Horse, after having made two irregular Fires, which did very little Execution, many of them threw down their Arms, and turned their Backs to the Enemy.

All was now in general Confusion: Poor Colonel *Gardner* and those few brave Officers that stood their Ground, fell a Victim to the Rage of the Enemy, who finding no longer Resistance, fell to the most inhuman Butchery, with which having somewhat tired themselves, they proceeded to make Prisoners of all those who survived the blunted Edge of their Swords.

THE PRETENDER WAITING FOR REINFORCEMENTS.

The news in the *Courant* relating to the movements of the Pretender from the 29th September, when he defeated General Cope at Preston, to the 1st November, when he commenced his march southwards on the Cumberland side, is extremely meagre. For some time his followers were encamped at Duddingston, and subsequently returned to Edinburgh, where the Pretender awaited reinforcements. He sent off a messenger named Kelly to France to announce his wonderful success, and to urge the despatch of troops and supplies. The French King gave some arms and money, some of which fell into the hands of English cruisers. Three weeks after this Charles sent over Sir James Stewart, but the French still held back, and thus time went by till the Dutch and English troops landed in England, and the Pretender's opportunity was lost. All this time he was master of all Scotland, except some districts north of Inverness. the Highland forts, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. To reduce Edinburgh Castle he determined to blockade it and starve it out; but as we have already stated Governor Guest sent word that in that case he would bombard the city and lay it in ruins. The threatened blockade was, in consequence, waived. In the *Courant* of October 19 we find the following from the *London Gazette*, Whitehall, Oct. 12:—"By Letters from Berwick of the 7th inst. there is Advice, that upon the 4th the Garrison of the Castle of Edinburgh, under Favour of a great Fire of their Cannon from the Half Moon, made a Trench across the Castle Hill, half-way between the Gate and the Houses, 14 feet broad, and 16 deep, and from the parapet, made by the Earth dug out of the Trench on the side near the Castle, with the Fire of 200 Men of the Garrison, clear'd the Street. Upon the 5th, by the Help of the Townspeople, they obtained 20 Black Cattle, a Quantity of Bread and Ale, and Water from the Reservoir. About Five that Evening, a considerable Detachment of the Rebels march'd up to the Castle hill to attack the Party of the Garrison in the Trench, who retreated into the Castle upon their Approach without losing a Man; the Rebels, in creeping up the South Side of the Hill had 20 of their men Kill'd by the Cannon from the Castle. About Nine the same Night, between 4 and 5,000 of them march'd into the Town from their Camp, and remained in it all Night, but none of them durst appear within Reach of the Cannon. They were employing all the Farriers about the Town to shoe their Horses, and gave out that they intended to march upon the 8th towards Berwick with 9,000 Men. On Friday, Glenbucket and Lord Ogilvy join'd them with a

Reinforcement of 700 men. They will not suffer any provisions to be carried out to the Fox, man-of-war, lying in the road of Leith, and the Captain of that ship has taken care to prevent any Vessel crossing the Forth. They had ordered the Landlords of all the Houses of Edinburgh to pay in Half-a-Crown in the Pound of all their Rents as upon the 7th, on pain of Military Execution. Several people had been robbed by them upon the Highway, and they had pillaged all the Country round about.”

That the Pretender and his advisers were perplexed, we learn from a letter in the *Courant* of the same date from Kelso, October 13:—“The Highlanders are still at Edinburgh, but don’t know how long, they having sent orders to Dalkeith for 100 carts and 300 horses to be ready on Tuesday next, designing for the South by this Road. About 18 of them were last Thursday at Dunse and Kelso, and pick’d up about 20 horses at this Place. After Dinner they march’d off with what Booty they had got, about 40 Dragoons having come from Berwick in pursuit of them, and were within gun-shot of them at Eccles, within three Miles of this Town. On Thursday last, as a servant of the Chevalier’s was standing upon the Castle Hill viewing the Castle, upon coming off he turn’d up his Backside and gave it a clap with his Hand, but a Shot from the Garrison at the same time drove him all to pieces.” We also read in a letter from Berwick, dated Oct. 16:— “The Rebels continue still in their Camp at Duddingstone. ‘Tis said they intend to entrench and encamp themselves in the best situation they can, in order to wait for a Foreign Aid and keep the King’s troops at Bay; and that some of their most experienced Officers have been viewing proper ground on Fogo Moor, and elsewhere for that purpose.’ In the same paper appears the following:—“Extract from another letter from Berwick, Oct. 16:” “Last Monday afternoon the Rebels struck their Tents at Duddingstone and Ordered a great many Carriages to be ready for their Baggage, so that we all concluded they intended to march directly, but they went into Edinburgh and Leith, and by our Last Advices they still continue there, having discharged all the Carriages.”

THE GOVERNMENT PROFIT BY THE REBELS’ DELAY.

Charles was anxious to follow up his victory at Preston by marching directly into England, trusting to the effect of his triumph to bring all inclined to the Stuart cause to his standard. He was confident that a rapid march would put London in his possession, but the chiefs dissented, although

such was the defenceless condition of the country, that Henry Fox, writing to a friend, said, "England is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6,000 Dutch, and the 10 battalions of English we have sent for from Flanders, or the 5,000 French or Spaniards, will be here first, you will know our fate." Fortunately the French did not support the Pretender, and thus gave the Government time. In the *Courant* of Oct. 19, we have the following items of local news:—"They write from Nottingham that 3,000 forces have pass'd that Town; that 6,000 Danes are for certain landed; that 30,000 Regular Forces will be on their March in 20 days, and if need be, 50,000 Volunteers, the whole Nation being determin'd to defend our present happy Constitution. We expect here daily the forces under Field Marshal Wade, in their way to the North, to attack the Rebels and Relieve Edinburgh Castle. Last Monday our Volunteers and Militia, also the Dutch and English Soldiers were reviewed by the Hon. Gen. Huske; after which they were all stationed at their proper places on the Town Wall (where we have about 200 cannon planted), there to answer to a minute's warning." The North of England must then have been one vast military camp, for we read in the same paper:—"We are inform'd from Doncaster that there are encamp'd near that Town about 10,000 Foot, one-third of which are Dutch, with an exceeding fine Train of Artillery of Brass Cannon; and that by the 19th they expect to be increas'd to 20,000. Cholmondley's and Blakeney's Regiments join'd the Camp there on the 24th. Col. St. George's Dragoons lie at Pomfret and Ferrybridge. Two Regiments of Irish Foot are now quarter'd at Tadcaster, Wetherby, and Leeds. All the Towns from Stamford are filled with Soldiers."

CONTINUED PREPARATIONS FOR TRANSPORT.

The following advertisement for forwarding the troops, appears in the *Courant* of October 19:—"Northumberland—A large Body of her Majesty's Troops, in number 20,000 at least, being on a full March towards Tweed, a great number of Carriages will be wanted for conveying their Baggage and Ammunition; any Person or Persons therefore aminded to undertake the providing of Carriages for that Purpose, lor any number of miles, at the rate of so much for every Hide for each Wain, Cart, and Carriage, or otherwise, are desired to deliver their Proposals in Writing to his Majesty's Justices of the Peace on Monday next, the 21st of Oct. inst. in the Forenoon, at the House of Mr Thomas Beaver, innkeeper, at the Black Bull and Crown, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where a

Meeting will be held for the receiving of such Proposals and contracting with such Person or Persons as are willing to undertake the same upon the easiest Terms.—Denton.”

ARMING OF THE PEOPLE.

Never before had such enthusiasm and resolution been manifested in the North on behalf of any cause as there was on this occasion in favour of the Government. Another advertisement in the same paper concludes thus:—“Whereas it is supposed many more Men may be raised by the County of Northumberland for the Defence of his Majesty and safety of his Kingdom by Voluntary Contributions of Money to be employed for these Purposes, this is therefore to give Notice to the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others of the said County, who have not already engaged in the above Association, and to whom it may not be convenient to furnish Men, that whoever shall please to pay any Sum of Money, immediate Endeavours shall be used to provide Men and Arms (over and above those already raised) in proportion to every such Payment; and if any Persons are possessed of Guns, Bayonets, or Swords which may be of use, they are desired to send them. N.B.—Contributions and Arms will be received by the Bailiffs of Morpeth, the Chamberlains of Alnwick, and Messrs Wilkinson, Kirsop, and Robert Bell at Hexham. N.B.—Such persons as have not already sent in a month’s pay from the 11th inst., are required to do it forthwith, to the Persons above-mentioned.” Another advertisement is to the following effect:—“Durham Castle, 15th Oct., 1745. At a general meeting of the Deputy Lieutenant, Clergy, and Gentlemen, held here this Day, it was resolved to request the Clergy of this County to set on foot and promote in their several Parishes a Subscription of Money amongst such persons as chuse rather to give Money than to subscribe for Men and Horses, which Resolution will soon be signified by Letter to each Clergyman, and it is hoped they will be very zealous in putting the same in Execution. And it was further ordered, and is hereby accordingly declared, that the several sums of Money already or hereafter to be subscribed shall be applied in the Raising and Arming of so many men, allowing to each man two months’ pay, as the said Subscription will Permit, which men are intended to augment and compleat the present Regiment of Horse now waiting for the Defence of His Majesty and his Government. And all Persons whomsoever who have any Arms and do not intend to appear in Person, or send Men and Horse on the foot of the present Association, are hereby desired and

requested forthwith to bring in the same to the Castle of Durham for the use of the men so intended to be raised as aforesaid, which Arms shall be faithfully restored to their several Owners as soon as the present unnatural Rebellion shall be fully and effectually suppressed.”

LOYAL DEMONSTRATIONS IN OTHER TOWNS.

A letter from Manchester, dated Oct. 7, published in the *Courant* of Oct. 19, mentions the arrival there of two Irish Regiments under the Hon. Brigadier Cholmondeley. “In every Village he march’d thro’ he was received with the warmest Acclamations; and in Warrington, the Zeal of the People show’d itself in a very distinguish’d manner. The Inhabitants invited the Soldiers into their private Houses, and entertain’d them with a Generosity and Hospitality worthy of the Cause in which they are engaged, and absolutely refus’d to take any Money for their Fare. When they came to this Place a general joy appear’d in every Countenance; nor was there wanting any publick Testimony of their loyal Zeal.” In a letter from Preston, dated October 5, in the same paper, we read that a Guard consisting of the town’s people had been organised. The guard of 100 men was changed every 24 hours, and care was taken that no arms left the town, and all strangers passing and repassing were strictly examined. “There never was,” says the writer, “a greater Harmony, or stricter Union amongst Protestants of all Denominations, of whatever Sect, or Party, than at present subsists, and shows itself conspicuous even in Lancashire (as I doubt not but it does all over England) who are all ready and determin’d to venture their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of our Sovereign, King George, our Country, Religion, Laws and Liberties.” A great meeting had been held, presided over by the Earl of Derby, of the principal gentlemen of the Bount, and they had “open’d and fill’d up a voluntary Subscription for a great many Thousand Pounds, for raising a body of Troops for his Majesty’s Service.” We learn from a letter from Norwich of Oct. 9, in the same paper, that there also was a great meeting held in the Town Hall, “where the Bishop of Norwich open’d the Meeting with a loyal Speech, displaying Popery in its proper Colours, and laying before the Company, in a very pathetick manner, the Danger of a Popish Pretender.” An address was adopted and signed by the Bishop, Lord Hobart, Lord Oxford, Lord Leicester, Lord Townshend, Lord Coke, Sir Edward Bacon, Sir Hanson Barney, Sir Horatio Pertus, Sir Jacob Astley, Sir Randal Ward, Sir Charles Turner, Mr Horace Walpole, and others.

DISLOYAL MANIFESTATIONS.

It is stated in the same letter that on the Tuesday following “the Bishop received a letter, as did also the Mayor, telling them that there was to be a rising of the Papists at Windham, Bungay, &c, and that they were to rendezvous about four Miles from Norwich, and then to march and join the Papists in the City, and seize upon the City Guns, &c. This was wrote (as is mentioned in the letter) by one seduced by the Papists, but says he would be murther’d if he was to discover himself. Upon this the Magistrates have mov’d the City Guns, and have taken all possible care for Preserving the Peace of the City; but the glorious Spirit and Unanimity that appear’d this Day ‘tis hoped will put to Confusion the Enemies of his Majesty and preserve our happy Constitution.” In a *Courant* London letter of Oct. 15, we read:—“We hear that several persons of Quality have lately discharged all their French and other Servants, being Papists, and it is hoped all other Gentlemen who keep such Servants will follow so good an Example. Some days ago the hon. the Commissioners for victualling his Majesty’s Navy order’d all the Servants belonging to the said Office to be summoned together in order to their taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration, which five or six of them refused, and were thereupon discharged.

THE CLERGY AND “MINISTERS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS” ON THE REBELLION.

Addresses were presented to the King from the Bishop Dean, and clergy of the City and Diocese of London, and from the Protestant Dissenting ministers in and about the cities of London and Westminster. In the former the Bishop and his clergy say that their wonder at the rebellion ceases when they reflect upon the restless spirit of Popery, which never neglects the least prospect of enlarging its borders, and upon the pleasure which arbitrary powers naturally take in destroying the liberties of a free nation, and the readiness of people of desperate fortunes to embark with them in any enterprise that gives them the least hope of bettering their condition. The address, after ridiculing the notion that the rule of the Pretender was to be preferred to that of the King, goes on to say:— “Upon so important an Occasion, we should be greatly wanting to our Duty, if we did not make the most open and Publick Profession of our inviolable Fidelity to your Person and Government, and of the firmest Resolution to

defend and support both to the utmost of our Power, against this and all other Attempts from what Quarter soever they come. And for the more effectual preventing and defeating all such wicked Enterprises, we take this Opportunity to assure your Majesty, that we will instil into the People committed to our care, a just Abhorrence of Popery and the Doctrines of it, and excite them to a serious Reflection upon the Dangers and Difficulties to which these Nations were involv'd within the Memory of man by the illegal and violent Proceedings of the Popish Prince for the overturning our Religion, and the establishing his own." The Dissenting Ministers in their address said:—"As the religious and civil Liberties, the Happiness and Honour of the Nation, have been always your Majesty's unwearied Care, we cannot but detest and abhor the present unnatural and rebellious Attempt to impose on these Kingdoms a Popish and Abjured Pretender. We trust in God, that so wicked and desperate an Enterprise will issue in the speedy and utter overthrow of these infatuated Traitors, and the still further Establishment of your Majesty's Throne, and the Succession in your illustrious Family, on which, under Divine Providence, the enjoyment of all that is dear to us depends." In these addresses and the King's replies the Protestant Succession and the establishment of the Church were closely identified. In thanking the clergy the King said—"Your Influence and Example will greatly tend to animate my People with a due Zeal for the support of my Government, and for the Defence of our most Holy Religion. You may be assured of my constant Resolution to protect and maintain the Church of England as by Law established." It will be seen from these addresses that all through the country the Rebellion was regarded as a Roman Catholic movement.

RECALL OF GENERAL COPE.

The consternation caused by the defeat at Preston Panns was followed by an outbreak of indignation and loud demands for inquiry. Says the *Courant* of Oct. 19:—"Gen. Cope is sent for up from Berwick, and General Roger Handysyd is gone down to take the command of the Forces upon him at that place. 'Tis said a Court Martial will soon be held on some of the Officers who commanded the Forces at the late Battle at Preston Panns in Scotland."

A JOLLY AND LOYAL SQUIRE.

Manifestations of loyalty were not confined to military

preparations. Here is an extract from the *Courant*, already quoted:—"We have an Account from Horsham, in Sussex, of a very extraordinary Entertainment. A merry old 'Squire near that Place, who had a Farm come into his hands last Michaelmas, being inclinable to make a Housewarming, and for that Purpose invited the Farmers in the Parishes round him; but they, considering the badness of the Times, desir'd it might be called a Help-Ale, and that they would send in their own Provisions, of which the following is an exact Inventory:—115 Fowls, 62 Ducks, 30 Rabbits, 10 Geese, 2 Hams, 30 Bacon Pies, 6 Cheeses, 2 Sheep, 1 Bullock, 200 Quarts of Brandy, 30 lb. of Butter, 22 lb. of Candles, 6 gross of Pipes, 12 lb. of Tobacco, and 300 loaves of Bread. After Dinner was over, the merry 'Squire began with drinking a health to the King and Royal Family and no Pretender; whereupon the Trumpets and French Horns sounded with loud Huzzas from the Company, who were near 400. They spent the Night chearfully, without quarrelling, and were willing to venture their lives for the Protestant Cause."

A NEW PROTESTANT LITANY

appears in the *Courant* of November 2:—

From unnatural Rebellion, that direful curse,
From changing a true King, and taking a worse,
When Popery and Slavery follow of course,

For ever Good Lord deliver us.

From that Damnable Doctrine that makes it no Sin
To depose or to murder a Protestant King,
And when much blood they spill do a *Te Deum* sing,

For ever, &c.

From Jesuits, Fryars, and Monks, and their hoods,
Who will save all your souls and seize all our goods,
And with Fire and Fagot will purge all our bloods,

For ever, &c.

May Spaniards, or French, all who join with a Highland
In disturbing the Peace of this our blest Island,
Meet tempests on Sea, and halts on dry Land,

We beseech Thee to hear us good Lord.

May we join Heart and Hand, with our Faith's Great
Defender,
Until he shall make those vile traitors surrender,
And drive hence all Popery, with their Pretender,

We beseech Thee, &c.

May Britannia still flourish, and raise high her Head,
And brave George with her arms be once more the Dread
Of the Grind House of Bourbon, strike Tyranny dead,

We beseech Thee, &c.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

On the 17th October the King opened Parliament, and in the course of his speech said:—"The open and unnatural Rebellion, which has broke out, and is still continuing in Scotland, has obliged me to call you together sooner than I intended; and I shall lay nothing before you at present but what immediately relates to our Security at Home, reserving other Considerations to a farther Opportunity. So wicked and daring an Attempt, in favour of a Popish Pretender to my Crown, headed by his eldest son, carried on by numbers of malicious and desperate persons within the Kingdom, and encouraged by my Enemies abroad, requires the immediate Advice and Assistance of my Parliament to suppress and extinguish it. The Duty and Affection for me and my Government, and the Vigilant and Zealous Care for the Safety of the Nation which have with so much Unanimity been shown by my faithful Subjects, give me the firmest Assurance, that you are met together resolv'd to act with a Spirit becoming a Time of Common Danger, and with such Vigour as will end in the Confusion of all those who have engaged in or fomented this Rebellion. I have throughout the whole Course of my Reign, made the Laws of the Land the Rule of my Government, and the Preservation of the Constitution in Church and State, and the Rights of my People the main end and aim of all my Actions. It is, therefore, the more Astounding that my Protestant Subjects who have known and enjoy'd the Benefits resulting from thence, and have heard of the imminent Dangers these Kingdoms were wonderfully delivered from by the happy Revolution, should by any Acts and management be deluded into Uneasiness, that must at once destroy their Religion and Liberties, introduce Popery, and Arbitrary Power, and subject them to a foreign Yoke." The proceedings in Parliament were not then reported in the *Courant*, so that nothing is said as to how the speech was received.

CONDUCT OF THE REBELS IN EDINBURGH.

The longer they remained at Edinburgh the more disorderly the Rebels became. In a letter from Kelso, dated Oct. 24, it is stated:—"They now more and more rob and distress the country; all around them is in the most miserable situation; 'tis still asserted, that there is not above 7,000 effective men; yet as there is no head to command in this country, nothing dare be said to oppose their most insolent Demands (even by the smallest handful). The whole Country is now so much enraged, that if some proper Commanders were here, there would such a number of able men arise, as would tear them to Pieces: at some Places they stop not to destroy People at nights, and throw them into Coal-pits. In Merse and Teviotdale there are as many good Men (if the King's Standard would set up near them) as, with a very few regular troops, would immediately disappoint the Rebels going further; and by their being suffer'd to go so long, it makes the North believe them to have a compleat Conquest, and that occasions others to resort from this Quarter." That the Highlanders were becoming desperate is confirmed in several accounts. The *Courant* of Ootober 26th prints the following extract from the *London Gazette* of October 19th:—"The rebels had formed a scheme for getting into their hands a ship in Leith Roads, on board of which were some new pieces of cannon, above 25 barrels of powder, and some firelocks. This vessel, as there was no access for her to Leith, was committed to the care of the Fox man-of-war in the Forth. Four masters of ships had undertaken to go off to her with 18 hands, cut her cable, and let her drive until she got out of the reach of the man-of-war's guns, and then carry her into Leith Harbour; but the night before this was to have been executed. Captain Beavor got intelligence of the plot, and immediately put 20 of his hands on board her, and moor'd her under his own stern."

It appears that the rebels had great difficulty in obtaining ammunition, as the Fox man-of-war in the Firth of Forth kept a sharp look out in order to prevent the landing of war material, and the following paragraph indicates the difficulty of the rebel position in consequence:—"We learn from Edinburgh, Oct. 20, that 2,000 of the Rebels are gone to escort 4,000 musquets, with some Cannon and Money that are landed at Montrose. As they cannot cross the Firth to go the nearest Way, they must go five miles above Stirling as they came; so from the Time their Party went off (from the best accounts we can learn) they must be 10 Days in returning." Before relinquishing all hope of taking the Castle

the rebels made one more attempt to capture it, which we find described in the *Courant* of Oct 26:—"A Party of Highlanders having made an attempt on Edinburgh Castle, the Governor kill'd or took Prisoners 20 of them, and burnt four or five Houses on the Castle Hill." The letter goes on to say—"The Rebels have received 1,500 Stand of Arms, and six Chests of Silver. I saw 200 of them review'd by General Gordon and Glenbucket on Leith Links. There are 200 at Musselburgh, a Guard of about 30 over the Custom House at Preston Pans, and 100 were encamp'd at Craigmillar, but have gone to Duddingston. The Rebels have taken 1,200 stone of Hay belonging to the Earl of Stair, 7,000 from the man that keeps the Old Port house at Leith, 3,000 from the Marquis of Lothian, 6,000 from Sir James Dalrymple, 3,000 from Baron Clark, and 3,000 from the Duke of Buccleuch, and they have also demanded 80 bolls of Oats from each of the above Gentlemen; besides 8 load of hay they seized going to Edinburgh from Inveresk. They have 20 Horses standing in Stables at Dalkeith and have taken about 100 from the Earl of Hopetown. One Russell, a stabler in Leith, is order'd to prepare Winter Quarters for some of them." The situation of the Pretender was becoming desperate, and some of the clans which had held aloof now threw in their lot with the Government. The *Courant* of 26 says:—They write from Edinburgh, Oct. 20, that the Rebels are still there, and don't think they intend to move soon. Lord Loudon-Campbell, who sail'd from Berwick in the Glasgow Man of War we have Advice, is arriv'd in the Highlands, and the well-affected Clans have join'd him to the number of 6,000; so that they will have no backdoor to get away by; the names of their chiefs are, the Argylls, Macleods. Sir Alexander Macdonald, McDonalds of the Isles, Munroes, Grants, Frasers, McKies, part of the McIntoshes, and the forces with the President, Duncan Forbes.

MEASURES AGAINST THE CATHOLICS.

An advertisement in the *Courant*, of Oct. 26, shows very plainly the distrust which existed regarding the Roman Catholic population. It reads thus:—"Durham, 24th Oct., 1745.—Whereas, there is immediate occasion for Horses in order to augment and compleat the present Regiment now raising in and for the County of Durham, these are to give notice to all Papists, reputed Papists, and Non-jurors, that they do send into the Deputy Lieutenants of the said County at the Castle of Durham, on Thursday, the 21st Day of October instant, all their Horses, Mares, and Geldings

exceeding the value of £5 each, and that the Persons neglecting so to do will be proceeded against according to Law; and that no Papist, reputed Papist, or Non-juror do presume to go above five miles from his or her own habitation, or Place of Abode, without proper Licence; and that said Deputy Lieutenants do request the several Persons who have sent Men and Horses into the said Regiment aforesaid, that they will advance and pay into the hands of Mr Christopher Johnson, at the Castle at Durham, on Saturday the 2nd day of November next, another month's pay, by order of the Deputy Lieutenants."

In the *Courant* London letter of Sept. 19 we read— "The following is a true Copy of the Oath taken and subscribed to by all the Men that bear Arms in the Six Regiments of the Militia of the City of London:— "I, A.B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King George, so help me God.

"I, A.B., do swear that I do from my Heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Position that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murther'd by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever.

"And I do declare that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Civil, within this Realm, so help me God."

THE ROYAL YORKSHIRE HUNTERS ON THE MARCH.

We have already mentioned the Yorkshire Hunters, a cavalry regiment raised in the North Riding. We find from the *Courant*, of October 26th, that 120 of the force under General Oglethorpe reached Newcastle the day before, on their march to meet the rebels. We are told that "their Appearance was very grand, consistent with their own Honour, the Defence of a Protestant Sovereign, the Spirit of true and stedfast Britons, the loyalty of worthy Yorkshiremen, and the Liberty and Prosperity of a Free People." On the 29th Oct. the Hunters entered Morpeth, and next day being the King's birthday, there was a gathering of magistrates, "attended with the said Royal Hunters with their Trumpets," burgesses and gentlemen, "and 180 men rais'd and paid by this Corporation and the Neighbouring Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Clergy, for the Defence of his Majesty's Person and Government, were drawn up in Arms,

and a large Bonfire made, when the healths of his Majesty and all the Royal Family were drank, under a triple Discharge of Small Arms made by the Gentlemen Volunteers of this Place, and the loud Huzzas of the Populace." An entertainment was provided for the Volunteers and Royal Hunters by Sir Henry Liddell, Bart., which was followed by a ball in the Town Hall, ringing of bells, illuminations, and toasts. In the *Courant* of November 16 we find the following:—

The Royal Hunters' March.

A BALLAD.

Since Tenein's Schemes
 And Charles's Dreams
 Disturb our pleasing Soil,
 Let us unite,
 And put to flight
 Those Monsters of our Isle.
 The Fox and Hare
 Awhile we'll Spare.
 To seek a worthier Prey;
 And all resort
 To nobler Sport
 Where Glory points the Way.
 When such a Cause,
 And King and Laws
 Our instant Aid demand,
 Who would not strive
 Away to drive
 Those Vermin from the Land.
 Bold Nimrod first,
 In Battle durst
 Lead on the adventurous Van,
 And purpled o'er
 With Sylvan Gore
 Employ his Arms on Man.
 In later Days
 The Hunters' Praise
 Let Aurengzebe declare;
 By Hunting naught

Whose troops were brought
 Fatigues in Arms to bear.
 The gen'rous Steeds
 Our Country breeds,
 Shall sweep along the Plain;
 And Highland Glens
 And Lowland Fens,
 Obstruct their Course in vain.
 One Heart, one Hand,
 A loyal Band,
 Well pour upon the Foe,
 And France and Spain
 Shall both in vain
 Conspire to give us Law.
 Then hark, away,
 Without Delay,
 Where honour loudly calls;
 Henceforth well chace
 The savage Race,*
 And haul them to their Holes.
 And when our Arms
 Shall from Alarms
 Ourselves and Country free,
 We'll crown the Bowl
 Without Controul
 To George and Liberty.

HOW TO FIGHT THE HIGHLANDERS.

Even in 1745 there were military advisers who sent their communications to the newspapers and the London Post of October 24 brought the following curious letter, which appears in the *Courant* of November 2:—"To the Militia or Soldiery of England.—The Arms of the Highlanders are a Musket and a Broad Sword and a Target. Their manner of Fighting is to fire at about 30 yards distance, then fling down

* The Foxes have Holes, therefore the Expression is orthodox; which is enough for a Protestant Ballad: And accordingly licensed by me General Draper.

their Muskets and run in upon their Enemy with their Swords and Targets; and I think their Weapons have much the Advantage of our Musket and Bayonet, after we have discharged, as they take the point of the Bayonet upon their target, advance at the same Time with their Broad Sword. To remedy this Evil I advise that a line of *Chevaux de Frise*, each about two or three yards long, and about one yard distant from each other, be placed at the Front of the Army; and that one Rank of Men (merely touching each other) stand before *Chevaux de Frise* as well to hide the same, as to fire the same Distance the Enemy do; and when the Highlanders have flung down their Muskets and are running upon us with their Swords and Targets, then our said foremost Rank are to Retire in the interstices between the *Chevaux de Frise*, and sit instantly down upon their Breach, that the third next Rank behind them (who have not yet discharged one Piece) may give a full Fire, Kneeling, stooping, and standing as soon as the Enemy are come close to the *Chevaux de Frise*, and so continue loading and firing as fast as possible, which will infallibly destroy thousands of them in one Quarter of an Hour, if they don't take to their Heels before, which they will certainly do; and then our Horses may be let Loose upon them from our Right and Left Wing to trample and cut them down in their Flight, and our first Rank before mentioned, and then to rise up and pursue, and the rest of the infantry are to follow in good order with their *Chevaux de Frise*, carried by men before them, that if the enemy should rally and face about we may be ready to receive them as before, and an entire victory over them must be the consequence at a very cheap rate. I likewise advise, that every man in the army, both horse and foot, do wear an iron cap or a horse shoe under their hats to defend any cut from the broad sword of the Highlanders. This piece of generalship I learned from Count Munich, Commander of the Russian army, at the battle of Choezim against the Turks, when the Janissaries attacked them with the musket first, and then the sabre and target, but were by the help of the *Chevaux de Frise* totally defeated. And it is to be observed that the flank and rear of our army must be inclos'd with the waggons and carriages attending the same, according to the discretion of the General.—Count Munich, every night he encamp'd, inclos'd his army and baggage with his *Chevaux de Frise* and waggons, like fortification with cannon like Bastions. And I also advise, that every soldier have a blanket to cover him these cold nights in their tents, which will preserve them in health, otherwise they will soon be able to do little service.”

THE DEATH OF COL. GARDNER.

The *Courant* of Oct. 26 contains the following particulars which are mentioned in a letter from Edinburgh, “relating to the behaviour and fall of the brave Colonel Gardner, who was so well-known and universally esteemed in these parts, as well as in many others. He did all that could be expected from the most gallant and experienced officer to rally his Dragoons, but finding his utmost efforts vain and seeing the officers, who commanded the Fort, which the Regiment was appointed to guard, fall, the Colonel immediately quitted his horse, snatch’d up a Half Pike, and took upon him the command of the Foot, at whose Head he fought until he was brought down by three wounds, one in his shoulder with a Ball, another in his Forehead by a Broadsword, and the third, which was the mortal stroke, in the hinder Part of his Head by a Lockerber Axe. This Wound was given him by a Highlander, who came behind him when he was fetching a Stroke at an Officer with whom he was engag’d. It is added that he is regretted not only by his Friends and those of the present Government, but even by those against whom he fought, who agree with all others in acknowledging that he finish’d a worthy and exemplary life with a most honourable and heroic Death: for he might very easily have escaped with the rest, if, like them, he would have deserted his Duty. He was decently interr’d in the Church at Tranent, where eight of his children lie. This fatal action happen’d almost by the walls of his own Seat at Banxton; but Lady Frances Gardner, with his eldest Daughter, were left by him at Stirling Castle, and the younger children are also safe.”

THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.

We have now come to that period in the story of the Rebellion when the Pretender decided on invading England. On the 9th of October he issued another proclamation, in which he called the Parliament at Westminster a “Pretended Parliament.” This proclamation is not printed in the *Courant*, but there are repeated references to it, and to another which followed next day. In the latter he averred that he found the Act of Union unpopular in Scotland, and that he came not

only to restore the king but the kingdom of Scotland. He denied that the Stuarts, if restored, would abolish either the national debt or the national church, and if his family had given just offence to the nation by arbitrary acts they had now expiated their offences by an exile of 57 years. He asked whether the new dynasty had done anything to win more favourable estimation than to load the nation with debt for objects in which they had no concern, and he concluded by challenging the Elector to send away his foreigners. The Pretender's army having received the last reinforcements that he expected then, by the arrival of Menzies of Sheen with a considerable body, he was impatient to march southward. He was anxious to do this because he was assured by Lord Lovat that he, the Macdonalds, and the Macleods of the Isles were prepared to defend his interests in the Highlands, although Lord Lovat was at that time in communication with Duncan Forbes, in the interest of the Government.

STRENGTH AND RESOURCES OF THE REBELS IN EDINBURGH.

In the *Courant* of Nov. 2, we read:—"Letters from the North give the following Account of the Rebels at Edinburgh, viz. Came at first 4,500; with Tullibardine, 2,500; of Lowlanders, 1,000; with Lord P—, 500; ditto another Clan, 300; Lord Ogilvie, G— and H—, 1,200; in all, 10,000. Account of Money they have receiv'd: From Perth, £1,000; from Glasgow, £5,400; 2s 6d per Pound on House Rents in Edinburgh, £15,000; by Goods sold from Leith Custom House, £7,000; in all, £28,400. As to what Remittances they have had and Plunder taken Reports are various; however 'tis certain the Chiefs are differing among themselves." Those who were too old to join the Pretender sent in money instead, and the Earl of Wemyss, among others, sent £500. The revenues of the King's land were levied throughout Scotland as of right, and all arrears called in. Factors of the estates forfeited in 1718 were ordered to pay over their balances under threats of military execution.

REBEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

It is said that while the Pretender was in Edinburgh he displayed a very humane character, and that he showed the greatest clemency to the prisoners taken at Preston. These, however, were rather an impediment to the movements of his small army. Thus we read in the *Courant* of Nov. 9 as

follows:—"We hear a Field Officer and two Gentlemen went lately to the Royal Infirmary and Charity Workhouse and other Places about Edinburgh, where the wounded Soldiers were, and after examining into their Diet, and the Care taken of them, they were told that such of them as now inclined to vow, that they should not carry Arms in the present Quarrel before the 1st of January, 1747, should have a Pass and Protection to carry them to their native Countries, &c. 260 of them readily accepted thereof. There have several died under Cure, and some, after they could go about, went up to the Castle."

REQUISITIONS FOR THE REBELS.

Before leaving Edinburgh the rebels requisitioned friends and foes. We read in a Berwick letter, dated October 27:—"By accounts from the Rebels, Orders are given for 100 Horse to bring out the Young Pretender's Baggage from Edinburgh, and 10 Horses with Tents and Sacks are sent to Leith; five Cannon are placed on Ferry-hill near Inveresk, and a great many Cannon, to let the French and Spaniards (as they said) know where they were. They have also planted seven Pieces of Cannon at Alloway, at a Pass on the Forth a little below Stirling; from whence, 'tis conjectured, by the Number of the Horses they have order'd, and those already in their Possession, that they design to go cross the Mountains behind the King's Forces, and so come into England." In the meantime affairs in Edinburgh were in a bad plight. "They wrote from Edinburgh," says a paragraph in the *Courant*, "that all Travellers are oblig'd to wear Cockades for Safety. One may walk Edinburgh through without seeing a Person belonging to the City. All the Shops are shut up, there being no Traffick, unless Shoes making for the Highlanders, who do not stay in Town, but keep Watch, and lie about the Walls. These wearing no Cockades are stripp'd, and the whole country is impoverish'd, the Rebels sparing neither Cattle, Grain, or Utensils." Again, it is stated in the *London Gazette* of Nov. 9:—"By Letters of the 3rd inst. from Berwick there are Accounts, that upon the 27th past, a Party of the Rebels had been at Glasgow to demand the whole Subsidy for the Tobacco brought in Seven Ships, and just then landed at Greenock, which amounted to £10,000; that they had also demanded for three years Excise upon Small Beer, which likewise amounts to £10,000 sterling." In carrying out these measures the Rebels sometimes had recourse to murder. In the *Courant* of Nov. 9, it is stated that "By an Express from the North we have Advice, that Messrs John Soly and

Thomas Ayres, Surveyors of the Excise in Scotland, have been kill'd in cold Blood by the Rebels, near Hamilton Castle, for not readily delivering up the Produce of the Revenue in their Hands." Before marching the Rebel army had become almost uncontrollable, and a letter from Dumfries, of Oct. 27, says:—"Our Situation in the Capital of this country was such as made it unsafe for any Person well affected to the Government to continue longer in it; Clergy as well as Laity have left it, and for these six weeks past we have had no Sermon in the Churches. For some time before I left Edinburgh no Letters were allow'd to pass unopen'd, which made it extremely dangerous to write any manner of News." Besides Highlanders, some of the worst criminals in the country had flocked to the Stuart standard. "'Tis assur'd from Edinburgh (says the *Courant*) that the noted Ratcliff, who has spent his whole life in Pilfering and in Jails, out of which he has broke twenty different Times, particularly twice while under Sentence of Death in that City, was lately apprehended and committed to the Theeves Hole there. He had gone about the Country since he got last out of Jail at the head of a gang of Villains in Highland and Lowland Dress, with white Cockades (the distinguish'd Mark whereby to know the Partisans of the young Pretender) imposing upon and robbing poor People both Day and Night." Notwithstanding the condition of affairs some of the Ministers in Edinburgh refused to recognise the Pretender, and "the following Prayer was used by Mr Niel McVickers, one of the Ministers of the West Kirk, near Edinburgh, who had been forbid by the Pretender to pray for his Majesty King George, viz.:— 'O Lord, bless the King, thou knowest I mean King George, establish his Throne in Righteousness; fix the Crown form borne on his Head. And as for this Stranger that is come amongst us to seek an Earthly Crown, take him to thyself, and give him a Crown of Glory.'"

REBEL APPEALS TO CONTINENTAL POWERS.

Before setting out the Pretender and his agents importuned all the Catholic Continental Powers to assist by money or men his wild enterprise, and though Louis of France could not be induced to make much effort, he sent various ships with arms and money. In a letter from Paris of Nov. 2, we have the following:—"The current Report is, that at the Request of the Scots the Court has at last granted 12,000 men to the young Pretender; and that our Scotch and Irish Regiments, with some Swiss, and the Regiment of Normandy, will compose this Corps, which is to be

commanded by C. Lowendahl. It is added that Spain will embark next Spring at Ferrol a Body of Troops of the same Force. We are also told that two of the Swiss Cantons are willing to furnish Troops to the young Pretender, provided he pays them; and that the Republick of Genoa has offer'd him her service for any sums he may please to draw upon her." There were more reports in the same letter; the writer says: "We have been greatly surpris'd to hear that the Ferrol Squadron is at last found unfit for Service. Admiral Alvarey, who was to have the command of it, in the intended Expedition in favour of the Pretender's second Son, having writ to the Court of Madrid by an Express, that it is impossible for him to put to Sea with rotten Ships, ill-mann'd and poorly victuall'd. The armaments go on in our Ports, especially at Brest, from whence we hear Capt. David is come back from Scotland, after landing there 3,000 Broad Swords and 1,800 Muskets, with a considerable Quantity of Powder. Two other vessels, freighted in the same manner, have landed their cargoes in Scotland, and are safely returned to Dunkirk." In a letter dated Rome, Oct. 22, it is stated that—"The Abbe de Beaufort, Almoner to the eldese Son of the Chevalier de St. George who arrived here (Rome) a few days ago, only waits for an Answer to the Despatches which he brought before he returns to Scotland. The Cession which the Chevalier is determin'd to make of his Rights and Pretensions to his eldest Son, was the Occasion of the Abbe's coming. An Instrument was drawn up and sign'd at Albano, whereby the Chevalier authorises his Son to take, as well in Scotland as England, all the Titles which are devolv'd to him in Right of his House; and other measures were taken that were judg'd necessary for promoting the success of his enterprise. Last week the Chevalier de St. George gave audience to a Lord, which the King of the Two Sicilies sent to compliment him upon the arrival of his eldest Son in Scotland, and upon the Number of Partisans in his Favour, which he found there. His Sicilian Majesty at the same time gave him by that Lord, Assurances, that he would contribute all in his Power to favour the success of his Enterprise."

HIGHLAND OPPOSITION TO CROSSING THE BORDER.

The Highland chiefs were opposed to a march into England, and at three councils the Pretender strove in vain to induce them to cross the Border and fight the army of Field Marshal Wade, which was then in Newcastle. The Pretender's council consisted of his two Lieutenants-General the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray; Quarter-Master General

O'Sullivan and Lord Elcho, colonel of Horseguards; his secretary, Murray of Broughton; Lords Ogilvie, Nairn, Pitsligo: Lewis Gordon, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and all the Highland chiefs. One-third of the council were Divine right men, and holding that the King could never do wrong always supported the Pretender's opinions. The Highland clans were Whig and Jacobite. The former were the Grants, Monroes, Mackays, and Campbells, and were by far the most numerous and powerful section, and extremely Jealous of the Jacobites, who were the Camerons, Macdonalds of Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengarry, who were now out with the Pretender, and those who had been out in 1715, the Gordons, Macdonalds, and Macleods of the Isles, who now professed to be friendly, but mostly stayed at home. Since 1715 the clans had grown, and the Highlanders were miserably poor., and this contributed to drive them into the Stuart ranks. As a measure of policy some of the Highlanders had been formed into a regiment of infantry—the Black Watch—at the instance of Duncan Forbes, the Lord President, but nothing had been done to make friends of the clans. When he reached the Border the Pretender had with him the following officers and troops, which we copy from the *Courant* of Nov. 23:—

Regiments.	Colonels.	Men.
Lochyl	Cameron of Lochyl	740
Appin	Stewart of Ardshiel	360
Athol	Lord George Murray	1000
Clanronald	Clanronald of Clanronald, jun	200
Kippoch	Macdonald of Kippoch	400
Glenco	Macdonald of Glenco	200
Ogilvie	Lord Ogilvie	500
Glenbucket	Gordon of Glenbucket	427
Perth	Duke of Perth (and Pitsligo's Foot)	750
Strowan	Robertson of Strowan	200
Maclauchlan	Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan	260
Glencarnick	Macgregor	300
Glengarry	Macdonald of Glengarry, jun.	300
Nairn	Lord Nairn	200
Edinburgh	J. Roy Steward (and Lord Kelly's men)	450
		6287

In several Corps	1000
Horse { Lord Elcho } { Lord Kilmarnock }	160
Lord Pitsligo's Horse	140
Total	7587

THE PLAN OF MARCH.

It was only when the Pretender threatened to go alone that his followers in council at length yielded, and, on the proposal of Lord George Murray, it was agreed to enter England on the Cumberland side. The proposal was kept a profound secret; and, to further mislead the Government, it was further proposed to divide the Rebel army in two columns, to march by two different routes, but to muster at Carlisle. One of them was to be led by the Pretender himself by Kelso, as if intending directly to march into Northumberland; the other to take the direct route through Moffat. On the 1st Nov. the Pretender commenced his march. Each of the two columns was preceded by a number of horsemen to act as scouts. The following Order was sent to the Provost of Kelso, viz.:—"I William, Earl of Kilmarnock, Colonel of Horse Grenadiers, in the Service of his Royal Highness C—s P—ce of W—s. R—t, &c., by his Highness's special command, require you, Lord Provost of Kelso, to provide Billets and Provisions for 4,000 Foot, and 1,000 Horse at Kelso and thereabouts, to-morrow night being Monday, the 4th current, and for the night following, this you are to obey at your Peril, and under Pain of Military Execution; and you are immediately on Receipt of this to send to the Magistrates of Wooler to make the same Provisions, for the same number of Foot and Horse for Tuesday and Wednesday night, the 5th and 6th current. I am my lord, your most, humble Servant, Kilmarnock. signed, Black Barony, Nov. 3, 1745."

INFORMATION OF THE REBEL MOVEMENTS.

On this side of the Border—in Newcastle—they seem to have been pretty well informed of the rebels' plans, for in a Berwick letter in the *Courant* of Nov. 9, we read:—"The Rebel Army is divided into two Columns, 3,000 of which with the Young Pretender and the Duke of Perth, are actually now at Kelso, fourteen miles from us, and have been there since yesterday; and the P—e (as they call him) and his Retinue are

in the Duke of Roxburghe's House in that town; the greater part of the above number are Horsemen, besides the Body Guards, which are computed to be 500. It is given out by them, and I have seen the Route that they intend to go by Wooller; but this is what we don't much credit, for they have never offer'd to cross the river yet, except a few who retreated. The other Column, which is suppos'd to be 5,000, have gone the Carlisle Road by Peebles with twelve Pieces of Cannon, some of which are six and eight Pounders, and above 100 Carriages, but we have had no particular Account how far that Party is advanced. We are most of us of opinion here that this is all a Feint, notwithstanding that they have advanced so far, to amuse General Wade, harass his Troops, and protract Time, as they still give out they expect a foreign Aid; but a few Days must determine all these Conjectures. Barrill's, Fleming's, and the Dutch were all last Night, and the Night before upon their Arms, and then Baggage in the Carriages to march to join Gen. Wade, but I cannot yet tell when they are to march." In another letter from Berwick of the same date we are positively told that the Rebels at Kelso numbered 5,000, "but without any Baggage or Artillery. Of their Horse 500 have cross'd the River Tweed on their way for Wooller; the rest of them are at Lauder, where their Baggage and Artillery is. Yesterday four of our Militia took at Coldstream, one Rande;, Quarter-Master in the Pretender's Army, who had come there to provide quarters for 500 men (he was formerly an Officer of Excise in Scotland). In the evening they brought him into this Town in his Tartan Dress and white Cockade, with his Servant and Three Horses; he is now confined in our jail.' Again, we read in the *Courant* of Nov. 9th:—"By Advices from the North of 15th instant, there are Accounts that the Rebels were marching Southwards towards Langton and Carlisle, as was suppos'd in three different Columns, the Westernmost of which was thought to be their main Body, by the Pretender's Son being with them, who was to take his Quarters at Broughton, near Peebles, being the House of Murray, his Secretary. The Middle Column march'd by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick, and the Easter, most by Kelso. Marshal Wade was at Newcastle upon the 5th, and upon Advice of the March of the Rebels Southwards had countermanded the March of the Army under him to Berwick."

THE ROYAL TROOPS AT NEWCASTLE.

By the end of October Newcastle was crowded with troops. In one day Burrell's, Wolfe's, Fleming's, and Munroe's

regiments of foot arrived in the town, and on the following Monday Field-Marshal Wade with several officers entered Newcastle. Next day Pulteney's, Cholmondley's, and Blakeney's regiments of English foot; Holstein-Gottorp's, Parot's, and three regiments of Herzels—all Dutch, commanded by Prince Maurice of Nassau—also came in and marched to the Town Moor, where they encamped, together with Batteroy's regiment and the Royal Scots, commanded by General Sinclair. The entire number mustered on the Town Moor, we learn from another paragraph:—"We hear there is fifty Thousandweight of Biscuit order'd for the Army, which consists of about 15,000 effective men, in high Spirits, and who, we also hear, will decamp To-morrow or Monday next, longing for nothing more ardently than to attack the Rebels."

PROFITABLE PATRIOTISM IN ENGLAND.

We have already seen how the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham raised the energy of the gentry. In other counties a similar spirit was displayed. A paragraph, which we find in the *Courant* of Nov. 9, throws a curious light upon some of the proceedings. In this paragraph it is stated that the officers of the 13 regiment of foot and four of horse, which were raising in different counties in England, would be entitled to half-pay when disbanded. Contrary to their promises the Dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, Rutland, Montague, Lords Herbert, Halifax, Cholmondeley, Falmouth, Malton, Derby, and others moved that the regiments which they had raised should be paid by the State, and be put upon the regular establishment. The public were taken aback, but these nobles and their friends had taken care to name their relations and dependents as officers, and the job was carried to the great disgust of the King, who, it is said, hoped that the House of Commons would prevent it. But the wealthy nobility had their own way, and thirteen regiments and two of horse were voted.

CONDUCT OF THE WHIG CLANS.

Vigorous efforts were made by the Government to secure the services of the well-affected clans, and we read in the *Courant* of Nov. 9, under date "London, Oct. 31," that "between 3 and 4000 Stand of Arms, with a proportional Number of Swords, will be forthwith sent for the Service of the well-affected Clans, now raised and raising by the Right Hon. the Earl of Loudon, Lieut.-Gen. Campbell, &c., in

Argyleshire and the adjoining Counties; the said arms will be immediately sent under Convoy of Men of War." According to a Dumfries letter of Oct. 12, "the Earl of Loudon having got together at Inverness with the assistance of the President, a considerable body of the well-affected clans, viz., Monroes, Grants, Sutherlands, and Mackays, is doing very important Service to the Government." These measures rendered Duncan Forbes very obnoxious to the rebels, and a letter from Inverness, dated October 18, says:—"Last Night Duncan Forbes, Esq., Lord President, was attack'd in the Castle of Culloden by 200 men, who, after a very warm Reception, were oblig'd to quit their Enterprise, with the loss of eight of their men. His Lordship was not hurt, and behav'd in this Affair with great Composure and Intrepidity; and in a short time will be able to face them in the open Field." The Government had an Act of Indemnity passed, pardoning those who lay down their arms by a certain day. This had some effect, and it is stated in the *London Gazette* of November 5 that "half of Lord Ogilvy's men had deserted; and that a party of the Rebels in Angus were employ'd in forcing them to return; that they had small Parties in the Passes upon the Road in Inverness, who search'd all Passengers." The *Courant* of November 16, quoting the *Edinburgh Courant* of the 5th November, says:—"Last Week no less than 500 Deserters from the Highland Army pass'd thro' Kilsyth, on their Way home. And about 100 Yesterday, taking the benefit of the Act, march'd thro' the same Place, towards the North.

REBEL PROCLAMATIONS BURNED BY THE HANGMAN.

As we have seen, the Rebel army remained inactive in Edinburgh for more than a month, and the Government had recovered from the panic into which it was thrown by the battle of Preston Panns. Not for many years after were reports of the proceedings in Parliament permitted to appear in the *Courant*, and it is only by an occasional paragraph that we learn what was done there. In the issue of November 16 we find the following:—"We hear that the H— of L—, and the H— of C—, have resolved Nem. Con. that the two printed Papers respectively sign'd James R. and dated at Rome the 23rd Day of December, 1745, and the four printed Papers signed Charles P.R. dated respectively the 16th Day of May, 1745, August 22nd, 1745, the 9th Day of October, 1745, and the 10th Day of October, 1745, are false, scandalous, and traitorous Libels, intended to poison the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects, containing the most malicious, audacious,

aud wicked Incitements to them to commit the most abominable Treasons, groundless and infamous Calumnies and Indignities against the Government, Crown, and Sacred Person of his most Excellent Majesty, King George the Second, our only rightful and undoubted Sovereign, and seditious and presumptuous Declaration against the Constitution of this United Kingdom; representing the High Court of Parliament, now legally assembled, by his Majesty's Authority as an unlawful Assembly, and all the Acts of Parliament passed since the happy Revolution, as null and void; and that the said printed papers are full of the utmost arrogance and insolent affronts to the Honour of the British Nation in supposing that his Majesty's Subjects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced, or terrified, by false and opprobrious Invectives, insidious Promises, or vain and impotent Menaces, or of being deluded to exchange the free Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties, as well civil as religious, under the well established Government of a Protestant Prince, for Popery and Slavery, under a Papist, bigotted Pretender, long since excluded by the wisest Laws made to secure our excellent Constitution, and Abjur'd by the most solemn Oaths: and that in Abhorrence and Detestation of such vile and treasonable Practices the said several Printed Papers be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman at the Royal Exchange, in London, on Tuesday, the 12th Day of this instant November, at one of the Clock in the Afternoon, and that the Sheriffs of London do then attend and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly."

GENERAL WADE'S INACTION.

The nation was now armed to the teeth, and it was generally expected that when the Rebel army marched it would come by Newcastle, which was admirably defended. Heavy guns were placed at the Close-gate, White Friar Tower Postern-gate, Heslop's House, Old Roper's Tower, Dobson's Tower, West-gate, Hatter's Tower, Glaziers' Tower, Paviers' Tower, St. Andrew's Tower, Newgate, Pilgrim Street gate, Weaver's Tower, Cutler's Tower, Roper's Tower, Pandongate, Carpenter's Tower, Sand-gate, on the wall above the Pant, Broad Chare, Sandhill-corner, Bridge End, and at the Mayor's. Sentry boxes were set at convenient distances along the walls, and a vast number of sandbags hung over them, with palisadoes to prevent the access of an enemy. At this time, as we have already stated, Wade's army of 20,000 was encamped on the Town Moor. Some local poet sang in the *Courant*, of Nov. 9th:—

“Go trusty, Wade the War important wage,
 And execute thy Nation’s virtuous rage.
 Rever’d by All, lead thy Battalions forth.
 And crush Rebellion rampant in the North.
 The Foe shall hear, and tremble from afar.
 The growing Terrors of approaching war;
 Thy Legions, gathering daily, as the roll,
 Confound all Hopes in ev’ry Traitor-Soul.
 See! Vict’ry smiling to the Chief draw near;
 While justice leads the Van, and Vengeance forms the
 Rear.”

But Wade did not go, expecting that the Pretender might come through Northumberland. To mislead him the Rebels sent billets for quarters to “Musselburgh, Fisheraw, Preston Panns, Tranent, Haddington, and other villages upon the East Road to Berwick, whilst considerable numbers were to march by Night to the Westward,” While the Rebels were quietly moving westward, the “two Regiments of Dragoons of Hamilton and Ligonier were posted at Wooler, Whittingham, &c., to observe their motions,” and before Wade was aware, the Pretender was before Carlisle, the surrender of which was at once demanded.

CELEBRATION OF THE KING’S BIRTHDAY.

Oct. 30 was the King’s 62nd birthday. The event was celebrated at Tweedmouth, Alnwick, and Newcastle, by military parades and drinking the King’s health. The troops at Berwick were reviewed by General Handysyde, and at Alnwick they mustered in the Market Place, where the Volunteers drank “the liberality (five guineas) of that true and worthy Patriot, Sir Henry Riddell, Bart. The Evening was concluded with Bonfires, Illuminations, and such a publick Spirit of Unanimity and Concord that I may venture to say with a great Divine: ‘As we are all of one Blood, we walk in the same Air, enlightened with the same Sun, cover’d with the same Canopy, and are all Sheep of the same Pasture, what therefore God hath thus joined together, let neither Malice, Cut-throat Highlanders, or Devils put asunder.’—P.”

LOYAL ADDRESSES FROM CARLISLE.

Identical addresses to the King were adopted by the Bishop of Carlisle, the Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of Westmorland, and by the Bishop of Carlisle, High Sheriff, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices

of the Peace, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Cumberland. One paragraph of the addresses is as follows:—"A deep Sense of the many Blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's just, mild, and gracious Government obliges us to express our utter Detestation and Abhorrence of each wicked Effort to deprive us of them, particularly of the present absurd and unnatural Attempt to impose on us a Sovereign, Popish, frequently abjured Pretender, to the Crown of these Realms."

PRINCE CHARLES'S LETTER TO THE MAJOR OF CARLISLE.

"The following is a genuine Copy of the young Pretender's Letter to the Mayor of Carlisle (in *Courant* of Nov. 16):—C—s P—e of W—s, R—nt of the K—m of E—d, S—d, and I—d, and the Dominions thereto belonging, being come to recover the K—g our F—r's just R—ts, for which we have arriv'd, with all his Authority, we are sorry to find that you should obstruct our Passage; We therefore to avoid the effusion of English Blood hereby require you to open your Gates and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from insult, and set an Example to all England of the Exactness with which we intend to fulfil the K—g our F—r's Declaration, and our own. But if you shall refuse us Entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such Means as Providence has put into our Hands, and then it perhaps will not be in our Power to prevent the dreadful Consequences which usually attend a Town taken by Assault. You may seriously consider of this, and return us an Answer in Two Hours; for your Delay we shall take for a Refusal, and resolve to take such Methods as most likely to succeed.

"C. P. R.

"Nov. 10, 1745."

CAPTURE OF A REBEL OFFICER.

A party of the Royal Regiment of Hunters were ordered to go out every day to watch the motions of the rebels, and to send intelligence to Marshal Wade's army. Parties of the Cumberland Light Horse were similarly engaged, and to some purpose. In the *Courant* of Nov. 16, it is recorded:—"On Monday last. James Brand, Esq., Lieutenant and Quarter-Master in Lord Kilmarnock's Regiment of Horse, in the Rebels' Army, was brought hither prisoner from Carlisle,

near which city he was taken last Saturday morning, in sight of the Rebel Army; he was taken by Mr John Kilpatrick, Captain of the Cumberland Light Horse, who with six others, were reconnoitring the Enemy, and who ventured within a Quarter of a Mile of them. He was examined before Marshal Wade, but gave no satisfaction, and behaved with great Resolution. He was dressed in a Highland Plad, and Blue Bonnet, on one side of which was a plate Cockade, had two pair of Pistols, one of which was charg'd with Powder only, and the other empty, and a Back Sword, and had about him a remarkable Cap work'd round with Iron chain which also cover'd his Neck, Shoulders, and Breast, being a sufficient Fence against any Sword. He said the Army behind him consisted of 5,000 men, and another Party was marching forward from Kelso on their way to the Borders. He is no Highlander, though in that Dress, and is thought to be the Son of one Mr Brand, formerly a Watch Maker in the Mint of the City of Edinburgh. After Examination he was committed to Newgate, where he now remains a close Prisoner."

SURRENDER OF CARLISLE.

Carlisle fell at a blow. A letter from Barnard Castle, dated Nov. 15, stated that an Express had reached that town from Carlisle, reporting the surrender of the city, but that the Castle was not then taken, and that the Governor doubted not but he would be able to hold out a week. Another letter of two days' later date, also from Barnard Castle, says:—"By this Day's Post the Surrender of Carlisle is confirm'd. The Rebels allow'd the Inhabitants and Garrison to retire to the Castle or march out of the Town, which they thought fit. An Express is just arrived with the Melancholy account of the Surrender of the Castle. At Three this Afternoon John Dalston, Esq., arriv'd here; he is a Captain of the Militia, and has been in Carlisle ever since the Rebels' first Attack; he says most of the Garrison and principal Inhabitants had retir'd into the Castle, soon after which most of them deserted that Place, and the Governor demanded a Capitulation; but the Rebels would grant no other terms but their Lives, and Liberty to march where they pleas'd. In consequence of this, he and many other Gentlemen left the Town, attended a little way by the Duke of Perth, who order'd a Guard of eight Highlanders to escort them eight or nine Miles on the Road, after which they march'd to Penrith on foot, and from thence they took Post to Lord Lonsdale's. The Pretender was not then arriv'd at Carlisle. 'Tis suppos'd to be Lord George Murray that is kill'd, and not Tullibardine, as the latter was not then before the

Place. The Guns belonging to the Town of Carlisle were nail'd up; those of the Castle, with the Ammunition, and a number of Small Arms, fell into the Rebels' Hands."

We find the following description of Carlisle in the *Courant* of December 21:— *'The following is a Short Description of the Ancient City of CARLISLE, the Garrison of which is now (but we hope will not much longer be) in the Possession of the Rebels. Carlisle hath a most agreeable and pleasant Situation, being guarded on the North Side by the Eden, on the East by the Petrel, and on the West by the Caude. It is also secured by a strong stone wall, so thick that four or five men usually walk abreast on the Top of it, without Hazard or Inconvenience, and it is the common Walk or airing Place of the Citizens. It is also defended by a very broad Ditch, and all the Gates have Drawbridges. It is likewise a very strong Castle and Citadel; so that it is justly esteemed one of the strongest, if not the strongest. City in England. 'Tis of an oblong Form from West to East, and the Castle, which stands to the Western Part of it, is pretty large, and by the Arms (as Mr Camden infers) seems to have been built by King Richard III.*

"This City is of very great antiquity, having been a Roman Colony. In the 8th or 9th Century it was entirely ruined by the Danes, and continued desolate for 200 years. William Rufus rebuilt it, and Henry I., considering how good a barrier it might be made against the Scots, caused it to be well fortified, placed a Garrison in it, dignified it with an Episcopal See, and bestowed upon it many other Privileges and Emoluments, which might make it strong and populous, which his Successors, even down so low as Queen Elizabeth, very much augmented. It was indeed often besieged by the Scots, and was twice taken, viz., in King Stephen's and King John's Days, but recovered again by their Successors, Kings Henry II. and III., and tho' it was burnt by misfortune in the 14th of Richard II., and near 1500 Houses destroyed, with the Cathedral and Suburbs, yet by the munificence of the succeeding Kings it was again restored, and much improv'd in Strength and Beauty.

"It is at present a wealthy and populous Place (at least it was so before the 15th of last month when taken by the Banditti now infesting this country), the houses are well built and City walled in, having three Gates, viz., the Caldo or Irish Gate on the South, the Bother or English Gate on the West, and the Richard or Scots Gate towards the North. It trades chiefly in Fustians, has a considerable Market on Saturdays, and a yearly Fair on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. It is

govern'd by a mayor, twelve aldermen, two bailiffs, &c., and sends two burgesses to Parliament. The Assizes and Sessions for the most part are held in this City.

“There are but two Parish Churches, viz., St. Mary’s and St. Cuthbert. St. Mary’s is the Cathedral and stands almost in the midst of it. The Eastern Part, which is the newer, is a curious piece of Workmanship; the Choir, which with the Aisles, is 71ft. broad, is an exact piece of Architecture, having a stately East Window of 48 foot in Height, and 30 in breadth, adorned with Pillars of curious Workmanship. The Roof is elegantly vaulted with Wood, and embellish’d with the Arms of France and England quarter’d, the Percys, Lucys, Warrens, Mowbrays, and many others. In the Choir are the monuments of three Bishops of this See, Bell, Robinson, and Smith, who are buried there. The West End, which is the lower, and was anciently the Parish Church, was also a spacious Building before the Rebellion in 1641, but was for the greatest Part demolished by those violent Reformers, and the Materials made use of for the building of Guard Houses at every Gate, erecting Batteries in the Castle, and setting themselves up private Dwellings in the Town, tho’ it has been observed their Posterity never enjoy’d them.

“This City was formerly esteem’d the Key of England against the Scots on the West Side, as Berwick was on the East, and is at this Day a Place of great Importance. Notwithstandmg it was well provided with Cannon, Ammunition, &c., yet it was sooner taken by the Rebels as above than expected; the true Cause of which we must refer to *Time*, which seldom fails of bringing to light the most darkhidden and intricate Actions of this Life.”

AMONG THE REBELS IN EDINBURGH.

The following “Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, dated Nov. 1,” is given in the *Courant* of Nov. 16:—“The Rebels have order’d all the Towns in Scotland to send them in the cess; which will only be complied with by those who are now in their Power. Our poor Farmers will be quite ruin’d; for they oblige them to give two horses out of each Plough they keep. ‘Tis a thousand Pities the Inhabitants of Argyllshire were disarmed at the same time with the rest of the Highlands, for they are real friends to the Government. They, like good Subjects, complied, and gave up their Arms fairly; while their, and our, enemies only gave up those which were useless and nasty, merely for a Blind. I dare say poor Edinburgh would not have been in the Condition ‘tis at

present, had the Argyllshire Men had it in their Power to prevent it. I had the Curiosity to go into the Street when they enter'd the Town, and talk with some of the Ruffians, as I could speak their language a little. There was about 1,000 of them present when their Pretender was proclaimed. One of the Fellows had the Impudence to tell me it would not give him the least Pain to cut all our Throats. You may believe I did not like this, and made the best of my way out of their Reach. I look'd earnestly at their Guns and Swords. Their Guns were very bad; but their Broad Swords and Pistols seemed pretty good. They made Barracks of the New Assembly Room, the New and Old Churches, and the Parliament House. I think you may really say our Churches are now made a Den of Thieves. At the Proclamation there were a good many of the Tory and Papist Ladies present, who show'd a great deal of Zeal by Huzzas and waving their white Handkerchiefs and fair Hands; but not a Gentleman could I see worth Twopence; no, not one. There has nobody join'd them at Edinburgh; but a few broken Tradesmen, Footmen, and Apprentices, no one of any consideration that I can learn, except George Lockhart of Carnworth's eldest son (who went under the name of Young Hopewell), Judge Graham's son; and Lord Elcho, who is much blamed for any harsh Thing that is done. It is said he is afraid that it should not be known he is Charteris's grandchild. I hear Mr Carnegie the younger, of Berwick, is gone to France for the Troops they promised to send to their Assistance. A great many, even among those who were so foolish as to wish them in this city, would be glad they were gone again, such is their Behaviour. I assure you the Papists about Town were the first that paid their compliments to the Young gentleman. None of his own People ever pretend to say he is a Protestant. They always endeavour to shift this question when put to them, by saying he is quite indifferent to all Religion. For my own part I never expect good to Protestants from Rome, nor good to any good men from Lockaber (from whence his followers come) where I never could learn the People had the smallest degrees of honesty; nor ever could be withheld from Stealing than by any other Motive than the Gallows. You know I am acquainted with the Highlands. May you never know or feel what we have done of late."

HIGHLAND DARING.

In the *Courant* of Nov. 9, the following incident is narrated:—"We have the following Account from a Gentleman of Character, viz., a Highlander crossing the Forth

near Stirling was challenged by a Foot Soldier (posted to take Notice of the Ford) whither he was going, &c. The Highlander answer'd for Edinburgh. The Soldier alledged that he might be carrying dispatches for Edinburgh to the Rebels and must therefore stay till he was examin'd, offering to put Hands upon him. The Highlander clap'd close to the Soldier, and ask'd him, whose man are you my Lad? Why, King George's, replied the Soldier. The Highlander as on a Surprise said, King George! you d—n'd Villain; and pulling out his Durk, cut the Soldier severely on the Skull, and escaping got safe to Edinburgh, where he deliver'd his Dispatches.—'Tis said he was pursued by a Lieutenant on Horseback till within a mile of Falkirk."

THE COST OF VOLUNTEERS.

It will be seen that the regiments of Volunteers cost little, according to the *Courant* of Nov. 16:—"The following is an Estimate of the Charge for one Month of 1,000 Men, to be raised for His Majesty's Service, and to be employed anywhere within ten miles of London, viz., 1,000 Men, divided into two Regiments, consisting of 10 Companies each, 50 Men to each Company, Sergeants, Corporals, and Drummers included, and to each Company a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign, and to each Regiment a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and Adjutant; each private Man's Pay to be 1s 6d per Day; 1s 3d of which to be for the present Pay and 3d per day to be stopped for Regimentals and other proper Accoutrements; which Stoppage to be paid at the End of every three months to such Persons as shall Contract for and furnish the Clothing, and other Things requisite for Foot Soldiers:—

"A thousand men at 13d per day is per month	£2,250
Two Colonels at 24s, ditto	72
Two Lieutenant-Colonels at 17s, ditto	51
Two Majors at 15s, ditto	45
Twenty Captains at 10s, ditto	300
Twenty Lieutenants at 4s 8d, ditto	140
Twenty Ensigns at 3s 8d, ditto	110
Two Adjutants at 4s, ditto	12
To make good the difference between the pay of Sergeants, Corporals, Drummers, and Private Men	45
"Total per month	<u>£3,025"</u>

“Civis,” writing in the *Courant* of Not. 16, in reference to the Subscriptions raised for Volunteers, says:—“Can there be a more proper Application of the said Subscription than to reward those poor Men, who have endur’d Fatigue and must venture their Lives to gain a Victory, without which Public Credit must, notwithstanding all associated Subscriptions, be hurt, if not undone? The Proposal, if agreed to and made known before the Day of Battle, will greatly animate our Soldiers, keep them firm, and give them Resolution to fight manfully against their and our common Foe. Not that I suppose our Soldiers are wanting in Heroic Virtue; yet pecuniary Rewards will ever prove strong Encouragement to behave with united Vigour.”

PRAYER AND PERSECUTION.

In the *Courant* London letter of Nov. 9 we read:—“His Majesty has been pleas’d to appoint the 18th Dec. next to be observ’d for a General Fast throughout England, Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, to obtain Pardon of Almighty God for our Sins, to Pray for Averting those heavy Judgments which our Manifold Sins and Provocations have most justly deserved, for imploring the Divine Blessing on our Arms, and for restoring and perpetuating Peace, Safety, and Prosperity to his Majesty and his Kingdoms.” In the same paper is the following:— “We hear that a Law will be made in Ireland to prevent any Marriages for the future between Protestants and Papists, and to make void all Marriages between Protestant and Protestant who shall be warned by any Popish Priest.” In the *Courant* of the following week are these items:— “Dublin, Nov. 1.—Yesterday, our General of Militia issued an Order prohibiting the Roman Catholicks from being out after the Hour of Nine at Night, and forbidding Ale-sellers to entertain any Company after the said Hour. The same Day the Houses of all the Catholicks were narrowly search’d for Arms and Ammunition, but none found.”

GENERAL WADE’S MARCH TO HEXHAM.

On the 16th November Marshal Wade broke up his encampment on the Town Moor and took the West Turnpike for Hexham, and a letter from that town of Nov. 18 in the *Courant* of Nov 23, says:—“The Army under Marshal Wade arriv’d here last Sunday, but part of them very late on their Way to Carlisle. They expected to have march’d next morning, but the Badness of the Weather and Roads, the

Artillery not coming up till Yesterday, and some of their Waggons, not yet come, prevented them. Their Lines were review'd this morning in perfect Health, and they expect to march To-morrow Morning if the Roads are passable. The Advance Guards of the Army extend four or five Miles from their Camp towards the Rebels, and most of the Men choose those Posts, in order to show who is most loyal. We hear just now, that the Rebels are not above eight Miles from our Army, so that our People are in hopes to meet them soon to their Confusion." Hearing that Carlisle was in the hands of the rebels, and that a body of them had marched southward, Marshal Wade ordered his army back to Newcastle, where the foot were lodged in private as well as public-houses, in churches, chapels, and glass-houses. The horse were quartered in Chester-le-Street and Durham. It was expected in Carlisle that [Wade would have marched sooner](#) to their relief, and the Pretender having heard that he had started set out to meet him at Brampton, leaving the Duke of Perth and Tullibardine to reduce the city, but finding that the report was premature he returned to Carlisle. Wade's fruitless march entailed considerable expense, and the local authorities appear to have kept strict account of the outlay. In an advertisement in the *Courant*, November 23, we read as follows:—"This is to give notice to all persons in the Counties of Durham, Northumberland, and the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who have been summoned, and have attended to carry the Baggage, Ammunition, and Provisions of the Army, from Newcastle to Hexham or any part of that Road, immediately to give in an Account to Mr George Cuthbertson, at his Office in Westgate, of what Attendance they have given, how their Carriages and Cattle have been employed, and what Money they have Received for the said Service, by Order of the Mayor, Magistrates, and justices of the Peace of the said Town and Counties, Cuthbertson." Marshal Wade did not remain long in Newcastle, but sent off his artillery on the following Sunday with two regiments of foot, and on the 20th the remainder of the force took the same route. Wade appears to have had very uncertain information as to movements of the rebels, and it was thought that he might soon come up with them. The *Courant* of Nov. 30 says:—"On Tuesday Morning, the Army commanded by Marshal Wade march'd hence for the South in Pursuit of the Rebels; they took the Western Road, and were expected to be at Richmond in Yorkshire last night; so that, by all Accounts of Sir John Liqoiner's Army from the South, we hope to be able in our next to entertain our Readers with the good News of the entire Defeat of the

Rebels." Wade marched by way of Barnard Castle, where he encamped on the 29th on his way over Stanemoor. The authorities were also apparently hopeful that the rebellion would be soon crushed, for an advertisement in the *Courant* of November 30 sets forth that it will be desirable to make another month's payment for retaining the services of the associated men of Northumberland until the militia, for which an Act had just been passed, were embodied.

ARRESTS OF JACOBITE PARTISANS AND SPIES.

Every Roman Catholic was suspected, and persons were arrested every day. Some unquestionably were partisans or spies of the Pretender, and among these was George Lockhart, jun., of Carnwath, who was taken to London and handed over in custody to Mr Money, one of His Majesty's messengers. Another man who was conveyed to London at the same time was named Hixon. He was a publican at Perth, and was apprehended in Newcastle, where, on examination before the magistrates, he confessed he was in the Pretender's service. He was thereupon committed to Newgate, where he attempted to cut his throat with a penknife, but did not succeed. The following is a copy of the letter which was found in the top of Hixon's glove:—"You are hereby authorised and directed to repair forthwith to *England*, and there to certify to my Friends, and particularly those in the N.W. [Lancashire, &c.], the wonderful Success with which it has pleas'd God to favour my Endeavours for their Deliverance; [*Subjection and Slavery.*] You are to let them know that 'tis my full Intention in a few Days to move forwards to them; and that they will be inexcusable [if they become Rebels] before God and Man, if they do not do all in their power [*hazard their necks*] to assist and support me in such an Undertaking [as will ruin their country.] What I depend upon and expect is that as many of them as can should be ready to join me, and they should take care to provide Provisions and Money, that the country may suffer as little as possible by the March of my Troops. Let them know there is no more Time for Deliberation [*now or never* is the Word.] I'm resolved to conquer [*them*] or perish in the Attempt; if the last should happen let them consider what [tranquility] they and their Posterity have to expect."—"C.R." In the *Courant* of Nov. 30, we read—"On Saturday last was brought hither Thomas Collingwood, who was taken the 22nd instant by one of the Cumberland Light Horse at the Swan, in Thirlwell Gate, about 12 Miles off Carlisle. He had about him £114 and a Letter to one of the Rebels from A—n

H—n, Esq., of Tone, near Hexham, in which was a List of those who subscribed towards the above Sum.” Collingwood escaped from custody, for we read in the advertising columns of the same issue of our journal as follows:—“Northumberland.—Whereas, Thomas Collingwood, son of — Collingwood, of Thrunton, in this County, was Committed on Wednesday last to the Gaol in and for the said County at Morpeth, for High Treason, and made his Escape from thence in the Night, between the 27th and the 28th of this Instant November: these are therefore to Give Notice that if any Person or Persons shall apprehend the said Thomas Collingwood, and deliver him to the Keeper of the said Gaol, such Person or Persons shall have paid to him or them, by the Treasurer of this County, a Reward of £50. N.B.—The said Thomas Collingwood is a Person of Middle Stature, about Twenty-five Years of Age, has a round face and short nose, and wore when he escaped a light colour’d Wig, a dark Colour’d Coat, and a Silk Handkerchief about his Neck.” Collingwood was retaken, and tried and acquitted with some prisoners taken at Carlisle, about which more by-and-bye. Conspirators were sometimes found in unexpected places. In an “extract of a letter from Raby Castle, Nov. 19,” we read:—“A Gentleman in this neighbourhood, who has kept a French servant for many years, esteem’d by the Generality of People that came to his House for his affable behaviour, and in great Credit with his master, for suppos’d fidelity, has lately detected him in a constant close Correspondence with the Rebels, to whom he has given early and generous Intelligence of everything that was done or doing in this neighbourhood; which shews how dangerous it is to trust Appearance, or for English Gentlemen to be more taken with the cringing Complaisance and servile Suppleness of a foreign Vagabond than with the honest Behaviour of the Sons or Grandsons of their Tenants, whose Families must in some measure be always accountable for their Conduct.”

THE REBEL OCCUPATION OF CARLISLE.

The inhabitants of Carlisle were in a sad plight during the Rebel occupation. According to a statement in the *Courant* they agreed to pay the invaders six months’ land-tax and excise, which amounted to about £2,000, to avoid being plundered. Nevertheless they were subjected to great hardships, and a communication in the *Courant* of Nov. 30 says:—“Our Accounts from Carlisle take Notice of the many detestable and shocking Villanies of the Highlanders during their Possession of that City; for not content with stripping

several Families of all their valuable Effects, they scrupled not to make free with the Persons of several young Ladies there; particularly, one writes Word, ‘That after being in a manner stripp’d of every Thing, he had the Misery to see his three Daughters treated in such a manner that he could not bear to relate it.’ What does this wicked Crew deserve? How can these plundering shabby Banditti be sufficiently punished?” The garrison seems to have behaved in a most cowardly manner, for we read in the *London Gazette* of Nov. 23, quoted in the *Courant* of the following week:—“It appears by Letter just received from Col. Durand, Commandant of Carlisle, that before the Surrender of that Place to the Rebels, he had Time to nail up ten Pieces of Cannon, from four to two Pounders, that were placed upon the Ramparts; that he had prevailed upon 400 men (besides the two Companies of Invalids) to join with him in defending the Castle, but that before Eight the next Morning they had changed their Resolution, and had all left him to a Man: so that upon calling a Council of War, consisting of the Officers of the Invalids, it was unanimously agreed, that with the small Force remaining under his Orders, and which did not exceed 80 men, many of them extremely infirm, to be impossible to defend the Castle.” “‘Tis said that near 5,000 of the Rebels entered Carlisle at the taking of that Place, and that the Remainder of their Army, amounting to 3,000, were in the adjacent Villages, where they extorted from the People Provisions, Money, &c.”

THE REBEL MARCH FROM CARLISLE.

The Rebels were disappointed at not meeting with any support. In every village they were regarded as enemies, and as nothing remained but to push on or turn back, they had nearly all left Carlisle almost before the news of their occupying that city was known in London. A dispute which occurred between the Duke of Perth, a Roman Catholic, and Lord George Murray, a Protestant, was healed by the intervention of the Prince, but the ugly fact remained that a sixth of the army had deserted since it left Edinburgh. In a letter from Penrith, of Nov. 22, we read:—“The Highland Army which marched in here Yesterday, halts this day. The Prince with his Household came at the Head of a Regiment of Foot, about Three in the Afternoon. By the best reckoning I could make by persons at Emont Bridge and at Fallowfield Bridge in the Town, the Highlanders might be about 3,000. They have odd stragglng Parties which make any Account Difficult. The Carriages for Baggage which came in here

Yesterday I counted in number 81. The Artillery is coming. Three Field Pieces are already here and eight on Road. The Body of Regular Horse is very inconsiderable as yet, about 30 Hussars, besides those which marched with the Vanguard yesterday to Kendal. Carlisle is left with only about 100. They talk of great numbers still to come. What has appeared, taking the whole number together, will not exceed 6,000, besides Women and Boys, Lady Ogilvie, and Secretary Murray's Lady, the only People of Rank of that Sex." After a brief halt at Kendal and at Penrith, where the Pretender was proclaimed king, the rebels pushed on for Preston. A correspondent, writing in the *Courant*, Dec. 7, thus describes them as they left the last-named town on Nov. 30:—"This day I went with many Hundreds besides to see the Rebels march from Preston. They came there Tuesday noon, and have only stayed two nights. They seem to be in a Hurry, for they began to March at Five o'clock this morning, and went directly towards Wigan. By all Accounts at Preston they do not reach 7,000, good and bad, some say not 6,000; however, they are such a crew of beggarly D—ls as I never saw. Part barefoot, others lame, some old, some about a yard high; such a parcel of Trash, &c., never invaded a Kingdom certainly. There's about 3,000, or hardly so many, as are like enough to fight with the sword, but their guns are rusty and good for nothing. They went very merrily off with their Bagpipes, &c., and Colours flying; 'twas something of Curiosity to see them march over Ribble Cop. Their Prince, as they call him, goes on foot, at the Head of a large Company, and the Horse before him; the Baggage follows the Foot, and the Troopers and Hussars follow it. They have two Coaches and four Chairs with Gentlemen. All their Retinue follows. They have 36 Carriages with two Wheels, and two Waggons with four Wheels they got here to go with them. They proclaim'd him yesterday at Preston. I don't think Preston has suffered. They pay fourpence a Day Common Men; the Gentlemen made free at some Houses, where they took Lodgings, Hay, Stables, &c., but behaved civilly." It was believed at Preston that the destination of the rebels was Wales, where they hoped more men would join them. We learn from the *London Gazette* of Nov. 30, quoted in the *Courant* of Dec. 7, that six quarter-masters of the Rebels had made their appearance at Manchester from Preston, to provide quarters for their army, which was to rendezvous on Preston Moor on the 27th November. Two quarter-masters, on the same business at Warrington, were promptly arrested, and a Rebel recruiting party having appeared at Ormskirk, the townspeople rose and fought them and took a dozen of the party prisoners. On

reaching Manchester, the Rebels began recruiting, and were joined by about 200 men; and to create an impression that the force was double what it was, quarters were demanded for 10,000 men.

OCCUPATION OF EDINBURGH BY THE LORDS OF SESSION.

The Highlanders having left on the 15th November, the Lords of Session returned to Edinburgh, and took their seats in the Parliament House, and were saluted by General Guest from the Castle. We read:—"The Gentlemen have agreed to give in a List of the fencible Men on their Lands to the Sheriffs in the adjacent Counties in this City, who are to be ready to take up Arms in an Hour's Warning in case of need. 'Tis said almost all the Jacobites have left this City, and are lurking in the Neighbourhood. This week pass'd our Merchants and Tradesmen's Shops have been open'd, and Business begins to go on briskly.' General Handyside proceeded to Edinburgh from Berwick, with a force which had been quartered in the suburbs of the Border town; and on the 13th, a proclamation was read in the Scottish capital at the Cross, "inviting all able-bodied Men to enter into his Majesty's Service, offering a Discharge at the end of six Months, or as soon as the Rebellion is over." Search was at once made for Rebels, and among others arrested was Archibald Stewart, Esq., who had been provost of Edinburgh.

LAWLESSNESS IN SCOTLAND.

All this time the country north of the Tweed swarmed with small bands of deserters from the Pretender's army and highwaymen. Deserters were passing through Edinburgh before the end of November, and a letter from that city mentions that "one of the principal Persons of the Rebels" was taken prisoner, and conveyed into the Castle. On being searched a letter was found upon him from Secretary Murray to the effect that "in case he should not succeed in his negotiations immediately upon his arrival, he was confidently to give out that the clans were coming up, otherwise he could not answer for a Man staying with them." This person was McDonald of Kenlock Mordant, and the letter found upon him went on to say:—"By a Letter from Lord Lewis Gordon we find he cannot raise any Force in that Country, in which he says the d—nd clergy have given the People such a turn, that it is impossible to make any Rising, unless he is

supported by a very considerable Body sent back to him.” The deserters threw away their arms, and “General Guest having received information that several inhabitants of Edinburgh, and the Counties of Midlothian, &c., are possessed of Arms, viz. Guns, Targets, Swords, &c., left by the Highlanders at their departure, therefore ordered that all Persons possess’d of any such Arms, Baggage or Military Stores, belonging to the Highlanders, forthwith to deliver them up to his Excellency at the Castle.” A letter in the *Courant* from Aberdeen, of Nov. 2, says—“Just now there is sent me from Mr More of Stonnywood, a Letter of which I send you an exact Copy, and want your advice how to behave; I hear there are a great many more of this kind distributed in the Shire, and I presume it is a Circular Letter to all the Heriots within it; mine runs:—‘Sir, I am order’d by Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord-Lieutenant of this County to demand of you a sufficient man of each hundred Pounds, Scots, valued Rent you are possess’d of, sufficiently cloath’d, and having a plaid to meet me at Aberdeen once next week where he is to enter present pay as a Volunteer.’ Your answer is desired by —.” It is lamentable, that we, who are the loyal Subjects of King George should be destitute of Protection, and a Prey to the Enemies of the Government. The King cannot have Troops everywhere, but if we were put in a condition to defend ourselves (which we cannot do at present, being one of the disarm’d Counties) by having a Commission or two, and some Stand of Arms entrusted with proper People to be distributed to us, it would greatly protect this Country, (which I may call the Yorkshire of North Britain) from several small parties of Rebels strolling about and doing what mischief they think proper while their main Body is at a great distance. Our situation at present is such that we may as easily be plunder’d by an Hundred arm’d Highlanders, as a coach full of Women may be robb’d by one Highwayman.” It was the same on the south of Scotland. A letter from Dunbar says:—“Tis said that some of the Rebels when in our Neighbourhood, met a Gentleman on Horseback and demanding his Horse he told them he wish’d as well to the Cause as they did; but he was answered that if he was a well-wisher to the Cause he would think his horse well bestowed; and if he was not, Deil a horse he deserved, and so took him away. They met another Gentleman sometime after, and demanding his money he answered them as well affected to the Chavelier as they were; but they replied to him You pe Jacobite, your money pe Whig, and so robbed him of a considerable sum.”

THE RETREAT OF THE HIGHLAND ARMY.
MARCH FROM MANCHESTER.

The cold reception of the Pretender in Lancashire, where the Stuart cause had received most encouragement in 1715, was a great disappointment to him and his friends. It is true that 200 men joined the standard of insurrection, enlisted, as we learn from the *Courant*, at five guineas a head, but these were the ragamuffins of the place; so thought even the Duke of Perth, who declared that if the Devil had come recruiting and offered a shilling more than his Prince they would have taken it. The Highland chiefs again strenuously demanded a retreat. Marshal Wade was marching against them, the Duke of Cumberland was waiting to intercept them at Lichfield with eight or ten thousand men, and another army was ready to march from Finchley; and while Liverpool and Chester were closed against them their movements were further impeded by the destruction of the bridges over the rivers. The advance meant the stopping of trade, and in a letter from Liverpool of Nov. 22 in the *Courant*, the writer says:—"Our affairs are in so bad a situation that all Trade and Business is at a Stand; and we cannot hope to see Trade flourish, till Forces, by God's Assistance, stop the Career of those Rebels." At length the chiefs consented to go on as far as Derby, and if by that time they were not joined by the English Jacobites they were to retreat. The march was accordingly resumed on Dec. 1. The Rebels had to ford the Mersey near Stockport, and that evening they reached Macclesfield. Another party went by way of Knutsford. A letter from Chester in the *Courant* of December 7 says:—"They behav'd civilly whilst at Manchester, and many of them paid for what they call'd for; but in the country round they took what Horses they met with, and demanded Money from some. The Rebels gave out that they were for Wales, and expected Thousands to join them there." The account in the *Courant* of the Rebel movements from the time they left Manchester is very scrappy and meagre, and consists chiefly of short letters from correspondents who resided in towns through which the Highlanders passed. One of these, writing from Knutsford, says that—"At Altringham they behav'd insufferably rude, carrying away upwards of 50 Horses and several Sheep. They plundered the House of Mr Leigh, the Attorney, and took away what was valuable." The same correspondent says he saw them pass over the bridge at Whaley with the Chevalier at their head. He was dressed in a green plaid, wore a silver-hilted sword, and had on a black velvet cap with a white cockade." He was very complacent, and bowed to the

people, few of whom, however, took any notice of him.

ARRIVAL AT DERBY.

Lord George Murray pushed on to Congleton, while another Rebel leader proceeded towards Newcastle-under-Lyne. After routing a small body of Kingston's horse, Murray contrived to seize one of the Duke of Cumberland's spies, from whom he learned, under threat of execution, that the Duke imagined the Rebels were advancing towards Wales. The Rebels profited by this, and altering their route reached Derby on Dec. 4th, where the Prince was proclaimed. Only three men joined the invaders, and the Chiefs again insisted upon a retreat. A Council was called next day, They were then only 127 miles from London, and the Pretender himself was strongly in favour of advancing, but he found no response from his principal supporters, who pointed out the extreme danger they were in of being surrounded. The Duke of Perth and some other officers were prepared to incur the risk of pushing forward, but the Chiefs declined to yield, and next morning, the 5th, the retreat began.

RETREAT FROM DERBY.

For a time the mass of the rebels did not know that it was a retreat, and when they perceived that they were retracing their former route their disappointment and rage became extreme. Before, they took what they wanted, and made a pretence of paying for it; now, they ceased to observe discipline, seized horses as they required them, and committed many outrages. While the rebels appeared anxious only to help themselves the inhabitants no longer showed them the cold respect they had manifested in going. They were regarded as a defeated army, and the people retaliated where they could. We read in the *Courant* of Dec. 14 a letter from Manchester of Dec. 7:—"The rebels are marching back as fast as possible. They were last Night at Leek, in Staffordshire, and this day are come to Macclesfield, and part to Stockport. This Night two are come in here, who are taken, with their Horses, &c. The Town's People are up in arms, and are determin'd to give them a warm Reception."

RETURN TO MANCHESTER.

On the Pretender's advance a good deal of the rejoicing at

Manchester was fictitious. He had commanded the ringing of the bells and the illumination of the houses, and now he was angry when, instead of rejoicings, he was met with threats. But there was no time to retaliate. He levied £5,000 on the town, and marched again next morning. A correspondent writing from Halifax in the *Courant*, Dec. 21, says:—"The Rebels take all the Horses they can, some at nine or ten Miles on each Side the Road as they pass, and as they Knock them up they sell them again for two, three, or four Shillings a piece. This is plain that these Villains have no other Intention but to plunder and destroy wherever they come; and they neither fear God nor regard Man. They are ten Times worse as they come back than they were as they went South. At Stoppeth, five miles from Manchester, they demanded £2,000, and because they could not raise that Sum they seiz'd five of the principal Gentlemen of that Town, and handcuffed them, drove them along on Foot, and would not suffer them to ride till the Money should be sent after them." In a postscript, the writer adds:—"Many people here, from Leeds, Wakefield, and other Places about, had the curiosity to go and see the Rebels at Manchester, by which means some of them lost their Horses, others were taken up as Spies, and others escap'd." From letters in the *Courant* from the camp at Ferrybridge, dated Dec. 7. we find it was reported that the Duke of Cumberland, by a forced march, unexpectedly came up with the Rebels:—"His Highness drew up his Foroes in an advantageous situation on the Banks of a River on a Bridge between Loughborough" and Derby, where the Rebels were to pass. Part of them got over, but as soon as they perceiv'd the Duke's Number and Order, they ran off in the greatest confusion towards Ashbourn and left their Cannon and Baggage behind them, and 150 were taken prisoners."

ADVANTAGE OF THE HIGHLAND GARB ON A MARCH.

The retreat was rapidly continued through Preston, and on to Lancaster, which the rebels reached on December 13. There they threw open the prisons, and committed other disorders. In explanation of their swift movements it is stated in the *Courant* of December 14:—"Tis certain that the Quickness of the Rebels' March comes from the natural Convenience their Manner of Life and Cloathing gives them; they have no need of Tents, can bear Cold, stay not for baking Bread, but scatter the Barley and Oats in Straw upon the Ground, fire it and pick up the Ears, and eat the parch'd Corn; they drive Cattle along with them, and kill and eat as they want; they keep the Coach horses they have taken, to

draw the Cannon and Carriages; therefore they march in two Days, what we can hardly make in three." Their movements so far are thus recounted in a Halifax letter of Dec. 15, in the *Courant* of the following week:—"On the 4th they march'd out of Manchester, and, as they pretended, to meet the Duke of Cumberland to give him Battle. But when they came to Macclesfield, eight Miles South of Manchester, and six from the Duke's Army, they turn'd off Eastwards towards Derby, which is 35 Miles from Manchester, and where they got on the 6th, and demanded £30,000, and actually got £16,000. But for fear of Gen. Wade getting to Nottingham, and of the Duke getting before them to Leicester, the Rebels turn'd back on the 7th, and got to Manchester the 9th, at night, where they demanded £2,500 and got it; so that they had in all at Manchester £7,400. On the 11th they got to Preston, and the same Day the Duke with 5,000 horse came into Manchester, which is 20 Miles off Preston."

REBELS ATTACKED BY THE PEOPLE.

The nearer the rebels approached the Border the more intolerable their excesses became, and the inhabitants, aroused by despatches from the Duke of Cumberland, attacked the vanguard under the Duke of Perth between Penrith and Kendal. A letter from York, in the *Courant*, thus describes one of several skirmishes:—"Last Tuesday 11 Persons were committed Prisoners to the Castle, 10 of whom were taken regaling themselves in Lowther Hall, the Seat of Lord Lonsdale in Westmorland. The Steward having raised a Number of People from Penrith and that Neighbourhood came and seiz'd them, after several Discharges on both Sides. The other, a young lad, was taken to Penrith, Three 'tis said are French; two, Servants to Lord Kilmarnock's Son, who made his escape; another calls himself Clavering of the Bishoprick of Durham, who is wounded in the Skirmish; the rest Scotch." Perth, on this fell back on the main body, but on the 15th was able to advance with reinforcements, when he was again attacked and pursued as far as Shap. A letter from Barnard Castle of Dec. 13 says:—"The Duke of Perth, with 120 Men, and several other principal Officers arriv'd at Kendal Yesterday, at 12 o'clock, where they met with a warm Reception from the Populace, who fir'd on them, kill'd one, and took two Prisoners, with two led Horses, The Rebels made no Resistance, but took to their Heels, and fled to Shap, a village between Kendal and Penrith, five miles from the latter. The Royalists durst not pursue them, as the Main Body of the Rebels was not far off. On their arrival at Shap, Penrith

Beacon was fir'd, and the Country rising in consequence thereof. The Duke of Cumberland by all Accounts is two Days March behind them, and 'tis fear'd the Kendal and Penrith people will suffer for their bravery, both towns being threatened to be burnt." Further particulars are given in an Appleby letter in the *Courant* of Dec. 28:—"About Ten this Morning, Dec. 14, the Van Guard of the Rebels, consisting of 110 men, equipp'd and accoutred like Hussars, entered Kendal on Horseback, with a Chaise, in which was a Person in Woman's Dress, rode up the Town quietly, and turn'd round through the Fish Market, down to the Bridge leading to Penrith, but as they were pursuing their Route through the Town, without Stopping, and were almost got out of it, a Gun was fir'd out of a House, and one of the Rebels kill'd. Whereupon the Town's people closed in, and took two more Prisoners. The rest of them gallop'd on towards the Bridge, where a Halt was made on a Sudden, and a few Muskets discharged at the People, and an Hostler and a Shoemaker thereby kill'd upon the spot. They then made a general Volley, but without doing any more Mischief, and after that pursued their way as fast as they could towards Shap. Their Horses seem'd very much harassed and jaded." The Pretender came up at Shap, and the countrymen were dispersed by a charge of Glengarry's men, who took several prisoners, including a footman of the Duke of Cumberland, by whom he was informed that his master, the Duke, was close at hand with 4,000 men.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND'S PURSUIT.

In fact the Duke, having discovered his mistake as to the Rebels' intention, had turned back, and sought to recover his position on the high road to London. Near Coventry, on the 8th, he heard of the retreat from Derby, and he sent on General Hawley with 1,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot, mounted on horses collected in the neighbourhood, to harass the retreat of the Highlanders. He also despatched a message to Marshal Wade, in the neighbourhood, to strike across the country and join in the pursuit. It was not, however, till the 16th December, that his advanced guard of cavalry came up with the Rebel vanguard as they were labouring with great difficulty along the rough mountain roads near Shap, where the Pretender had bivouacked all his army. Next day the Rebels continued their retreat, and were compelled to throw away a great quantity of baggage. Fortunately for the Highlanders, the Duke's troops, now joined by Oglethorpe's, despatched by Wade, were as much exhausted by the march

as themselves. On the 18th, Oglethorpe and Cumberland attacked the Highland rear near Penrith. An account of the conflict is quoted in the *Courant*, Dec. 28:— “Whitehall, Dec. 21. Letters received this morning from the Duke of Cumberland, by a Messenger, who left his Royal Highness on Thursday morning last, bring an Account that he had come up with the Rebels on Wednesday night with his Cavalry, after Ten Hours’ March, just beyond Lowther Hall, which the Rebels abandoned on our Approach, and threw themselves into a Village called Clifton, within three miles of Penrith, which Village his Royal Highness immediately attacked with the Dragoons dismounted, who behaved extremely well, and drove the Rebels out of it in an Hour’s Time, though a very strong and defensible Post. The loss of the Rebels could not be known, as it was quite Dark before the Skirmish was over; that of the King’s forces amounted to about 40 men killed and wounded and four Officers wounded, but not mortally.” The rebels are said to have carried off their killed and wounded, and we read in the *Courant* that “of the King’s Forces, the Regiment that suffer’d the most was his Majesty’s own Regiment of Dragoons, some Officers of which being wounded, the Rebels cried. *No Quarter—Murder them*—and they receiv’d several wounds after they were down.”

CARLISLE RE-OCOUPIED BY THE REBELS,

The fact is, the King’s troops were repulsed, and the Pretender’s army was allowed to go on to Carlisle without any further disturbance. The night was very dark, and the Prince was obliged to dismount and pick his way along the rough road on foot, while his followers ragged, footsore, and hungry, tugged away at the baggage and artillery. They were all dead-beat and in a most deplorable condition when they re-entered Carlisle on the morning of the 19th. “We have Advice from Carlisle,” says the *Courant* of Dec. 21, “that the whole of the Rebels came in there on Tuesday Night and Wednesday Morning last, and were very busy all that Day in shoeing their Horses, and it was given out that they were for marching directly, but, as they have given Orders for several Tons of both Corn and Hay to be brought into the City, ‘tis believed their departure will not be so soon as desired by the Inhabitants.” On the 23rd December, the Pretender’s birthday, the Rebels left Carlisle and crossed into Scotland by fording the Eske, and reached Glasgow on the 26th, Thus they completed a march of over 580 miles in 56 days—a remarkable feat, when the various days of halt and the difficulties of the route are taken into account.

APPREHENDED FRENCH INVASION.

The Young Pretender appears to have had a perfect understanding with the French Government, and if he had been able to push on to London from Derby he might have given much more trouble than he did. A paragraph in the *Courant* of Dec. 21, mentions that some strangers who had taken rooms in London had suddenly disappeared as if a change had taken place in their plans. It was believed they were in concert with the Rebels, who were supposed to be also in concert with the leaders of a French expedition ready to make a descent on our coasts. Even the Pope was credited with taking part in the project, for we read in the *Courant* of Jan. 4:—"By advices from Home the Pope has given the Pretender 50,000 crowns to carry on the Expedition in Favour of his Son in Scotland, and publick Prayers have been made in some of their churches, and their Sacraments were expos'd for his Success." All this produced an awful scare, and in a letter dated Dec. 14 it is seriously announced:—"The Embarkation carried on at Dunkirk will consist of 12,000 soldiers, and 'tis generally believed, they embarked on board 30 Sail of Merchant Ships as Transports, and the rest in large Fishing Boats, and were to be convoy'd by three French Men of War of 50, 40, and 26 Guns; and as the Wind has been ever since very fair to bring them over to our Coast 'tis conjectur'd they are so well acquainted with the Strength of the Squadron we have now at Sea under the Command of Admiral Vernon, and the Commodores Boscawen and Smith, (either of which is sufficient to follow them, should they attempt to land on our Coast) that they wait for a more favourable Opportunity." Meanwhile every preparation was made for a sturdy resistance in case the French slipped through the fleet which crowded the Channel:—"We hear (says the *Courant*) the signals are so placed on the Sussex, Kentish, and Essex Coast by hoisting Flags in the Day, and firing Guns in the Night, that Notice of an Invasion would be at the Tower and St. James's Park, in a few Hours." Of course there were false alarms; for says the *Courant* of Dec. 21—"The Inhabitants of the Sea Coasts in Kent, were greatly alarm'd on Tuesday in the Afternoon, and Yesterday Morning, on Account of a large Body of Forces being embark'd at Dunkirk, on board small Vessels and Fishing Boats, with an Intent to land on the Coast of Kent. The Town's People of Dover were under Arms all Tuesday Night to defend themselves, in Expectation that they would attempt to land there, as the Wind was very fair for them; but Yesterday, when the Post came out, their Fears were abated." Curious reports were current as to the devices

adopted by the French, and in the same issue of the *Courant* is the following—"We hear that the Scotch and Irish Troops at Dunkirk, intended to be embarked for Great Britain, are all cloathed in the Uniform of the British Troops, that they may not be distinguished, and by that Means make their landing the more easy. But we hope that Providence, which has already deliver'd into his Majesty's Hands their principal Officers, and (as is confidently asserted) their Sham Prince, will frustrate all their Villainous Designs." These alarms naturally produced a feeling of irritation, which found vent in some places against the Catholics who were held to be at the bottom of the Rebellion. "It is written from Stourbridge (says the *Courant* of June 4) that the Nailers, Colliers, Glassmen, Locksmiths, Gunsmiths, Bucklemakers, &c. of whom there are 200,000 in a Circuit of about 30 miles, are so alarm'd at a foreign Invasion, and the Apprehensions of a French Government, that it is with Difficulty they are restrained from rising to pull down the Mass Houses in that neighbourhood, and seizing some Priests and Papists, who were very active in sending out Horsemen the Time the Army of his Royal Highness was about Lichfield, &c." In the *Courant* London Letter of Dec. 24, we are also told that—"Upon the Rumour of an intended Invasion from France, the Labouring People of Essex have begun to arm themselves by fixing their Scythes straight on Staves about four Feet long, and those of Kent and Sussex, by fixing their Scythes in the like manner on Poles about eight Feet long. Three Thousand Foot and 1,000 Horse are order'd for the Coasts of Essex and Suffolk, and 4,000 Foot and 1,500 Horse for the Coast of Kent and Sussex, in order to be ready to oppose any foreign Invasion." That there were serious grounds for apprehension was evident from the observations of the fleet. "On Tuesday last (observes the *Courant* of Dec. 28) Admiral Vernon sent the following Letter to John Norris, Esq., at Deal Castle:—'Norwich, in the Downs,—Sir, As from the Intelligence I have procur'd last Night of the Enemy's having brought away from Dunkirk great numbers of their small Embarkations, and many of them laden with Cannon, Field Carriages, Powder, Shot, and other Military Stores; the Irish Troops being March'd out of Dunkirk towards Calais; Gen. Lowendahl, and many other Officers being at Dunkirk, with a young Person among them they call the Prince, and was said to be the Second Son of the Pretender; as I can't but apprehend they are preparing for a Descent from the Ports of Calais and Boulogne, and which I suspect may be attempted at Dungeness, where many of my Cruisers are in motion for, and I have some Thoughts of moving To-morrow with Part of

my Ships if the Weather should be moderate for a Descent; I thought it my duty for his Majesty's Service to advise you of it, and to desire you will communicate this my Letter to the Mayor of Deal, and that the neighbouring Towns should have Advice for assembling for their common Defence; that my Cruisers' Signals for discovering the Approach of an Enemy will be their Jack Flag flying at their Top mast Head, and firing a Gun every half Hour, and to desire they will forward the Alarm. I am, Sir, your humble Servant, E. Vernon." Upon receiving the above Letter, the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Kent publish'd it with the following invitation annexed;— 'Every Body who reads the above Letter, willing and ready to stand up for the Defence of their King and Country, their Liberties and Lives, are desired to assemble on Sunday Morning next, 22nd inst., as soon as possible on Horseback with such Arms and Ammunition as they have, and to bring two Days' Provision of Victuals along with them. The Place of Rendezvous or Assembly is Sionfield Minis. It is hop'd all the Parishes and Towns within Twenty Miles of the Sea Coast any way will not fail to be there with all the able bodied Men they have. The Parishes near to the Minis are desired to bring some Pickaxes, Shovels, and Axes along with them besides their Arms.—The Deputy-Lieutenants.'" These recommendations were promptly attended to, and in the next week's issue of our paper is the following:— "Notwithstanding the Notice given by the Deputy-Lieutenants, upon receiving Adm. Vernon's Letter was not more than 24 Hours, and many of the Parishes could not receive it in time, there assembled, at the Place appointed, near 2,000 Persons, chiefly on Horseback, all tolerably well arm'd, and the next Day above 1,000 more, all determin'd to lose the last Drop of their Blood in Defence of their Country."

CAPTURE OF A REBEL SHIP OF WAR.

The public had been aroused to their danger partly by the escape of several privateers laden with aims and ammunition which had been landed at different parts on the Scotch coast. The capture of a vessel of this character is mentioned in the *Courant* of Dec. 7:—"The prize came on the Coast of Scotland, but being chased by a Man of War put to Sea, and was taken by the Sheerness some days after. Amongst the Prisoners there appears to be some English, who were taken Prisoners the last Campaign in Flanders, and were afterwards inveigled into the French Service. There are also some Deserters from the Scotch Regiments in the Dutch Service,

and several Scotch and Irish Men, and also some French Men." The ship taken had been called the Soliel, but was then the Esperance. In the list of prisoners was a Mr Radcliffe, called Earl of Derwentwater, and his son; also the Duke of Richelieu, Count Clermont, Lord Nairn, Lord Drummond, and the Pretender's youngest son, who went by the name of Manley. With regard to Lord Derwentwater we read in the *Courant* of Dec. 14:—"Charles Radcliffe, Esq., was 3rd Son of Edward Earl of Derwentwater, by Mrs Mary Tudor, Natural Daughter to King Charles II. (by Mrs Mary Davis), and younger brother to James Earl of Derwentwater, executed on Tower Hill for High Treason against George I., Feb. 24, 1715-6. He commanded his Brother the Earl of Derwentwater's Troops at the Battle of Preston, at which Battle he was taken Prisoner and brought to Town, and was tried and found guilty of High Treason; but whilst under condemnation he escap'd out of Newgate, Dec. 14, 1716, and got into France, where he has liv'd ever since."

ADVANCE OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND ON CARLISLE.

News came in slowly a century and a half ago, and the Rebels had reached Glasgow on their retreat before anything like a clear account of the Duke of Cumberland's advance on Carlisle had reached Newcastle. A Volunteer Surgeon in the Duke's Army writing from Clifton, Dec. 21, says—"On Wednesday Morning, the Duke march'd out of Kendal at the Head of the Horse. The Foot did not come into Kendal till Three on Thursday Morning, having March'd that Day 43 Miles, which is the greatest March ever known; and next Day got to Penrith, which is 25 Miles more; they were in high Spirits, and said they were able and willing to go 40 next Day. As the Horse was coming off Clifton Moor into the Town, our Hussars and Rangers engag'd all the Rebel Hussars, who were headed by one Captain Hamilton, that was a Writer at Edinburgh, and had a paternal Estate of £300 a year, a very bold Fellow; he was cut down and taken by one of the Duke's Hussars, after a stout Resistance. There is also a common Hussar taken by one of Oglethorpe's Rangers, who is a Manchester Man; but what he was he will not tell. This was at Three in the Afternoon; by Four the Duke's Van Guard march'd to take this Town. When they had march'd 500 yards they were fir'd at from all the Hedges, some Houses, and behind their Stone Walls, by about 500 Rebels. The action lasted an Hour and a half. The kill'd on our side were six of Bland's, three of Cobham's, and one of Lord Mark Kerr's, all

common Men, and four Officers of Bland's, viz., Col. Honeywood, wounded very much in his Head; Capt. East, a large wound in his Neck, and some on his Head, both left for dead on the Field; a Cornet, and a Volunteer almost cut to Pieces. On the Rebel Side, five left kill'd on the Spot; and I hear that 30 or 40 of the Rebels' Bodies were found in the River Lowther, a Mile from the Field on their Way to Penrith. Those of ours who were kill'd with their Swords were cut to Pieces, as are our wounded." The *Courant* of the same week, Jan. 4, 1746, says—"We learn by private Letters, that the King's Forces in their March to Clifton, met on the Road with the most pregnant Proofs of a precipitate Retreat, such as broken Carriages, the Duke of Perth's Chaise, which had lost a wheel, many dead Horses, and some Bodies half interr'd, which seem'd to have had a hasty End put to their Miseries."

SIEGE OF CARLISLE.

The official account of the siege of Carlisle is thus given in a *London Gazette Extraordinary*—"Whitehall, Dec. 26—Letters received Yesterday by Express from Blackhall, near Carlisle, give an account, that upon the March from Penrith thither his Royal Highness the Duke had receiv'd the News of the Rebel Army having quitted that Place, and left in it only 3 or 400 Men, who according to the best Intelligence consisted chiefly of their English Recruits, and Gordon of Glenbucket's Men, commanded by one Hamilton. The King's Forces arriv'd within sight of the Town the 21st about Noon, and Major-Gen. Bland had invested it on the Scotch side with St. George's Dragoons, and 300 Men of Bligh's Regiment with Orders to prevent any Passage over the Bridge upon the River Eden, which leads directly to the Scotch Gate. Major Adams, with 200 Foot, was posted in the suburbs of the English Gate, to prevent any of the Garrison's escaping that Way. Major Meirac, at the Irish Gate, with the same Orders, and Sir Andrew Agnew at the Sallyport with 300. All the Horse and the Foot Guards were canton'd round the Town at a Mile or two distance. The Rebels who were left made a Show of intending to defend the Place, firing their Cannon upon every Body who appear'd in Sight of it. The Artillery from Whitehaven were expected to arrive in a Day or two at the Army, and it was propos'd to have a Battery erected by the Morning of the 24th; after which it was not doubted but his Royal Highness would be Master of the Town in 24 Hours, in which he intended to leave a sufficient Garrison. The Rebels left their Cannon behind them in Carlisle excepting three Pieces, and Major-Gen. Bland had taken 16

Carts laden with their Tents.”

REBEL SURRENDER OF THE CITY.

A couple of days sufficed to reduce the Rebels to submission, to the great joy of the inhabitants, as set forth in an “Extract of a Letter from Carlisle, Jan. 2 “—“Our City and Garrison is now again (thank God) in Possession of the present happy Government, and which his Majesty’s Forces enter’d into last Monday Afternoon; and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland made his Entrance on Tuesday, accompanied with several Nobility, General Officers, &c., &c., through the loud Acclamations of a great Number of the Loyal Citizens. I am just arriv’d in Town, and know but little of the Particulars. However, the following is handed about, viz.:—Sanderson of Heales, Salkeld of Whitehall, two Hewitts, Captain Graham, Derby, a priest, made bishop of Carlisle,—Dawson, Esq., Sergeants of Preston, all the English that join’d them; no Scots people of consequence, and 400 Scots besides English are all made prisoners. The Chevaliers Coat and Star,—he having disguised himself and went off—and all their Cannon and Baggage, except three Pieces which the main body of the Rebels carried into Scotland with them are taken. His Royal Highness the Duke goes for London this day, with the Dukes Kingston and Richmond; and a strong Garrison is left here. Major-General Howard is made Governor here. The Mayor and Town Clerk are confin’d. Major Farren *non est inventus*.”

THE TERMS OF CAPITULATION.

The *Courant* of Jan. 8, contains the official account quoted from the *London Gazette Extraordinary*, of Jan 2.—“Last night a messenger arriv’d with letters from Blackhall, dated the 30th past, with the following account of the Surrender of the Town and Castle of Carlisle to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. On the 29th it was found necessary to abate the firing from the Battery which had begun to play the Day before for want of Shot, till towards evening, when a fresh supply arriving, it was renewed very briskly for two hours which shook the Wall very much. The same evening, a Fellow attempting to get out of the Town was taken by one of the Advanced Parties, and brought to the Duke. He delivered two Letters, one for his Royal Highness, the other for the commander of the Dutch Troops, supposed to be with his Army. They were from a Person styling himself Commander

of the French Artillery, and of the French Garrison that was at or might come to Carlisle, for the Defence of the Town and Citadel, and who subscribes his name De Geoghegan, and the contents of them were to summon the Commander of the Dutch to retire with his troops from the English Army, under pretence of the capitulation of Tonway. The night of the 29th was spent in raising a new Battery of three 18-Pounders, which was compleated by the Morning, but on the first Platoon of the Old Battery firing the Rebels hung out the white flag, whereupon the Battery ceased, and they called over the walls that they had two hostages ready to be delivered at the English Gate, which is on the opposite side of the Town. His Royal Highness then ordered Col. Conway and Lord Bury to go and deliver the two messages marked (A) and (B) in writing, to be signed Col. Conway. The second message being designed as answer to the Person's Letter who called himself a Frenchman. In about two hours they returned, and brought the paper marked (C) signed by John Hamilton, whereupon they were sent back with the terms signed by the Duke of Richmond, by order of His Royal Highness as contained in the paper marked (D), and about four they brought the paper marked (E), signed also by John Hamilton, on which Brigadier Bligh was ordered immediately to take possession of the Town, and he will have there this night 400 Foot Guards and 700 marching Foot, with 120 horses to patrol in the streets. His Royal Highness the Duke will himself enter the Town of Carlisle to-morrow.

Copy of His Royal Highness's Message to the Rebels at Carlisle upon their hanging out a white Flag, Monday morning, the 30th Dec., 1745.

(a) His Royal Highness will make no Exchange of Hostages with Rebels, and desires they will let him know by me what they mean by hanging out the White Flag.

(b) To let the French Officer, if there is one in the Town, that there are no Dutch Troops here but enough of the King's to Chastise the Rebels and those who dare to give them any assistance. Sign'd,
COL. CONWAY.

Aid de Camp to his Royal Highness the Duke.

(c) *John Hamilton's Answer to his Royal Highness the Duke's Message to the Rebels in Carlisle, Dec. 30th. 1745.*

In answer to the Short Note sent by his Royal Highness, Pr William Duke of Cumberland, the Governour, in name of himself and all the Officers and Soldiers, Gunners, and others belonging to the Garrison desire to know on what Terms his

Royal Highness will be pleased to give them, upon Surrender of the City and Castle of Carlisle, and which known, his Royal Highness shall be duly acquainted with the Governor and Garrisons' last or ultimate Resolution, the white Flag being hung out on Purpose to obtain a Cessation of Arms for concluding such a Capitulation. This is to be given to his Royal Highness's Aid-de-Camp.

Sign'd JOHN HAMILTON.

(d) His Royal Highness's Declaration to the Rebels, sent by the Colonels Conway and Lord Bury, Aid de Camps to his Royal Highness, after receiving John Hamilton's Letter. Dec. 30th, 1745.

All the Terms his Royal Highness will or can grant to the Rebel Garrison of Carlisle, are, tint they shall not be put to the Sword, but be reserved for the King's Pleasure. If they consent to these conditions, the Governor and Principal Officers are to deliver themselves up immediately, and the Castle, Citadel, and all the Gates of the Town, are to be taken possession of forthwith by the King's Troops. All the Small Arms are so to be lodged in the Town Guard Room, and the rest of the Garrison are to retire to the Cathedral where a Guard is to be placed over them. No Damage is to be done to the Artillery, Arms, or Ammunition. Head Quarters at Blackhall, 30 Dec. Half an Hour past Two in the Afternoon. By his Royal Highness's Commands.

Signed, RICHMOND, LENNOX, and AUBIGNY,
Local General of his Majesty's Forces.

(e) The Rebels' Answer to the Terms offer'd them by his Royal Highness, Dec. 30, 1745.

The Governor of Carlisle, and Hail Officers composing the Garrison agree to the terms of Capitulation given in and subscribed by Order of his Royal Highness, by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny, Lieut Gen. of his Majesty's Forces, recommending themselves to his Royal Highnesses Clemency, and that his Royal Highness will be pleased to interpose for them with his Majesty, and that the Officers Cloathes and Baggage may be safe with a competent time to be allowed to the Citizens of Carlisle to remove their Beds, Bedcloths, and other Household Furniture impress'd from them for the Use of the Garrison in the Castle. The 30th Dec., 1745, at Three o'Clock in the afternoon.

A FALSE ALARM.

All this time affairs in and around Newcastle were very quiet; most of the troops had been withdrawn, and the work of defence was left chiefly in the hands of Volunteers:—"On Tuesday, December 17, an Express arrived in Newcastle from the County of Durham, advising that about 200 Rebels were got as far as Lanchester, about nine miles hence on their way to this Place, upon which a command of 30 of the Military was order'd out, and this giving an alarm, within less than half an Hour above 300 of our Volunteers assembled, and, with the greatest alacrity possible, offer'd their Service to go where ever order'd." Another Express arrived, however, contradicting the report, "so that the Gentlemen dismissed."

A CHRISTMAS EPIGRAM

closes the London Letter of the *Courant*, of December 28th:

Flush'd with success the Young Pretender flew,
 And grasp'd a Triple Kingdom in his View
 Nay, fondly dreamt, if Dreams could gain a Crown,
 To Reign, and keep his Carnival in Town;
 Till Albion's Hero was a shriving sent,
 When the Dream fled, and Christmas turn'd to Lent.

 RETURN OF THE REBELS TO SCOTLAND.
 HOSTILITY OF THE PEOPLE.

On the 3rd December the Duke of Cumberland left the command to General Hawley, and hastened back to London, being summoned to defend the southern coast from the menaced landing of the French. In the meantime the Highland army continued its retreat. There is not a word in the *Courant* to show that the people of Scotland on this side of Edinburgh made any organised effort to impede the invasion of England by the rebels. It was otherwise when the insurgents were driven back. We are told in an Edinburgh letter of Dec. 19, that "In the County of Dumfries the Country have risen in very considerable Parties to prevent the returning of Stragglers. This morning 47 Carts loaded with Arms were sent from the Castle to Glasgow and the South-West Parts of this Country, to enable the Inhabitants to secure such as may be found straggling through these Parts. The Reverend Ministers of the Presbytery of Hamilton have raised at their own Expense a Company of 60 Men, in

Defence of his Majesty's Person and Government; and are ready to march where his Majesty's Service shall require."

HIGHLAND EXACTIONS AT DUMFRIES.

We have already briefly indicated the rebel march to Glasgow. On crossing the Eske they divided their forces. One division made for Annan. That night Lord George Murray's reached Ecclefechan, and the cavalry, under Lord Elcho, advanced to Dumfries, which they found illuminated. For this the town was fined; and a correspondent, writing in the *Courant* of January 8, from Annan, on December 25, says:—"The Rebels, to the number of about 4,000 (as it is computed) went from hence to Dumfries on Saturday last, the 21st inst., and remained there till Seven of the Clock this Morning, at which time they began to March, and had all left the Town before Eight. They demanded £2,000 Contribution at Dumfries, £1,000 whereof was immediately paid, and, as a Security for the other, they have taken along with them two Gentlemen as Prisoners. They also insisted on 1,000 pair of Shoes, paid nothing for Quarters, and did a prodigious deal of Mischief everywhere. It is said they marched from Dumfries this Morning in great Precipitation, being alarm'd by a Report, that a Party of the Army under the command of his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, was in Annan." A few further particulars are given of the Highlanders' proceedings at Dumfries in the *Courant* of Jan. 4, which quotes a Dumfries letter in the *London Gazette* of Dec. 31. The writer says:—"On Saturday last, the 21st, and the Day following, the main Body of the Rebel Army came into this Place with the Pretender's Son. On Monday morning he marched from hence with them, and proposed to lodge that night at Drumlanrig. The Contribution imposed upon this Town was £2,000 in Money, 1,000 Pair of Shoes, besides free Quarters, about nine Casks of Gunpowder, all our Arms publick and private, Horse furniture, Boots, &c., and every Horse that could be found in Town or Country. Several Houses have been robb'd and plundered by the Rebels, who have been guilty of the greatest outrages. They told us that we had Reason to think ourselves gently used that the Town was not laid in Ashes. We have paid them near £1,100 of the money ordered to be rais'd, and Provost Crosbie and Mr Walter Riddell are carried off as Hostages, till the Remainder is remitted. They have levied the Excise, and intimated to us that if we paid either Excise or Land Tax for the future to any other than them, that we may be sure of paying it over again double. They shot a Tenant of the Duke of Queensberry's for

running out of their way, and not returning quickly enough at their call. They order'd us to send their Baggage off after them, and at the same time assured us that, if they heard that a Finger was moved against any one of their stragglers, our Hostages should instantly be put to Death. The Damage done to this town cannot be repaired for £4,000, but that done in the Country is much greater."

REBEL LEVIES AND CRUELTIES AT GLASGOW.

On the 26th December Lord George Gordon entered Glasgow, and was followed next day by the young Pretender. During their absence in England, Glasgow had been very active in the King's service. It had raised 600 volunteers, and sent them to join those of Edinburgh and other places, amounting to 3,000 men, to guard the passage of the Forth near Stirling. A very hostile spirit was apparent on the entrance of the Highland troops, and for all this Charles punished the inhabitants by severe levies of money and goods. In a *Courant* Edinburgh letter of December 27th it is said:— "We are assured from Glasgow, that the Main Body of the Rebels arriv'd there the 26th of Dec. last, and had demanded £10,000 Contribution." Another paragraph says:— "The number of the Rebels arrived at Glasgow, by a medium of several Computations, is about 3,600 Foot, and over 500 Horse, including 50 or 60 employed in carrying their sick. Their Horses are poor and jaded, and 6 or 700 of their Foot have no Arms or Ability to use them. Some Hundreds of their Friends have passed the Forth on their Way to Glasgow, and on Saturday last the Person called Duke of Perth, with a Party of about 150, went from Glasgow, and it is reported he is got home. Small Parties are continually passing that Way, whether deserting or marching to Perth is not known. However, it is certain that they have lost several by Desertion, and Death since they arrived at Glasgow where they have also enlisted about 50 or 60, who took on with them for Want of Bread. They have assessed Provost Buchanan of Glasgow in £500, for promoting the new Levies on Behalf of the Government, and have been very outrageous against all those who appear'd zealous and active in raising them, by plundering and burning their Houses, and destroying their Goods and Furniture." Lord J. Murray, the Pretender's secretary, issued an order to the Collector of Supply for the Shire of Linlithgow, directing him to repair to his office, wherever it should happen to be for the time, and there pay not only the Land Tax due at the time of a former order, but what had fallen due since, for which he should

receive 'sufficient exoneration.'

Another order ran thus:—'C— P— of W—, &c., R—t of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging to the Commissioners of Supply for the Shire of Linlithgow.—Finding it necessary to have an immediate Supply of Horses, we are resolv'd to raise them in the most equal Way, by laying them upon the different Counties of this our ancient Kingdom of Scotland, according to their respective Valuations. You are, therefore hereby commanded and required to deliver to us, on or before the 16th Day of January next, where we shall happen to be for the Time, 25 Horses of the value of £10 sterl. each, which is to be ascertained by proper Persons, to be named by us for that Purpose, otherwise to Pay to our Secretary for our Use, to £1 sterl. for each undelivered Horse, and for your Relief you are empowered to meet and lay a Tax upon the whole Heritors, and others of the County in Proportion to their valued Rents to the Extent of this Demand, which you are to comply with upon Pain of Military Execution, to be done against your Goods and Effects.'

REBEL EXPLANATIONS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS.

The Highland army was now reduced considerably, chiefly owing to desertion, many of the clansmen having run off home. The insurgent leaders put the best face they could on the position of affairs; and the *Courant* of January 4 contains the following:—“'Tis said the Highland Army at Glasgow have publish'd a journal of their Expedition into England, in which we hear they affirm that the Cause of their Return from Derby was on account of some Dispatches they had received, that they had the Advantage in the Skirmish at Clifton, and had killed about 100 Dragoons; that they were pursued no further; and that in the whole march they have not lost above 40 men, either by Sickness, Straggling, or Skirmishes.' In the issue of the following week we read:— “It is assured that a Person is arrived from Glasgow, who designedly had acted the Part of a flaming Jacobite, and by that Means had got into the Confidence of some of the Rebels, who plainly told their Distresses, and that their Journal was a mere Chimera. They retreated from an apprehension of being surrounded, and the gloomy Prospect of their Affairs, join'd to their being deceived in their Expectation of having many to join them, and their being much weakened by Death and Desertion.”

LOYALTY IN THE WEST.

It was never expected in the West of Scotland that the rebels would visit that quarter, otherwise there might have been less activity on behalf of the Government. The *Courant* of Jan. 4 says:—"By Letters from the Shire of Ayr in the West of Scotland, we are inform'd that many of the Parishes in that Country have raised 100 Men each, to protect the Country against the Rebels. The Parishes of New Wells and Galston have assembled 220 men, the Vassals and Tenants of the Earls of Loudon and Marchmont, who are exercised Thrice a Week by two Soldiers. The same is also done by several Parishes in that neighbourhood, On the 3rd December, there had been a meeting of the Shire, on a letter from Mr Crawford, their Representative, desiring them to concert Measures for the Defence of Glasgow, as it was supposed the Highlanders might return by Glasgow or Dumbarton. The Meeting agreed to apply to the Justice Clerk, to use his Interest to obtain Arms, and to address his Majesty, to assure him of their Loyalty."

DEPARTURE FROM GLASGOW.

An Edinburgh letter of Jan. 6, in the *Courant* says:—"The Rebels left Glasgow on Thursday last, in the Evening, after impoverishing both that City and Country adjacent by extravagant Contributions, they moved towards this Place, and on Friday they quartered about Cumbernauld and Kilsyth, and an advanc'd Party reach'd Falkirk. They have reconnoitered, but as yet there is no Certainty of their Intentions." In the same issue we are told that "The Rebels, when they left Glasgow, carried off with them a Printing Press, Types, and other materials for their Business, together with some servants to work in that way. When they carried off those materials, they did it in this manner, that is, from one Printer they took a Press, from another Types, and from another Chases, Furniture, &c. The Design of carrying off the above materials is not easy to be conceiv'd, as in all human Probability their Existence cannot be much longer in this Country; however, 'tis thought they intend to print their last Speech themselves, which no doubt will be blended with some heavy Reflections, for Non-Assistance, &c., of those they imagin'd to be their Friends, before they embark, if they can; as is usual in the Case of a Person committing a Catastrophe on himself."

THEIR FRENCH ALLIES CALL THE REBELS THIEVES.

While the Pretender was resting for seven days at Glasgow the Duke of Perth was gathering what forces he could to meet the Prince at Stirling. In requisitioning the rebel leaders were even more exacting towards their own countrymen than they had been in England. The *Courant* of Jan. 8 says:— ‘On the 27th ult. 250 Highlanders and 100 French, commanded by the Earl of Cromarty, Col. Farquharson, &c., came to Dunfermline, where they collected the Cess and Excise which had been formerly paid; but not content they rifled and plundered almost all the Houses in Town and Country, attack’d the Inhabitants in open Day, forcing from them their Money, Shoes, and even robb’d them of inconsiderable trifles, as Penknives, Handkerchiefs, &c. The French were more discreet, and declared that they intended to Keep Company no longer with Thieves. Nine deserted that Night, and six the next Morning, who all got aboard the Happy Janet. Besides the Public Money which they had raised, and now is twice paid, the following Gentlemen are assessed, by virtue of the bless’d Effects of Arbitrary Power, viz. Sir George Preston, of Valley Field, £300; Mr Welwood, of Garvock, £250; Robert Welwood, Esq., £50; Mr Blackwood, Panvie, £150; Sir Robert Henderson, of Fordel, £150; Mr Cunningham of Balborgie, £200; Mr Charles Cochran, £200; Mr Colvil of Torneburn, £100; Mr Black, clerk of Dunfermline, £50; Mr Dundas, of Blair, £100; and Mr Erskine of Carnock, &c., £150.”

REQUISITIONING IN THE NORTH.

Simultaneously Lord Lewis Gordon was harassing the northern landowners and farmers, as we find from the *Courant* of the same week:—“The following is an authentic Copy of a very barbarous Order issued by the Governor of the Pretender, in the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, for the carrying of which into Execution, we are assur’d Parties are actually sent thro’ that Country, which are two of the Counties disarm’d by Law, and unprovided with Arms, or any other Authority to use them. This Order in the Shire of Aberdeen alone, may raise either 2,400 Men, or £12,000 Sterling, which amounts to 5s in the Pound of the real Rack-Rent; and wherever the Country, for its Want of Protection, shall refuse or neglect to comply with this Order, their Damage, by this Military Execution of Burning, will be yet heavier. By Order of the Right Hon. the Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties, and Governor of

the Towns of Aberdeen and Bamff: Whereas I desir'd and order'd J. Moir of Stonywood, to intimate to all the Gentlemen and their Doers within the Said Counties of Aberdeen and Bamff, to send into the Town of Aberdeen a well-bodied Man for each £100 Scots, their valued Rent, sufficiently clothed, and in Consequence of my Order he wrote circular Letters to all the Heritors, and the above Counties, desiring them to send in a Man sufficiently clothed, &c for each £100 Scots of their valued Rent, which Desire they have not complied with. Therefore I order and command you to take a sufficient Party of my Men, and to go to all the Lands within the above Counties, and require from the Heritors, within the above Counties, and require from the Heritors, Factors or Tenants, as you shall think most proper, an able-bodied Man for his M— K— J—'s Service, with sufficient Highland Cloaths, Plaid and Arms, for each £100 of their valued Rent, or the Sum of £5 Sterling Money for each of the above Man, to be paid to J. M. of Stonywood, or his Order, at Aberdeen; and in case of refusal of the Men or Money, you are forthwith to burn all the Houses, Corn, and Planting upon the foresaid Estates, and to begin with the Heritor or Factor residing on the Lands until the above Execution be done, unless they produce Stonywood's Lines, shewing they have delivery him the Men or the Money.—Given at Aberdeen the 12th of December, 1745. Subscribed, Lewis Gordon.”

THE CARLISLE PRISONERS.

We will now recur to the position of affairs at Carlisle. The *Courant* appears then to have had a poet on its staff who wrote odes for Royal birthdays and naval and military victories. We imagine we also recognise some of his work in versified puffs of quack medicines. We cannot say much for his verse, but the siege of Carlisle was apparently a theme which could not be dismissed in less than a column and a quarter. Here are the opening lines:—

“Of Carlisle Siege, that dreadful Scene
 The names and numbers of the Slain,
 The heroick feats of their Lord Mayor
 Which made th' astonish'd World stare;
 How the Militia fir'd from far,
 And 'gainst the Rebels wag'd a distant War;
 Sing heavenly muse, and, Oh, inspire
 My Breast, with that Poetick fire,
 Which Homer's mighty Genius fill'd

Who sung how Frogs by Mice were kill'd."

But enough of verse. It was a cruel thing for the Pretender to leave his English recruits, as he did, to garrison Carlisle, where he might have been sure they would be captured, and when captured hanged. Eight deserters were recognised among those taken, and their bodies were soon swinging from as many gibbets. A writer in the *Courant* of Jan. 18—whose letter dates from Brough, says:—"Last night we had about 50 Rebel Officers and 150 common men brought here, under a Guard of 100 of Mark Kerr's Dragoons, on their way to York. The officers are to go from thence to London; and all the other Prisoners at Carlisle are sent into Lancashire, except these that could not be removed from Carlisle." In the same paper is the following:—"Tis said the Rebel Prisoners march'd out of Carlisle in the following Procession: 1. The Officers on Horseback, one after another, with their legs tied below the Horse's Belly, also their Arms, allowing Liberty to hold the Bridle, each Horse being tied to another's Tail. And 2. The Common Men, on Foot, two abreast, each having their Arms tied, with a rope going between. The whole Procession thus march'd with a Dragoon on Horseback, and his Sword drawn, leading Governor Hamilton's Horse, who went first, also another Dragoon in the Rear. The Foot were headed by two Dragoons as before mention'd, one of which held the Rope that went between the Prisoners; also two in their Rear, with several others properly supporting the whole."

THE KING ON THE REBELLION.

Parliament was opened on the 14th Jan., by the King, who in his speech said that he did not think it proper to lay anything before the Lords and Commons for their consideration but what immediately related to "the present unnatural Rebellion "and their sincerity at home. Referring to the Rebellion, he said:—"I have not only sent a considerable body of our National Forces into Scotland, and ordered the Hessian Troops in my Pay, to be landed there, but have also made such a Disposition of the rest of my Forces by Land as well as by Sea, that, I hope, by the Blessing of God, this Rebellion will, in a short Time, be extinguished; and our enemies, who have so long menaced us with an invasion, be deterr'd by the seasonable Preparations made for our Defence."

THE HIGHLANDER'S PEDIGREE.

The *Courant* poet is at work again. The issue of January 25 contains the following lines:—

Cain, the first murder*r when from Eden driven,
 And doom'd to wander by decree of Heaven,
 Retir'd, as we are told to the Land of Nod,
 A place, be sure, the farthest from God;
 Which makes some think northward his course he
 went,
 As far as Scotland he pitched his Tent;
 When he a City built of ancient Fame,
 Which he from Eden Edinburgh did name,
 But thought the Highlands the more fertile place,
 To propagate around his murd'rous Race;
 Rebellion here, with Treason, grew betimes
 Those Sons of Murder with thousand other crimes.
 Hence Royal Duncan in his bed was slain
 By false Macbeth the Royal Power to gain;
 And Bothwell, bloody Minister of State,
 Made Darnley share the same unhappy fate.
 And Charles the Martyr, 'gainst you stand unroll'd,
 Whom Judas-like your Royal Master sold.
 From these curs'd seeds of Traitors sprung the birth
 Of Glencus, Glenbuckets, Ogilvies, and Perth.

SEIZURE OF STIRLING BY THE REBELS.

On the 3rd January, 1746, the same day that the Duke of Cumberland left Carlisle for London, Charles marched his army out of Glasgow for Stirling. Next day he took up his quarters at the house of Bannockburn, and distributed his men through the neighbouring villages, Lord George Murray occupying Falkirk. Lord Strathallan and Lord Drummond soon arrived from Perth with their united force, attended by both battering rams and engines from France. Lord Lewis Gordon, who had lately defeated the Earl of Loudon, and the Macdonalds and Macleods of Skye at Inverary, also armed, thus raising the Pretender's army to 9,000 men, the greatest force he had yet had. With this force the Pretender commenced a siege of Stirling Castle instead of going to meet the English troops, which were in rapid advance upon him, led by General Hawley. The town surrendered at once, and we soon read that "the Rebels are entrenching themselves in order to attack and take the Castle; but as there is a strong Garrison, with plenty of Powder and Ball, &c., we make no doubt but that it will' make a good Defence until reliev'd by the King's Forces, part of which 'tis said, are march'd for that Purpose." A contribution of £600 was levied on the town. They were not permitted, however, to retain undisturbed possession, for the *Courant* of January 25 narrates how

Captain Faulkner, in the Vulture sloop, lay in Kincardine Roads to intercept any vessel that might convey cannon and ammunition to them, and how some boats which he had told off to cut out a brig grounded, and narrowly escaped destruction from the batteries which lined the river.

THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK.

Hearing of Hawley's approach Charles drew his forces from Falkirk under Lord George Murray, leaving a few hundred men to blockade Stirling, and concentrated his army on the field of Bannockburn. Not meeting with Hawley immediately, on the 17th the Pretender advanced to Torwood, through which he sent Lord John Drummond to display the Stuart standard, while he himself, with the main body, marched to the south of the English camp. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon the division of Lord John was observed by the King's troops. General Hawley at that time was, it is alleged, at Callender House, taking luncheon with Lady Kilmarnock, whose husband was in the Rebel army, and who is said to have done all she could to detain Hawley as long as possible. Nothing is said about this in the *Courant*, in which there are several accounts of the battle which followed. General Huske, the next in command, was deceived by the Pretender's stratagem. We read in an "Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Jan. 23," as follows:—"It is absolutely certain we were surpris'd, and what contributed to this was a stratagem they used against us, which was this, they set up Standards at their Camp with flying Colours, and Kept a Parade about them, which, viewed with Eye and Glasses, made our General believe they were not moving. In the Meantime they moved in a Hollow, and appeared on the Top of a Hill, about a Mile or less from our Camp, before they were well Perceiv'd. Gen. Huske, who commanded the Right wing, behaved with great Intrepidity, and seeing the Left give Way, and the Rebels advancing to Flank them, he brought up Barrell's and Ligonier's, and some Companies of Price's Foot, whose unremitted Platoons repell'd the Enemy, and made them fly up on the Hill; on the Main Line our broken Regiments were rallied near Falkirk, and march'd up to the Field where they stay'd some time when no Enemy appear'd. It was judged proper to return to Linlithgow. Some Regiments brought off their Baggage. Several of our Cannon were left on the Field, which we hear the Rebels were not able to get out. Tho' some of our brave Officers have fallen, 'tis believ'd the Rebels have lost a great many more. 'Tis fact indisputable that we beat them off the Field." General Huske believed that the whole of

the Rebel army was marching from Torwood, till Captain Teesdale climbed a tree, and by the aid of a telescope descried the main body coming in a different direction. Before Hawley reached the ground the battle had begun in a charge on the left of Ligonier's cavalry, who, on receiving the fire of the Macdonalds, turned and fled. The Highlanders then charged the infantry, and the Left gave way. The advance of the Right was checked by the advance of the second Rebel line, but the King's troops were able to retreat with drums beating and colours flying in perfect order. The accounts in the *London Gazette*, quoted in the *Courant*, represent that the battle resulted in a victory for the Royal troops. The *Courant*, of Jan. 25, says:—"As the Accounts of the late Action in Scotland differ so much the following may be depended upon as authentic, it being related by a Gentleman who was a spectator of the Battle. The Place of Action was on Falkirk Moor, near the Torwood, last Friday Afternoon, the 17th instant, between Three and Four o'Clock. About Two o'Clock Gen. Hawley observing the Rebels marching towards him on the South East, about two miles Distance, thought they intended their attack from that Quarter, but that was only a Feint; the Attack did not begin there, but to the North West of the Village. The General ordered our Dragoons to attack them first on the Side of a Hill, in order to cover and gain Time to form our Left Wing; they forced their first Line, but their second obliged our Dragoons to retreat in some Disorder; but our Right, commanded by General Huske, made a noble Stand, and did great Execution. In that Moment of Time that the Attack began from the Right, there began such a Storm of Rain, or rather Wind and Water, as if the elements had conspir'd against us, that our men could not look up, and render'd their Firelocks entirely useless, which the Highland Gentry perceiving they made the most of their Time. In short, General Hawley observing that our Left Wing had given Ground, made a regular Retreat with the Right, and brought the whole Army off to Linlithgow that Night, six Miles from the Field of Battle, but took so much Time as to burn our Tents and render them useless to the Rebels. We lost on the Field of Battle about 300 Men, seven Pieces of Cannon, and some of our Baggage. The Rebels did not pursue us, but remained on the Field of Battle, and intended to march immediately for Stirling. Their Loss by all Accounts is agreed to be more considerable than ours. Our Army was join'd in the Morning before the Battle by 800 Loyal Clans from Argyllshire, who behav'd very well, as did also the Glasgow Volunteers. 'Tis said the half of our Army, meaning the Infantry, was not engaged." In another account we are told

that:—"The Left Wing fought till it was almost Dark; but the Rebels in the Mean Time, some Way or other, ran off with the Cannon and Powder, for our Army could not get the Cannon up the Hill where they wanted it." Further:—"Our Men never gave them Leave to come in with their Swords, but wheel'd, charg'd, turn'd and fir'd as smartly as ever was seen at a Review. There is not one of our Regiments of Foot that has lost about ten Men, some horses, and others two or three, but the Dragoons suffered most." In an extract from a Leith letter in the same issue we read however:—"Several of our Officers are kill'd, Sir Robert Monroe, Lieut.-Colonel Powell, &c. This Action being in a desolate Country, the Army was obliged to go back to Edinburgh, where they are preparing with all Expedition for a final Blow at the Villans, who are besieging Stirling Castle; but we are in no Pain about what they can do there." There was not only incapacity, but great cowardice shown by some of the officers, and we read in a letter from Edinburgh of Jan. 20:—"Yesterday a Court Martial was ordered for the Trial of some Officers and Men who behaved ill in the late Action, of which Brigadier General Mordaunt is President, and the Proceedings began this morning," It is also stated in a letter from York of Jan. 28:—"Capt. Cunningham (said to be Uncle, by the Mother's Side, to the Duke of Perth) who commanded our Train of Artillery at Falkirk being taken into Custody for his Behaviour, and expecting to be tried by a Court Martial, cut himself desperately in both Arms. But tho' he lost much Blood he is not yet dead, as was reported."

NARROW ESCAPES.

A *Courant* Edinburgh letter of Jan. 24, says:—"William Thornton Esq., who raised, maintained, and headed the Yorkshire Blues, is safely arrived in Town; he had been carefully concealed since the Action near Falkirk, where he behaved very gallantly." It appears that Thornton and several other volunteers, after the battle, took up their quarters at Falkirk, never imagining that the Rebels would return to that place. A party of Highlanders came back, however, and entered the room where Thornton and his friends happened to be. "Mr Thornton was lucky enough to get behind the Door, from whence he slipped down stairs unobserved, while the Rebels were busied about the rest of the company, and wriggled himself in behind what they call a Bink, that is, a few Deal Boards fixed to the Wall to support the Kitchen Shelves and Dresser. The good People of the House cut a Hole in the Boards, through which they put in Meat to him from time to time. There he was accommodated several Days; at last, the

landlord, who was a Carpenter, put a Cap on his Head, gave him one of his own Coats, a Saw and a Plain in his Hand, and in that Disguise he made his way to Edinburgh." We also read that 150 men of the King's Army, who were supposed to be lost, got on board a vessel near Borrowstonness and reached Edinburgh.

HIGHLAND RETREAT FROM STIRLING.

The battle of Falkirk, which in itself appeared of great advantage to the Pretender was really a serious disaster. The Highlanders, loaded with plunder which they desired to secure, went off home with their booty. The chief officers also quarrelled. Lord George Murray complained that Lord John Drummond had not exerted himself on the field at Falkirk, or the King's army would have been pursued. While these recriminations were going on, one of the Macdonalds of Keppock, says the *Courant* of March 1, accidentally shot the second son of the Chief Glengarry, and although the Pretender interfered he was obliged to consent to the execution of Macdonald, who, according to the custom of the clan, which exacted blood for blood, was led out and shot. The spirit of discontent still spread, aggravated as it was by the Prince still desiring to reduce Stirling Castle. It is stated in a letter from Edinburgh, dated January 20—"The Pretender's Son march'd backed to Stirling on Saturday afternoon. That morning the Rebels summon'd the Castle there to surrender, and again in the afternoon, but General Blakeney's answer was, that he had always been looked upon as a Man of Honour, and that the Rebels should find that he should die so." The Highlanders grew disgusted with the work of erecting batteries, and on the 24th January they refused to go into the trenches. A council was called, at which a memorial of the chiefs was presented, praying for a retreat to the Highlands. The chiefs would not give way, and as the Duke of Cumberland was already on the march from Edinburgh the Pretender at length yielded. The *Courant*, of Feb. 8, says:—"The Dispersion of the Rebels is without contradiction, and yesterday morning it was again confirm'd by an Express, with the following particulars, *viz.*, that General Blakeney had kill'd 3,000 of the Rebels in their scaling the walls of Stirling Castle, under the Siege; that Lord Kilmarnock is taken Prisoner, and the Duke of Perth mortally wounded." It was also reported that the young Pretender had gone on board the Hazard sloop of war, which had been taken from the Government, in company with Lord John Drummond, and some more of their chiefs, in order to sail for

France; that the men of Lord John Drummond had surrendered; and that the Rebels in order to effect their escape stripped every one whom they met, and effected forcible exchanges of clothes. All these reports were, however, without foundation.

THE APES AND WEASELS.—A FABLE.

Great dissatisfaction was felt at the want of vigour on the part of the Government in suppressing the rebellion. It was hoped that the Rebel retreat would have been cut off before they reached Carlisle, and although attempts were made to prevent news of the rout spreading it became known that another reverse had been sustained. Newspapers in these days were afraid to speak plainly on the matter: so in the *Courant*, of February 8th, the Government is preached at in a fable:—"In the Days of Yore, somewhere about the Times of *Æsop*, 'tis said that the two Nations of Apes and Weasels (after having long concerted their Affairs together in secret) had the Impudence to break out into open Rebellion against the Lion. The flattering Character of the one, and the pitiful Character of the other were so deeply impress'd upon all the Beasts of the Forest that for a great while there was no more notice taken of them than if there had been no War at all; and indeed, a great many carried it so far, as to say, that there actually was none. At the End of some months, when their Numbers were greatly increas'd it was thought sufficient to send out only little Parties against them, which were always worsted, and consequently the Enemy always increasing in Number and Power. On this the Lion thought fit to summon his Council together. The Beasts all met, and some of the most eminent among them gave their Opinions. The Leopard, in particular, was for sending 20 young Foxes against them, who should be order'd to moisten their Tails plentifully with their Urine, and then flirt in the Eyes of the Enemy, by which means, as he judg'd they might blind the whole Army. The Tyger was for dispatching half a dozen Jackals, and a couple of Ferrets to bring them all up bound to Court. Several others proposed other Expedients, but all pretty much of the same Nature. All this while the Chief Deputy of the Foxes (a very ancient and experienced Person), had sat silent, and almost conceal'd, in a retired Corner of the Assembly; when the Lion spying him out by Chance, give him a kind Look, and asked him what he would advise on the Affair before them. On this the old Gentleman stood up, and after a short Pause spoke as follows:—"May the King live for ever! Your Majesty is wise on all Things:—I wish your

Counselors were so too—I remember as I was coming to your Majesty's Court ('tis now many Years ago) I saw a Countryman hitting one of those white Tubes that they carry so generally in their Mouths against an old dry Oak; upon which several Sparks of Fire issued from it, and fell upon the Roots of the Tree. I spoke to some of your Guards, who were standing by, to tread on those little Cinders and extinguish them. They smiled at me, and said they would go out themselves. When I return'd, lo! the Oak, was burnt down to the Ground. Let us never be too apt to slight weak Instruments and poor Beginnings. If your Majesty was to send out all the numerous Hosts you have only by Handfuls at a Time, even an Army of Weasels may destroy them. My Advice therefore is, that you should get together a considerable, regular, and well-chosen Army, and let them pursue the Enemy till they are totally and entirely vanquish'd. Let us subdue them first and then despise them; but if we begin with contemning them, and carry it on too far we may contrive things so that they may even be able to conquer us at last!"

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND ASSUMES THE COMMAND.

On news of the battle at Falkirk reaching London, it was decided to send the Duke of Cumberland to Scotland, and in the *Courant*. of February 1st, is the following:—"Whitehall, January 25th.—His Majesty having been pleased to direct his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to repair to Scotland, to take upon himself the Command of the Army there, his Royal Highness set out upon his Journey thither between Twelve and One this Morning." The Duke travelled with the utmost speed. The Army had great faith in him; so had the public. In the *Courant*, of Feb. 8, we find—

A PROPHECY.

When Highgate Hill shall down to Smithfield come,
And English Malt produce Jamaica Rum;
To Fleet-ditch Watch-house when St. Paul's shall bow.
And Thames shall backwards up to Oxford flow,
When William's Courage shall like Perkin's fail;
Then Louis' Arms in Britain shall prevail;
Then Vice-Roy Charles to London shall advance
And reign the Deputy of Rome and France.

In every town he passed the houses were illuminated. It was

after midnight when he reached Newcastle, so that the illumination here was to little purpose. In the *Courant* of February 1st, we read as follows:—"Alnwick, January 28th.—This Day his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland dined here, and was welcomed with loud Huzzas, and other Demonstrations of Joy, and this Morning one Helen Jameson, an old Woman, upon hearing his Royal Highness was coming to Town, composed the following Verses, which were presented, directed to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland:—

<p>“Come on, Great Prince, Oh, welcome to this Place, A true-born Briton Of a Noble Race. William the Great The noble, wise, and brave Few men like thee, In Britain now we have. Whose Name when present, Frights the daring Foe; But in thy Absence, They imperious grow. They boldly say They fear no arms but thine. For thy success, Go, Arthur-like. Oh, Branch of George’s line Gird on thy Sword Thou shall not draw ‘t in vain</p>	<p>Nor Samson-like shall be among the Slain. “Daniel was safe, Tho’ in a Lion’s Den, So shalt thou be, Among those savage Men Tho’ many Eyes do watch Thy overthrow; One Eye’s enough To guard thee from th’Foe March on, Great Prince, I have no more to say— All I can do for thee. Is t’ wish and pray</p> <p>And Banners to display, Fear not to face them Tho’ in a gloomy Glen, Thy sword shall make them feel They are but Men.”</p>
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The account goes on to say that “the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Berwick at Two o’Clock on Wednesday Morning, and after staying a few Hours there without going to Bed, set out for Edinburgh, at Three o’Clock in the Afternoon of the same Day in perfect Health. His Royal Highness was received at Edinburgh amidst the loud Acclamations of the People, and the great Guns of the Castle fir’d all round, while the Musick Bells play’d ‘God Save Great George, our King;’ in short, an universal joy appear’d, and the Evening concluded with Bells ringing, Bonfires, and the greatest Illuminations ever known.” It was now safe for the inhabitants of Edinburgh to display their loyalty so we read:—"The principal Inhabitants of this City have sent a Solemn Deputation of four of their number to congratulate his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland on his happy arrival on the borders of Scotland, and his Success on driving the Rebels out of England."

MARCH OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND FROM
EDINBURGH.

The *Courant*, of Feb. 8, says:—"The Duke lost no time in setting out to attack the Rebels. The whole troops march'd on Friday early in the morning. Gen. Huske led the Van, and his Royal Highness set out soon after the Artillery pass'd thro' the City in the Earl of Hopeton's Coach, amidst a most prodigious Crowd, who express'd their satisfaction by repeated Acclamations of Joy and Prayers for his Success. At a Quarter of a Mile's Distance his Royal Highness mounted his Horse, and was soon up with the Army, which lay that night at Linlithgow. The Rebels called in their straggling Parties, and seem'd to prepare for a general engagement which was expected as on Saturday. No time was lost, for early that morning the Artillery moved, together with Lord Cobham's, and four Troops of Lord Mark Kerr's Dragoons, which were all the Horse that had join'd, Ligonier's and Hamilton's being left to patrol near this city. The Quickness of this motion, and the Alertness of his Army equally surprised and terrified the Rebels; and that morning having blown up their Powder Magazine in the Church of St. Ninian's they fled with the greatest Precipitation without the least regularity, and made such haste, that they got to the North Side of the Firth by the Ford of the Frew that Night. The Argyllshire Highlanders and Dragoons, under Brigadier Mordaunt, took possession of Stirling that night, where they found the Rebels' Cannon, &c. On Sunday his Royal Highness entered that Town, and was saluted by a triple Discharge of the Guns in the Castle, which he had so seasonably reliev'd. Yesterday the most devout Thanksgiving to Almighty God for this begun Deliverance from this wickod and unnatural Rebellion. The Rebels have published a Proclamation at Stirling offering a Reward to any that will discover the author of that damnable Lie, that the Person commonly called the Duke of Cumberland has arrived in Scotland, so apprehensive they were that their Army would fly at the approach of that Illustrious Hero." In a letter from the Duke of Cumberland, written in the Camp at Falkirk, on Feb. 1, to the Lord Justice Clerk, we read:—"I reviewed the whole army this morning, before we marched, who were in the highest Spirits. The advanced Parties of the Rebels retired with Precipitation on the Approach of ours, and our foremost Scouts brought in some stragglers who said the Rebels were repassing the Forth in a good deal of Confusion, being afraid, as they said, of another battle because of the Increase of our Strength, and the great Defection there had been amongst the

Clans which had much diminished their numbers. On our March we heard two great Reports, like blowing up of some Magazine, and it was soon confirmed to us; for the Rebels had blown up a very large quantity of Powder in the Church of St. Ninian's before they went off, On my arrival here, I found all our wounded men, whom they had made prisoners in the late Action, and in their retreat had been obliged to leave behind them. And I hear they have left their Artillery at Stirling spik'd up. As soon as I came here, I detached immediately Brigadier Mordaunt, with the Argyleshire men and all the Dragoons in pursuit of them, though it is imagined that most of them will have escaped at the Ford of Frew, and they generally make a good deal of haste when they are going off. They have lost a great many men at Stirling, and say it is all over with them, and they shall make to Montrose. One circumstance is particular, that Lady Kilmarnock, who till last night, had always stayed at Callender House, went off with them." The *Courant*, of Feb. 22, thus enumerates the Duke's

WEEK'S WORK.

Scarce had the joyless News of Falkirk's Day,
 To Britain's Sacred Monarch wing'd its Way,
 When his young Hero mounts the rapid Car,
 To save his Country, or her Fate to share;
 Intent on this, he ev'ry Lett defies,
 The rigid journey, and more rigid Skies;
 And what with Wonder latest times shall hear,
 Rais'd Stirling's Siege before we thought him there.

OUTRAGES ON CATHOLICS.

The anti-Popery spirit had become more and more bitter. The measures adopted in a proclamation of the 6th December had brought the Government and the representatives of foreign Powers into collision, and the *Courant* of Jan. 25 contains the answer of the Secretaries of State relating to Roman Catholic priests attending foreign Ministers. The intolerant conduct of the Government resulted in several outrages. A Sunderland letter of Jan. 23 says:— "Yesterday a Number of People consisting chiefly of Sailors, went about Ten o'Clock in the Morning to the Popish Mass-House in this Town, where they found several People at Prayers, and a Couple to be married, who with Mr Haukins their Priest all fled out. Upon which the Sailors immediately pull'd down all the Seats, the Priests' Robes, all their Books, the Furniture, and every individual Thing in the Room, and

burnt them in a Fire in the Street made for that purpose; also a large Library of Books and Papers belonging to the Priest, among which was found (before they were committed to the Flames) a List of the Names of several People in the Place, who are well-affected to the present Government, called by the Papists, *Odd Friends*, with Letters annex'd to the Names not yet decypher'd. The List so found is wrote by the Popish Priest's own Hand, and is as follows:—

A List of Odd Friends.

Matthew Russell, S.D.; Thomas Ayr, S.D.; Warren Maud, S.D.; Mark Burley, S.D.; Maylin, W.; Inman, F.F.; Craggs, S.D.; Matthew Carr, F.; George Robinson, S.B.; George Syall, S.B.; Ann Syall, B.; Nath. Leak, B.; Cooper Shephard, W.; James Donison, O.; William Wilkinson, H.; Thomas Firryby, S.D.; John Hodgson, S.P.; Officer Bambridge—This Piece of Wood I cut off an Old Chair in Jarrow Church, which was the Chair that St. Cuthbert sat in to hear Confessions.—*Nicholas Taylor.*

THE REBEL RETREAT.

The rebels continued their retreat towards the North. The idea appears to have prevailed that they would not make another stand, for we read in the *Courant* of Feb. 15th:—"The Hazard Sloop sailed from Montrose the 27th of last month, and is suppos'd to be gone northwards to take up the Pretender's Son, somewhere, possibly, about the Place he landed." What contributed to the impression that the rebels believed their cause lost was the abandonment of their artillery. We read in an extract of a letter from Perth in the *Courant*, March 1:—"At Stirling they have left behind them seven Pieces of very fine large brass Cannon; also 32 Pieces of large iron Cannon, besides 12 Swivels, mostly spik'd. There are Parties of our Men out on all Sides, and the main Body of our Army is expected to March in a Day or two towards Montrose, where, and at Blair Castle, and in that neighbourhood the Rebels are said to be. They have several field Pieces with them, and give out they intend to make a Stand when they get the Army a little further North; if they do, we shall be with them very soon, and if they fly, the Duke threatens to pursue them as far as the Orkneys; and I believe will be as good as his Word, if it please God to save his Royal Highness. I doubt not his name will be a glory to England, and a Terror to all Europe. I have heard this Minute that Lord Loudon, with 4,000 Men, is marching from Inverness, to intercept the Rebels, if they should take it into their Heads to

return to the Highlands before we get up.” In a letter from Berwick, Feb. 12, we also read:—“The Day the Rebels left Perth they were selling fine Broad Swords for 6d apiece, and some for 2d, and other Arms for what the People would give them, and pleading hard for Lowland Coats to run off in; and that the King’s Army was actually in Possession of all their Artillery, both what they brought from abroad and what they had got since. When they went from Stirlin? they were so confounded at hearing of his Royal Highness’s Approach, that, sending for their Smiths to shoe their Horses, they went off with half done and half not done.” A letter from Crief of Feb. 5 also says:—“All accounts agree that they are dispersing, to prevent which their Chiefs have attempted to take their Plunder from them, promising to re-deliver it at a proper Time; but this had little effect. The Young Pretender muster’d the Remains of his Army at this place on Monday, when they amounted to about 3,000. The Earl of Kilmarnock with a small Detachment staid here till Tuesday, at Three of the Clock; but, on hearing of the Approach of the Troops, fled, though he had bespoken Dinner.”

PURSUIT BY THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

The Duke of Cumberland did not pursue the retreating Highlanders at once. In a letter from Falkirk, of Feb. 2, the writer says:—“Yesterday His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, with the Forces under his command, arrived here, and on receiving Advice that the Rebels had cross’d the Forth, order’d Gen. Hawley with the Dragoons, and Col. John Campbell, with the Argyleshire men to follow them, who, we hear, stopped that night at Stirling.” The Duke himself made a halt at Stirling to have the bridge, which had been destroyed by the garrison, put in repair. The *Courant* of Feb. 15 says:—“The Army under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland marched from Stirling on Tuesday. The Bridge was repaired with incredible Expedition, and no Time lost in the Pursuit. They were at Perth yesterday, which the Rebels abandoned with their usual Precipitation, after damaging some pieces of Artillery they had in that Place. They dispersed in two Bodies, one consisting of the Clans went straight by Dunkeld, the other fled by the Coast Side, towards Dundee, &c. Several prisoners are taken, and the Rebels will probably be allowed no time to rest. The Chiefs of the Rebels who went Coastways were Lords Pitsligo, Elcho, Ogilvie, John Drummond, George Murray, Nairn, &c.” While in Stirling the Duke made strict search for concealed Rebels, and we read—“One James Riddell was apprehended as a spy

at Stirling and hang'd up; he had one of the Pretender's Passes in his Pocket." In an Edinburgh letter it is also stated—"Last night, about 60 Prisoners from Stirling came under a strong Escort, and are confined in the Castle here. Amongst these is the celebrated Miss Jenny Cameron, with several young Gentlemen that have been detained since the beginning of this Rebellion in Stirling Castle." This Jenny Cameron, it appears, used to ride with the Rebels with a drawn sword in her hand, and wore a cap with a scarlet feather. The Duke was in no mood for trifling with women, and in the *Courant* London letter of February 15 it is reported—"There are Letters in Town which say that his Royal Highness the Duke has caus'd to be declar'd to the old Duchess of Perth that, unless she can prevail with her son to release all Prisoners taken by the Rebels, the King's Soldiers shall be left at full liberty to plunder and destroy the Drummond Estate, and that the Duchess has accordingly writ upon this Subject in the most pressing manner. The exasperated men, it is said, have already given a Specimen of what they will do, in revenge for the Fatigues and Hardships they have been made to suffer, if they are once let loose without Controul." A letter from Edinburgh, February 14, says:—"Yesterday the Duchess Dowager of Perth was brought here under an Escort of Dragoons, and committed to the Castle; and that Night the Countess of Strathallan was brought here and confined to the same place."

AN ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

The *Courant* of Feb. 15 contains a curious address to the army, said to have been written by Professor Stewart of Edinburgh. The following extract will give an idea of the document:—"Almighty God, who has often wrought Deliverance to these Nations in so remarkable a Manner, will not fail to powerfully bless your Endeavours, against an Attempt so destructive and bloody. Despise the sly, but cowardly Insinuations of such of our Bosom Enemies, as craftily endeavour to magnify the Courage, as well as Cruelty of these Vagabonds, in hopes thereby to impress you with Fear. The Experience you have already of them, is a Demonstration now inconsiderable and contemptible their boasted Broad Swords are against the close and regular Fire of well disciplin'd Troops. 'Tis a Maxim in War, that those who behave best, suffer least; the more brave, the less Danger. If you but stand still and look them in the Face, they'll fly from you; they have not the smallest Chance unless you turn your Backs, and then indeed you wantonly throw

away both your Lives and your Honour.” Copies of the Address were distributed among the troops.

ARRIVAL OF HESSIAN REINFORCEMENTS.

While the Duke was marching northward there arrived in Leith Roads foreign reinforcements for his army. A letter from Edinburgh, dated Feb 8, says—“Five in the morning. —This moment the Prince of Hesse and the Earl of Crawford, with the Hessians, are fairly arrived in the Road of Leith. They came from Williamstadt on Tuesday last, and have had a very good passage. The troops will remain on board till his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland’s pleasure be known.” A letter from the same place a week later says the Hessians had been landed. “There is (says the writer) a number of Hussars who, if I don’t mistake it, will out strip the Highlanders in running up the hills.” The Hessians numbered 6,000 men, and were hired in place of the Dutch, who had withdrawn in consequence of a protest of Lord John Drummond, who declared that he being a French officer, at the head of a French Regiment, and these troops being part of those who had capitulated at Tournay, on condition that they should not serve against any troops of France, their presence was a breach of the Treaty. The Hessians set out almost at once and joined the Duke’s army, which was now 8,000 foot and 900 cavalry.

OPERATIONS OF THE FLEET.

One result of the battle of Falkirk was the arrival of more arms and ammunition for the Rebels, and the fleet was kept on the alert between intercepting supplies and the escape of Rebel leaders, many of whom, notably Lord John Drummond, were credited with a desire to get out of the country. In a letter we read:—“Admiral Byng is cruising off Montrose with some men-of-war, as is Capt. Balfour off Peterhead.” Fourteen days before this a privateer arrived with a quantity of arms and ammunition, which was landed for the Rebels, but the privateer was afterwards taken by Capt. Balfour. In the *Courant* London letter of Feb. 8 it is suggested “When this Rebellion is well over, it is hop’d that among other Precautions, care will be taken to secure and fortify the Town and Harbour of Montrose, which both in 1715 and the present year was the great inlet to Supplies from abroad. As this Harbour is capacious, lies just out at sea, and will admit ships of considerable Burthen, why might it not be

a constant Station in time of War, for three or four small vessels of his Majesty's Navy? Might not another such Port somewhere on the East of England, perhaps at Yarmouth, or any place more convenient, and a third in West, as at Milford Haven contribute much to our security against an Invasion?"

A DESERTER'S STORY.

A Dublin letter of Feb. 6 says:—"Several of the Rebel Army have of late made their Escape into this Kingdom, and we are assured that some of them are at present in this City. There is one Man, we hear, whose Accounts are something Curious; he says that about three years ago he was allur'd by the Advance of sixteen Crowns, to enter into the French Service. He enlisted in Lord John Drummond's Regiment, and, in November last, when Leave was given to any of the Officers or Soldiers in the Irish Brigade in the Service of France, who had a mind to try their Fortunes with the Pretender in Scotland, who was one of those who embark'd with Lord John Drummond on that pretence, but with a View as he gives out, of deserting the first Opportunity, being heartily tired of the French Service. He pretends to us that Lord John Drummond gave great Reason to suspect that he only waited for a proper Time to make his Peace with his Majesty, and strictly forbade the least Plunder under the severest punishment. He was in the Battle of Falkirk, and believes that there were 300 of the King's Forces kill'd in that Action, at least they were made to believe so by their Officers. As to the number of their own killed, he could make no Conjecture, for there were several employed all Night in burying them, and in the Morning they were brought into the Field of Battle, and were shown about 30 of their own Men kill'd; on which occasion their Officers harangued them on the great Disproportion of the Slain, and the manifest Interposition, as they called it, of Heaven in their Favour; but that few of their Hearers gave any Attention or Credit to those Discourses, as they could plainly see the Blood and other Marks where dead Bodies had lain. He and another were sent to a Colepit to buy Coals for their Company, and took that Opportunity to make their Escape."

CO-OPERATION OF THE LOYAL CLANS.

The advance of the Duke of Cumberland gave great encouragement to the loyal clans in the north. An Edinburgh letter of Feb. 14, says:—"The whole Picquets are advanc'd

several miles, and keep such a good look out, that the Rebels can get no subsistence from the Low Country. His Royal Highness the Duke omits no Opportunity of seizing important Passes, and cantoning the Army in such a Manner, as at once to secure the Soldiers from the intolerable Cold, and to distress the Rebels." Meanwhile, says the *Courant*: "According to private Letters from Edinburgh, the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Glenorchy is in Argyleshire with a considerable Body of men, raised on his own Estate for the Service of the Government, and it is expected he will very soon march in order to join the Army. The same Letters say, that the Nobility and Gentry of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and other Counties in the North of Scotland, are drawing together a very numerous Body of their Vassals and Tenants, in order to join the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Loudon, with a view to enable his Lordship to March Southwards, and to put the Rebels between two fires." A letter from Inverness, however, says:—"We are in great Concern for the Lord President, who has fortified his Seat, the Castle of Culloden, near Inverness, where he has 100 men, and they say they will wait the Rebels there, and oppose them to the last, if they attack the Castle, as undoubtedly they will, if they come at all."

A TYNESIDE WITTICISM.

"We hear (says the *Courant*) that a Townsman and a Countryman having met together in the street the other Day, the Townsman ask'd the Countryman what News? Upon which the honest Countryman naturally answer'd, I hear nought but that Willie of Cumberland is pursuing Charlie of Plunderland."

ARRIVAL OF CUMBERLAND AT ABERDEEN.

The Duke of Cumberland reached Perth on the 6th February, and halted there some days, to reconnoitre and reduce the neighbouring district. On the arrival of the Hessians, who remained at Perth till the beginning of April, he advanced, and on the 26th the Duke was at Aberdeen, but found no Highlanders, though his exploring parties discovered considerable quantities of muskets, bayonets, and ammunition hidden among the heather, under the snow, in the mountains. The weather that year was very severe, and the intimation in the *Courant* occurs very frequently— "The Army still continues at Aberdeen, occasion'd by the Severity of the Season." In a letter from Aberdeen, dated March 9, we

also read:—"As soon as the great Snow which fell last night, is a little run off, we shall march from hence." While the Duke was at Aberdeen he made himself as popular as he could with the inhabitants.

MEASURES AGAINST THE REBELS.

On his march northward he adopted various measures to induce the Rebels to lay down their arms. The *Courant*, of March 22, says:—"A Letter from Forfar brings Advice that an Order had been publish'd from all the Pulpits, signed by the Duke of Cumberland, requiring such as had been engaged in the Rebellion, forthwith to deliver up their Arms, their Names, Designations, and Places of Abode, with a Promise of Recommendation to the Royal Mercy for such who should comply, but that the dis-affected had industriously put bad Constructions on his merciful Design: and that many had complied, yet others had fled to join the Rebels." How this arose is thus explained—"The Increase of the Rebels is said to be owing to a Scheme circulated by a Gentleman of his own Accord, to prevent any such Insurrections for the future, by transporting them to America. Lord Lovat getting notice of this procured the Scheme in Writing, transcribed it into the Highland Language, showed it to the Rebels, told them the Duke was coming to carry it into Execution, and admonish'd them to rise and defend their Liberties, Properties, Wives and Children. And it seems they are determin'd to pursue his Advice."

REBEL OPERATIONS AGAINST NORTHERN FORTS.

The Young Pretender, on reaching Inverness, had found it fortified by a ditch and palisade, and held by Lord Loudon with 2,000 men. The latter, hearing that the Prince was staying at Moray Castle, sent out a night party to surprise and carry him off, but the party fell into an ambuscade, and were obliged to retreat. Next morning, the 17th Feb., Charles called his men together, and on the 18th marched on Inverness. Lord Loudon did not wait for his approach, but crossed the Moray Firth, accompanied by the Lord President, Duncan Forbes, and pursued by several Highland clans, was obliged to retreat into Sutherland. Charles entered Inverness, and at once began to attack the British forts. Fort George surrendered in a few days, and in it the Rebels found 16 pieces of cannon and a considerable stock of ammunition and provisions. The *Courant* of March 29 says:—"The Rebels

have actually blown up Fort George, in doing which they have blown up their chief Engineer Col. Grant." They then made their usual mistake, and proceeded to the distant forts of Augustus and William. Fort Augustus was 30 miles off, and that the Rebels soon reduced, and the garrison, consisting of three companies of Guise's Regiment, was made prisoners; but Fort William, still more remote, could only be reached through the mountains. The siege guns did not reach the Fort until the 20th of March, when the besiegers had to be suddenly recalled by the advance of the Duke of Cumberland. An Inverary letter in the *Courant* of the same week says:—"Major-General Campbell, foreseeing what might happen, provided for the Security of the Peace, by throwing into it upwards of 300 Argyleshire men with a good Engineer. The Garrison is well provided with everything, and can be attack'd only on one Side. He order'd the Serpent and Baltimore Sloops-of-War round to that Station; and on hearing the Enemy had actually taken the Baltimore's Boat, and posted themselves of the High Grounds near the Passage of Ardgower, so that nothing could pass or repass to Fort William, his Excellency put four swivel guns, with ammunition, &c., on board the Victory Wherry, with an Officer and 16 Men, and as many on the Hopewell Sloop, and sent them round. We expect a visit here very soon; and I wish we were as well prepared as they are at Fort William. Had we an Hundred or two of good Veterans to mix along with our honest and good-hearted Militia, we would be perfectly easy." The result of the expedition we find narrated in a Fort William letter of March 2:—"Capt. Askew's men landed first, and were immediately attacked by 80 Rebels, who fir'd upon them, but without doing them any damage; and upon the rest of the Men belonging to the Boats coming up, the Rebels fled. Our People pursued them, burnt the Ferry Houses on both Sides of the Water, and a little Town with about 12 Houses in it, a Quarter of a Mile distant from the Ferry-house on the North Side, and destroyed or brought off all their Boats. Two of the Rebels were kill'd in this Affair." All that was gained by these measures is thus summed up in the *Courant* of March 29:—"All that the Rebels will have gained will be drawing the Seat of War into the Hills, and protracting it a little Time; and the only Junction they have gain'd there, is some few of the Mackenzies, headed by Lady Seaforth, but the Lord of that Name is with Lord Loudon, as is Mr McIntosh, whose Wife is also in the Rebellion."

DEFEAT OF LORD LOUDON.

While the Young Pretender was reducing the Forts Lord Cromarty and the Duke of Perth were pursuing Lord Loudon and the Lord President, who were so closely pressed that they had to disband their forces, and escape themselves with Macleod, into the Isle of Skye, where they would have starved but for provisions sent to them by the Duke of Cumberland. Lord Loudon appears to have been an utterly incapable commander. The *Courant* of April 5 gives an account of how the Rebels collected a number of boats on the Moray side of the Firth and taking advantage of a fog crossed the Ferry, and surprised and made prisoners 60 of Lord Loudon's men. It appears that,—“Lord Loudon, who all along has been extremely alert, had left Dornock that morning about 5 o'Clock, and gone Westward to reconnoitre the different passes where the rest of his men were stationed, dreading nothing from that Quarter, as all the Boats were carried over to the opposite Shore, and judging it was impracticable to bring any from the Murray Firth, some of his Majesty's ships of war being station'd there.”

OUTPOST SKIRMISHES.

Notwithstanding these partial advantages, the Rebels, both men and officers, were in a sad plight. It was true that the winter was over, but this had rendered the rivers fordable, and favoured the advance of Cumberland, who lay at Aberdeen, with strong outposts in all directions; General Mordaunt at Old Meldrum, and Gen. Bland at Strathbogie. Skirmishes were frequent, and were attended with varying success. An Aberdeen letter, dated March 20, says:—“On Tuesday last. General Bland, with some of our Troops, quarter'd at Old Meldrum and Inverary, or thereabouts, went, upon information that some of the Rebels had advanced as far as Strathbogie and found about 1,000, or upwards of them, very merrily at dinner; but upon their Approach they left the Town in the utmost confusion. Gen. Bland, with Kingston's Horse and the Dragoons, pursued and kill'd a great number of them; took 500 Stand of Arms, and fourteen Days' Provisions, which the Rebels had brought with them. About the same time the Highlanders surprised three outposts in Perthshire, and took prisoners some 250 Argyleshire men. While these operations were proceeding Lord George Murray with another party of Rebels was with Macpherson of Cluny, scouring Badenoch and surprising various outposts of the Royal troops. They attacked the castle

of Blair, where Sir Andrew Agnew was quartered with a number of officers, but their feeble artillery took no effect on the strong walls, and, after blockading the Castle eighteen or twenty days the besiegers were obliged to draw off.

BLOCKADE OF THE SCOTTISH COASTS.

While the Duke remained at Aberdeen British vessels of war collected round the coast and cut off the Rebel supplies from France. In the *Courant* of March 29, is the following:—“By letters receiv’d this morning from the Master of a Ship, who had spoke with a Person from Dunkirk, we learn that the arrival of the News of Col. Fitz-James, and his Regiment’s being taken by the English, had put such a Damp upon Things there, that had not six Ships, with Troops on board for Scotland, got just out of the Harbour, ‘twas thought they would not have put to Sea (which they did) at that Time; four of them are since put back to that Place, and a fifth is got into Ostend, with all their Men and Troops on board; the sixth they were afraid was fallen into the hands of the English. The Captains of them declare to their Friends at Dunkirk and Ostend, that they have been all round the Coast of Scotland, had been several Times chased by the English Men of War, and found it impossible for them to land a Man.”

BRINGING REBELS HOME.

Besides reducing the Rebels by blockading the passes and the coast, the Duke while lingering at Aberdeen took active measures against some prominent disloyal and doubtful persons. The *Courant* of April 5 says:—“His Royal Highness having, had certain Intelligence that the Earl of Airly, Father of Lord Ogilvie, was raising his Men to join the Rebels, and he not having complied with the Order sent him by his Royal Highness, to desist from such treasonable practices, his Royal Highness sent Capt. Hewett, with 100 recover’d Men, who were coming up to the Army, to take Possession of his House and to make him Prisoner in it, until his People should bring in their Arms, and behave in such a Manner as became good Subjects, which has already had some good Effect, as a number have brought in their Arms. And his Royal Highness has also order’d Major La Fanille, with 500 men to go to Glenesk, which is one of the most rebellious Parts, attack all whom he finds in Arms against the Government, and to burn the habitations of such who have left them and are with the Rebels.” After this we can hardly wonder that we read in the

Courant of April 19:—"The seizing all the Cattle and demolishing the Habitations of those in Lochaber, who were actually out in rebellion has had a very good Effect, as all the Rebels of that County have deserted to go to their own Houses. By all we can learn from all their different Parties there is great Disorder and Confusion amongst them, which, added to the Want of Money, has occasion'd many Mutinies and great Desertion among their People."

CHIVALRY AND DISCIPLINE.

The Duke on occasion could be chivalrous. In the *Courant*, of April 5, is the following:—"Some soldiers having plundered the House of Mr Gordon of Cowbairdie, who is in the Rebellion, his Royal Highness not only (on Information of this Abuse) ordered the least trifle to be restored, but presented his Lady with a Purse of 100 guineas, and gave her his own sign'd Protection. Another apprehending herself in Danger, and having had some things carried off, tipp'd an Officer a few Guineas to have them restored, but his Royal Highness detesting such infamous Methods, directly broke him, and discharged him from the Service for ever."

COMING TO CLOSE QUARTERS.

As soon as the Duke received provisions from the fleet, and hearing that the Spey was fordable, he set out on the 8th of April from Aberdeen with Lord Mark Kerr's dragoons, and six regiments of foot, having the fleet still following along the coast. On reaching the Spey the Duke was opposed by Lord John Drummond who disputed the passage, but to no purpose, and on Sunday, April 13, the Royal troops were at Alves, and on the 14th at Nairn, before Lord John Drummond had got clear of the town. A skirmish took place, and just in time for Drummond the Young Pretender came up with reinforcements. That night Charles and his officers lay at Culloden House, the seat of Duncan Forbes—the last time that the Pretender slept before the decisive conflict which made him a fugitive and an outlaw.

"THE STARS IN THEIR COURSES" FIGHT FOR THE DUKE.

Ephraim Bray in the *Courant* of April 5, thus accounts for "the ill-Success of our Arms on an Entire new Hypothesis:—

“Why did your Troops (cry thoughtless men) give Way,
 At Preston-Pans, and yield their Foes the Day?
 The Reason’s Plain. Because on Heaven’s Parade,
 Their Planet, at that Time, was retrograde.
 Why did they bravely stand on Falkirk Green?
 Because red Mars was stationary then;
 And Soldiers, still expos’d to naked Skies,
 Must, with their ruling Planets, sympathize.
 But now, taught better, they’ll suspend their Force,
 ‘Till Mars he found progressive in his Course;
 Then they’ll give Scope to all their latent Fire,
 And strike a Blow—shall make the World admire;
 Then shall they thunder on the Northern Herd,
 And foul Rebellion meet its just Reward.”

THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN,
 FAILURE OF A REBEL SURPRISE.

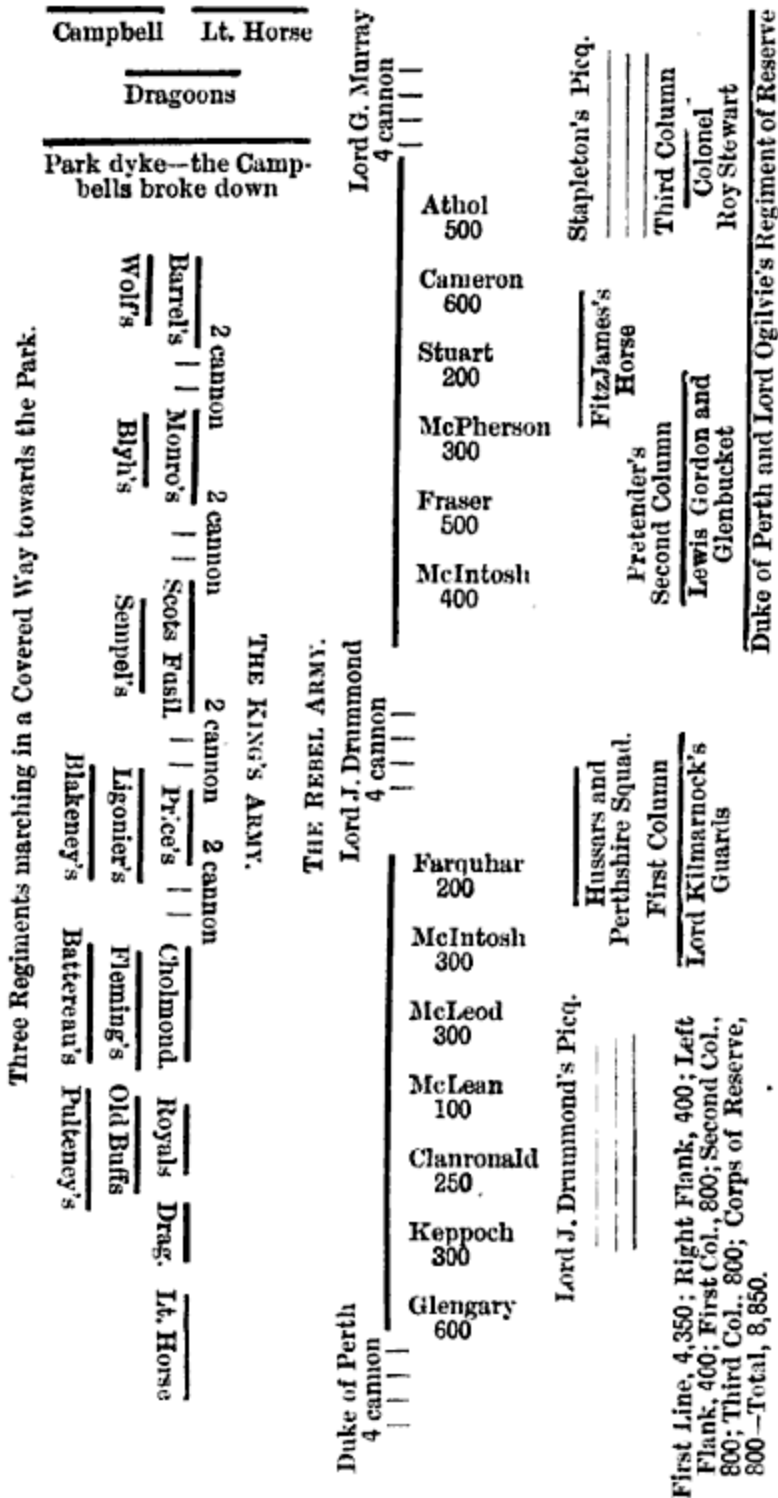
The Duke of Cumberland’s birthday was on Tuesday, April 15th. The event was celebrated at Newcastle, Berwick, Edinburgh, and elsewhere. That day the Duke was at Nairn, and there his army rested on their march. Lord Elcho had been sent off by the Pretender to reconnoitre, and reported on his return that the English army was drinking and feasting. This gave the Highlanders an opportunity for retreating across the straits into the mountains, and so drawing the Duke away from the coast. They were, however, without supplies, and instead of doing that, a night march, with a view of surprising the Duke’s army, was resolved upon. Accordingly a large body of Highlanders set out at eight o’clock in the evening, but half starved as they were, the dozen miles were too much for them, and instead of being at Nairn at two o’clock in the morning as they hoped to be, it was almost daylight when they had yet four miles to march, and were in consequence obliged to retreat, tired and worn out.

IN BATTLE ARRAY.

The Duke of Cumberland knew well what was going on, and determined to give them no time for rest. At eight o’clock in the morning, news was conveyed to Culloden House, where the Pretender and his chief officers were assembled, that the English army was advancing. At once there was a hurried running and riding among the Rebels to get men

together, and in a short time they were drawn up in two lines, with a body of reserve, the Macdonalds occupying the left instead of the right, the post they had always occupied since the battle of Bannockburn. The Duke's army was divided into three columns of five battalions each. The artillery and baggage followed the second column along the sea coast on the right, which the cavalry covered; while the left stretched towards the hills. The army came up to within half-a-mile at eleven o'clock, when the Duke halted and made a final disposition of his forces. We find in the *Courant* of May 10th, the following:—

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN FOUGHT
BETWEEN THE ARMY UNDER HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND AND THE REBELS ON
DRUMMOSSIE MOOR:



FIRST NEWS OF THE BATTLE.

The *Courant* of April 26th contains the following:—“Edinburgh, April 21st—Late on Saturday night, the agreeable News of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland’s obtaining a compleat Victory over the Rebels arriv’d here. The Despatches were from Inverness, and contain’d the following Particulars. On Wednesday at five o’clock in the Morning his Royal Highness march’d from Nairn (12 Miles from Inverness.) The Army had several Alarms; but at last the Rebels form’d about a Mile and a half South of the Lord President’s House of Culloden, and about five Minutes past One the Cannon began to play, which continued very close on both sides for about 25 Minutes. It was visible that our Artillery had the Advantage of that of the Rebels, as it was better serv’d, and did great execution. The Frasers and Macintoshes, which composed their Right Wing made an Attack on his Royal Highness’s Left, and endeavour’d to get in, Sword in Hand, but were so well receiv’d, and the Fire so close and regular, that on the Second Discharge, they fell into the utmost Confusion, and fled over an adjacent Hill. The whole of the Rebels followed their Example and took to their Heels by different Roads, some towards Badenoch, others towards Fort Augustus, and several by the Roads that lead to Ross-shire. The Duke’s Army mov’d regularly forward, and the Campbells, Duke of Kingston’s Light Horse, and the whole Dragoons pursued, and did great Execution. When the Despatches came off the Pursuit was not over, tho’ it had been continued thro’ the Town of Inverness. On the Field of Battle there were about 500 of the Rebels kill’d, and as many, as is supposed, by the Campbells and the Dragoons in their flight. Five pieces of Cannon were found in the Field, and a vast number of Colours. The Earl of Kilmarnock, Sir John Wedderburn, and the Person styling himself the French Ambassador are Prisoners, with a great many others whose names were not then known.” We find in the same paper the following in a letter from a Captain in the late Sir Robert Monro’s Regiment to a Captain in this town, dated April 17th—“The same morning we march’d from Nairn, and met the Gentry about Noon near Culloden, the Lord President’s House, three Miles from hence, where we cannonaded each other for some Time. At last the Rebels Advanc’d against the Left of our Line, where was Barrel’s Regiment and the late Sir Robert Monro’s, were Colonel De Jean’s, Burrel’s, behaved very well, but were obliged to give way to the Torrent that bore down upon them. Their whole Force then fell upon the Left of ours, where I had

the honour to command the Grenadier Platoon. Our Lads fought more like Devils than Men. In short we laid to the best of my judgment about 1,600 Dead on the Spot, and finish'd the Affair without the help of any other Regiment. You may judge of the work, for I had 18 Men killed and wounded in my Platoon. I thank God I escap'd free, but my Coat had four Balls through it. I must now tell you that in the midst of the Action the Officer that led on the Camerons call'd to me to take Quarters, which I refus'd, and bid the Rebel Scoundrel Advance; he did, and fir'd at me, but providentially miss'd his mark. I then shot him dead, and took his Pistol and Dirk, which were extremely neat, The French have all surrender'd Prisoners of War. We have taken their Cannon and Baggage. Lords Kilmarnock and Cromarty are among the Prisoners of Distinction. Our Regiment had ample Revenge for the loss of our late Col. Sir Robert, and the rest of our Officers, whom the Scoundrels murder'd in Cold Blood; but (as I told Lord Kilmarnock) we had ample revenge in Hot; for I can with great Truth assure you not one that Attack'd us escap'd alive, for we gave no Quarters, nor would Accept of any." In another letter we are told that "the Battle began precisely Half an Hour after Twelve, and lasted till One o'Clock, in which Time our Army killed about 3,000 Rebels, and numbers daily come in wounded. Our killed and wounded will not exceed 150 Men. We have taken Prisoners all the French Officers and Soldiers, the French Ambassador, the Pretender's Coach, Plate and Baggage; his Kitchen Furniture; besides 200 Chests of Arms and 18 Pieces of Cannon, and all their Stores, which I believe makes the Victor; compleat, and will render the Rebels incapable of giving us Battle again, or ever disturbing the Tranquillity of his Majesty's Dominions. We have taken Eight Standards and Lords Cromarty, Kilmarnock, Blair, Denmond, &c., Prisoners.—P.S.—I have a Broad Sword wash'd in the Blood of the Rebels." Barrel's regiment appears to have borne the brunt of the fight and to have gained great reputation. "After the Battle (we are told) there was not a Bayonet in the Regiment but was either bloody or bent."

REBEL ORDERS.—"NO QUARTER."

According to the *Courant* of the same week the following are "Copies of the Rebel's Orders, 15th April, 1746.— Parole, Roi James,—It is his R—l H—hn—s's positive Orders that every person attach themselves to some Corps of the Army, and to remain with that Corps Night and Day until the Battle and Pursuit be finally over, and to give no Quarters to the

E--r's Troops on any Account whatsoever. This regards the Foot as well as the Horse.

The Order of Battle to be given to every General Officer and every Commander of Regiments and Squadrons.—It is required and expected that each Individual in the Army, as well Officers as Soldiers, keep the Posts that shall be allotted to them, and if any Man turn his Back to run away, the next behind him to shoot him. No Body upon pain of Death, is to strip the Slain or Plunder till the Battle is over. The Highlanders all to be Kilts and no Body to throw away their Guns, by his R—l H—hn—s's Commands,—George Murray, Lt.-Gen.”

CUMBERLAND'S ADVANCE TO INVERNESS.

In the same paper we are told:—“The Army got to Inverness about Five that Night, and found many of the Rebels conceal'd in Houses in their Way. A fine Magazine and four Pieces of Cannon were in the Town, which are now in possession of his Royal Highness. Lord George Murray is wounded, Lord Nairn and that Gentleman fled towards Badenoch. The French Picquets were at Inverness, and on his Royal Highness's Approach surrendered Prisoners at Discretion. The Loss on the King's Side is very Inconsiderable, not exceeding 30 killed, and none of distinction. One of the Prisoners declar'd that the Rebels at the beginning of the Action were 7,000 strong. His Royal Highness, tho' in the Heat of the Action, is safe and in perfect good Health.”

THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE.

A *London Gazette Extraordinary* of April 26th, contained the official account of the engagement. It said:—“After reconnoitring their situation, we found them posted behind some old walls and huts, in a line with Culloden House. As we thought our Right entirely secure, Gen. Hawley and Gen. Bland went to the Left with the two regiments of Dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right Flank of the Rebels, and Kingston's Horse were order'd to the Reserve.” The report goes on to say: “When we advanced within 500 yards of the Rebels, we found the Morass upon our Right was ended, which left our right Flank quite uncover'd to them. His Royal Highness thereupon immediately order'd Kingston's Horse from the Reserve, and a little Squadron of about 60 of Cobham's, which had been patrolling, to cover our Flank; and

Pulteney's Regiment was order'd from the Reserve to the Right of the Royals. We spent about half-an-hour after that, trying which should gain the Flank of the other; and His Royal Highness having sent Lord Bury forward within 100 yards of the Rebels to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a Battery to us; they thereupon began firing their cannon, which was extremely ill serv'd and ill pointed. Ours immediately answered them, which began their contusion. They then came running in their wild manner, and upon the Right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest push would be there. They came down three several times within 100 yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords; but the Royals and Pulteney's hardly took their Firelocks from their shoulders, so that after these faint attempts they made off, and the little Squadrons on our Right were sent to pursue them. Gen. Hawley had, by the help of our Highlanders, beat down two little stone walls, and came in upon the right Flank of their second Line. As their whole first Line came down to attack, at once their Right somewhat outflanked Barrel's Regiment, which was our left, and the greatest part of the little loss we sustain'd was there; but Bligh's and Sempil's giving a fire upon those who had out-flanked Barrel's, soon repulsed them, and Barrel's Regiment and the left of Munro's fairly beat them with their bayonets. There was scarce a Soldier or Officer of Barrel's, and of that part of Munro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each with their Bayonets and Spontoons. The Cavalry, which had charged from the Right and Left, met in the centre, except two Squadrons of Dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone in pursuit of the Runaways. Lord Ancrum was order'd to pursue with the Horse as he could, and did it with so good effect, that a very considerable number was kill'd in the Pursuit." The report states that "Lieut.-Col. Howard killed an Officer, who appeared to be Lord Strathallan, by the Seal, and different Commissions from the Pretender found in his Pocket. 'Tis said Lord Perth, Lord Nairn, Lochiel, Keppock, and Appin Stuart, are also killed." The report in conclusion states:—"The Rebels, by their own Accounts, make their loss greater by 2,000 than we have stated it. Four of their principal Ladies are in Custody, viz. Lady Ogilvie, Lady Kinloch, Lady Gordon, and the Laird of Macintosh's Wife." Appended is "a Letter from the Officers in the French Service to Major-Gen. Bland, dated Inverness, April 16: Sir,—The French Officers and Soldiers who are at Inverness, surrender themselves Prisoners to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and hope for everything which is to be expected

from the English Generosity. Sign'd—Cusack, Murphy, Le Marquis, Le Guilles, Dehau, d'Obrien, McDonald.—To the Commanding Officer of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.” Then follows a copy of the Parole of Honour, signed by the officers in the French service, with their names, titles, &c.

ESCAPE OF THE YOUNG PRETENDER FROM THE FIELD.

The rout of the Rebels was most complete, and it is said that the Prince, mistaking an order for the Highlanders to retire beyond the reach of fire, for an order to retreat, hastily left the field. The *London Gazette* of April 29 says:—“This day morning, about Three of the Clock, being the Day after the Battle, the Pretender's Son, with Sheridan and Sullivan, with no other Attendants or Servants, was seen passing Fort Augustus on his way to Glengary. On Saturday, the 19th, Lord Perth and his Brother, call'd Lord John Drummond, were at Garnemore, within twelve miles of Fort Augustus, on their way to Lochaber, attended by their servants. The latter ordered the French Horse, or Fitz-Jame's Regiment, who had followed the Pretender's Son and him out of the Battle, to return to Inverness and Surrender themselves Prisoners, and the general and last Order given by the Rebel Officers to their men, was to shift for themselves. The Macphersons were not at the Battle, but were that Day on their March to Inverness, and upon meeting the Rebels running away from the Action, they return'd to their own country. Orders are given along the coast to prevent any of the Rebels from making their Escape by Sea.”

CAPTURE OF THE REBEL CRUISER.

The loss of the Hazard sloop was a great discouragement to the Rebel chiefs, who could not keep their men together; for, besides being short of food, they had had no pay for some time. A paragraph in the *Courant* of April 19 states that—“The Rebels desert daily, and parties are continually coming in to Gen. Bland with Offers of laying down their Arms. He grants them all Pardon, on condition of returning to their Homes, and Promise of immediately applying themselves to their Husbandry, to prevent a Famine.” The Hazard had made several daring and successful voyages between the French and Scottish coasts, and on the last occasion had on board a quantity of specie intended for the Rebel army. The vessel was discovered on the Murray Frith, on March 24, by

the Sheerness man-of-war. An engagement ensued, and the Hazard was driven on shore, the crew escaping. Lord Reay and Lord Loudon's men had seen the fight, however, and lay in ambush, and after a skirmish all who had been on board, together with the money, fell into their hands. In the *Courant* of April 26, is the following:—"Tis said that among the Papers found on board the Hazard sloop, there was a letter from the French King to the young Pretender, informing him that the Men, Money, and Ammunition, &c., on board the said sloop, when taken by the Sheerness Man-of-War, was the last Remittance he might expect of that kind. And we hear his Royal Highness the Duke order'd a Copy of it to be sent on to the Pretender at Inverness, that he ought to know what he had to trust to. This, no doubt, attended with many other Causes, both past and what might happen, was the cause of the Pretender's illness at Inverness." The Hazard's prisoners were landed at Berwick by the Sheerness. They consisted of 22 officers, and about 110 sailors and soldiers. Eighteen of the officers were Scotch, English, and Irish, all of whom were confined in the new Infirmary. Four French officers were sent to the Red Lion Inn, and were allowed to walk the streets. The London letter of the *Courant* of April 19 says that—"The money taken from the Hazard sloop in the Bay of Tongue has by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's Order been distributed, viz., £500 to Capt. Mackay, who seized her, £500 to the Commander of the Sheerness Man-of-War, that forc'd her ashore, and in proportion to the other officers; and the rest was distributed to the Sheerness and Capt. Mackay's Men, which amounted to five guineas each Man."

HOW THE NEWS REACHED LONDON.

Lord Bury was despatched to London with the news of the victory at Culloden, and we read in the *Courant* of May 3 that—"His Majesty was pleased to make a present of 1,000 Guineas and a Colonel's Commission to Lord Bury, for bringing the agreeable news of the Defeat of the Rebels in Scotland." Lord Bury reached London on the 24th. His letter to the King was dated the 16th, on the evening of which day he left Inverness by sea, and landed at North Berwick, and travelled thence by coach to London, the whole journey being made in eight days.

THE REBELLION AND THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

The Earl of Chesterfield in opening the Irish Parliament in

Dublin, April 11th, thus referred to the Rebellion:—The Rebellion, which rather disturb'd than endanger'd the King's Government, has been defeated, tho' not totally suppress'd; but as those flagitious Parricides, who were abandon'd enough to avow, and desperate enough to engage in, the Cause of Popery and Tyranny have already been repuls'd and pursued by the Valour and Activity of his Royal Highness the Duke, there is the strongest reason to believe that he will soon compleat the work, which he has so gloriously begun and restore the tranquillity of the Kingdom. This Attempt therefore to shake his Majesty's Throne, will serve to establish it the more firmly; since all Europe must now know the unanimous Zeal and Affection of his Subjects for the Defence and Support of his Person and Government, and those Hopes are at last extinguish'd with which the Pretender has so flatter'd, and (as it now appears deceiv'd himself) even the manner in which he has been assisted by those Powers, who encouraged him to the Attempt, must convince him that he is now being, what he ever will be, only the occasional Tool of their politicks, not the real object of their case. The *Courant* of March 23rd says:— “The reigning Toast at the Earl of Chesterfield's Court at Dublin, is Addition to the Whiggs, Subtraction to the Jacobites, Multiplication to his Majesty's Friends, Division to his Enemies, and the Rule of Three to the Rebels.”

LINES ON THE VICTORY AT CULLODEN.

The following lines “upon his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's Victory on the Day after his Birth Day,” appear in the *Courant* of April 26th:—

Our Fasts, double-mark'd with William's Name,
 To his Nativity now join his Fame
 Thrice hapoy, to whom sacred shall appear,
 At once, so large a portion of the year?
 Thy Festival shall swell Britannia's Mirth,
 The Eve of whose Good Fortune was thy Birth.

THE PACIFICATION OF SCOTLAND.

REJOICINGS OVER THE SUPPRESSION OF THE
REBELLION.

The Rebel defeat gave rise to much rejoicing throughout the country. Houses were illuminated, bells rung, guns fired, and in some places drink was provided without stint for all who cared to drink the King's health. About what took place in Newcastle we read:—"Last Monday Afternoon, and till next Morning, we had the greatest Rejoicings of all Sorts in this Town known in the Memory of Man on receiving the great and good News of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's obtaining a compleat Victory over the Rebels, the 16th instant, near Inverness. The whole Country adjacent testified their Loyalty in a most distinguished Manner. On hearing the agreeable News the Young Gentlemen of the Head School in this Town express'd an uncommon Joy on such a happy Issue, who at their own Expense and with the greatest Freedom and Alacrity ordered the School to be Illuminated, Tar Barrels to be burnt, and in short such a Spirit appeared amongst them which made the Inhabitants much admire." There were likewise great rejoicings in London, where, too, much powder was burnt to express the satisfaction of the Government and people.

ADDRESSES TO THE KING AND DUKE.

After the enthusiasm had somewhat subsided it was thought proper to congratulate both the King and the Duke on the event. The Houses of Parliament presented thanks to the Duke for "the Glorious Victory obtained by him against the Rebels." The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London waited on the King and presented a congratulatory address, and £5,000 allotted by the London Guildhall Subscription "as a Reward to such Regiments as should behave well in the Time of Action" was transmitted to Scotland to be disposed of as the Duke thought proper. Newcastle was one of the first towns to present an address to the King. The document was to this effect:—"Most Gracious Sovereign, We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriff, and Common Council of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in Common Council assembled, humbly beg leave to approach your Majesty's

Throne, with our sincere and unfeigned Congratulations on the happy Success of your Majesty's Arms against the Rebels. Great, very great, was the Danger to which we were exposed by the perfidious Attempt, which was calculated to destroy our Religion, our Laws, our Liberty, in a Word every Thing that ought to be dear or valuable to a Free People: Great therefore, very great, must be our Joy on its Defeat, which Nothing could have rendered more compleat than his Royal Highness the Duke, being, under God, the glorious Instrument of our Deliverance." The document is signed "Cuthbert Smith, Mayor." The address was presented to the King by Mr Walter Blackett, one of the borough members. A similar address from the master, pilots, and seamen of the Trinity House was presented to the King by Sir Henry Liddell, Bart., and most graciously received. The Merchant Adventurers also joined in the pæan of victory and thanksgiving, represented by their chairman, Matthew Ridley, of Heaton.

THE POPISH SCAM.

In these addresses the King was thanked for having delivered the nation from the threatened inroads of "Popery and Slavery." The people seem to have been terrified of everything not Protestant. A *Courant* letter from Durham of April 27 states:—"The late glorious Victory gain'd over the Rebels may very justly be call'd a Seasonable one, for I verily believe the loss of it would have been attended with the most fatal Consequences to this Nation. The Papists and Jacobites in this County and Northumberland, waited only the Event of this Battle, to shew themselves in all the Shapes of Savage Cruelty; and if Victory had declar'd on their Side, I am inform'd an Insurrection and general Massacre would have immediately ensued, which, thank God, I hope is now prevented. This horrid Conspiracy was discover'd at Hexham, and the Day for putting it in Execution was fixed; but the principal Persons concerned in it, I am told, have made their Escape." It is stated in the London Letter of the same paper:—"There are also some private Letters from Newcastle, which suggest that the Papists have been very busy in the Neighbourhood; and that it was believed something considerable would have happen'd if the News of the Duke's decisive Victory in Scotland had not come so opportunely as it did."

COMPLIMENTS AND HONOURS TO THE DUKE OF
CUMBERLAND.

The Duke of Cumberland was then the most popular man in the land. Every little incident of his proceedings in the North was a theme for gossip in taverns and coffee houses. In a *Courant* letter from Edinburgh we read:— “At the Beginning our glorious Duke came up to Cobham’s Dragoons, and clapping some of them on the Shoulders, call’d out, ‘One Brush, my Lads, for the Honour of Old Cobham,’ upon which, rather like Devils than Men, they broke through the Enemy’s Rank, and a total Rout followed. The Dragoons and Light Horse pursued, calling out. ‘Cut hard, pay ‘em home,’ &c. Mr Rose, minister of Nairn, having been instrumental in some Prisoners making their Escape, he was seiz’d by the Rebels and tied to the Cross, where they most inhumanly gave him 500 Lashes. The Duke, as he pass’d his House, said, ‘He felt every Lash the poor Gentleman had received, and would avenge it.’ Our Men have really been pretty severe, and gave little Quarter, being exasperated at the treatment our Prisoners met with, they being found in dark Dungeons at Inverness almost naked and eat up with Vermin.” The people shared in this thirst for blood, and the state of feeling in the North of England may be gathered from the following paragraph in the *Courant*:—“The following Account of the Issues of the Glorious and Decisive Battle gain’d by his Royal Highness the Duke over the Rebels, will rejoice the Heart of every True Briton, viz., Kill’d in the Field of Battle 2500; kill’d in the Pursuit 1500; taken Prisoners 1800; in all 5800. Taken 30 Pieces of Cannon; 3500 Arms.” The Duke’s praise was in everybody’s mouth, and a substantial addition was made by Parliament to his allowance. The *Courant* of May 10, says:—“We learn from several private Letters, before and since the gaining the late Victory over the Rebels, that in the March from Aberdeen to Inverness, his Royal Highness took the Pains to confer with every Battalion of Foot, on the proper Method of using the Musket and Bayonet to Advantage against the Sword and Target, and that the Success of the Engagement was unanimously ascribed to the seasonable Instruction of his Royal Highness.”

THE PRINCE OF HESSE IN NEWCASTLE.

The power of the Rebels now being broken, it was resolved to send back the Hessian troops as early as possible. On the arrival of the Prince of Hesse at Morpeth towards the end of

May, he was feted by the magistrates and gentry, and on reaching Newcastle he “receiv’d the compliments of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Sheriff, with repeated Peals of Bells.” His troops were in the meantime encamped at Burnt Island, where they were taken on board trasports and sent home.

REPRESSIVE MEASURES IN SCOTLAND.

We read in the *Courant* of April 19:—“The Honest Men in Scotland long to hear of an Order for to register the names of the True Friends to King George, our Union with England, and the publick and secret Enemies to our happy Constitution in Church and State, which might be easily got. For, alas! none greater enemies than Ex—qu—r Pensioners, &c., many of both Sexes, whose lives were preserv’d by our Sovereign’s Bounty.” The Government were apparently thinking the same thing, for in the *Courant* of the following week it is stated that “a Bill is order’d for calling any suspected Persons, whose Estates or principal Residence are in Scotland, to appear in Edinburgh, or where shall be thought convenient, and find Bail for their good Behaviour.” We also read in the *Courant* of May 24:— “The Duke of Cumberland has caused two Proclamations to be issued, requiring all common and ordinary People who have borne Arms, and been concern’d in this Rebellion, to bring in their Arms to the Magistrate or Minister where the notice shall reach them, and give in their Name and Place of Abode, and submit themselves to the King’s Mercy. Likewise all Persons who possess, know of Arms, or Effects of any Sort, belonging to Persons who are or have been in the Rebellion, to deliver them to the Magistrate or Minister, &c., and the Place of their abode, otherwise they would be pursued with the utmost Severity as Rebels and Traitors.” All persons who had harboured, concealed, or entertained rebels were to be seized.

THE CONDITION OF THE HIGHLANDS.

The *Courant* of May 24, after giving a geographical description of the Highlands of Scotland, which it says are “much greater than has commonly been imagin’d,” says:—“In this great Extent of Country, Ignorance and Superstition greatly prevail; and in some Places the Remains even of Paganism are to be found, and in many others the Reformation from Popery has never yet obtain’d. The

Parishes where Ministers are settled are commonly of very great Extent, some 30, 40, 50 Miles long, and generally divided into impassable Mountains and Lakes; so that most of the Inhabitants being destitute of all Means of Knowledge, and without any schools to educate their Children, are entirely ignorant of the Principles of Religion and Virtue; live in Idleness and Poverty, have no notion of Industry nor sense of Liberality, are subject to the Will and Command of their Popish disaffected Chieftains, who have always oppos'd the propagation of Christian Knowledge, and the English Tongue, that they might with less Difficulty keep them miserable Vassals in a slavish Dependance. The poorer sort have only the Irish Tongue, and little Correspondence with the civilis'd Part of the Nation, and only coming among them to pillage the more industrious Inhabitants; they are brought up in Principles of Tyranny and arbitrary Government, depend upon foreign Papists as their main Support, and the Native Irish as their best Correspondents and Allies. This has been the source of all the Rebellions and Insurrections, in that Country, since the Revolution." We read in the same paper "Tis said that a Bill will soon be brought into Parliament to abridge the Vassalage of the People of Scotland."

HUNTING FUGITIVES.

We must now give some of the darker passages of this story. The Highland defeat at Culloden was followed by a systematic hunt after Rebels, and in the *Courant* of May 10, it is stated:—"By Letters from Aberdeen we learn that the Prisons are quite crowded, and that the Rebellion seems really suppressed. From all parts of Scotland, even as far South as Dumfries, we have repeated Advices of the Vigilance of the Country People in taking the Rebels, in which they had been very successful." In this work the loyal clans took part. "The Grants (says the *Courant* of May 10), have been so active in the Service of their King and Country, that already they have brought to Inverness near 100 of the Rebels." In revenge the Rebels burned the fir wood of Abernethy belonging to the Laird of Grant, "which, besides the particular loss of many thousand Pounds to that Gentleman is a national one, as it contain'd the finest Masts for Ships of the largest Burthen." In a letter from an officer in the Duke's army at Inverness, it is stated that the troops would march into the disaffected districts, and the writer goes on to say:—"In these Regions of Theft and Rebellion, we shall visit the Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Kennedies, and

Macmartins. We shall march over Corryarick, to Garry, Dalnacardock, Tay Bridge, Crief, and Stirling, and in our visit shall not pass by a Rebel's House without paying it proper Respect." Thus driven to bay the Rebels were credited with committing atrocities rivalling those of their pursuers. The *Courant* of May 24 says:—"Two soldiers belonging to the Garrison of Fort William having been fishing, were attack'd by the vagabond Camerons, who cut off their Arms and Legs, and left them in that shocking Condition." A large body of Highlanders took refuge in Lochaber, and it was said that Lord George Gordon still entertained the idea of keeping them together. The *Courant*, in giving currency to these reports, says:—"Tis thought the Clans will assemble once more next week in Strontian, and keep themselves in a moving Body, to harass and fatigue the Troops till they can get Terms." Several of the leaders surrendered themselves voluntarily. In a letter from Edinburgh, of May 5, we find an account of the surrender of the Marquess of Tullibardine:—"After the total Defeat the Rebels receiv'd near Culloden House, he made his Escape, with one Mr Mechel, a Frenchman, who had been long in the Pretender's Service. They travell'd through Ross-shire, and were endeavouring to make the best of their Way to the Sea Coast, in Hopes of finding a Passage to the Island of Man; but their Horses tiring, and the Marquis being in a very bad State of Health, they on the 27th of last Month went to the House of William Buchanan, Esq., of Drummykill, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, surrender'd themselves, and were by him civilly receiv'd, and afterwards conducted to Dumbarton Castle, where they have been confin'd ever since." An Edinburgh letter of May 13 says:—"It was well for the Marquis that he had a strong Guard to defend him against the People of Glasgow, who were greatly exasperated against him; he did not pass through the City of Edinburgh, but was carried directly to Leith, where likewise a strong Guard protected him from the Resentment of the People." An Inverness letter says that Lords Cromarty, Kilmarnock, and Balmerino, with other Gentlemen Prisoners, were put on board the Exeter Man-of-War for London. Lord MacLeod was left behind; Lord Lewis Gordon tried to escape from Fraserburgh after being taken, but was prevented. As the prisoners were taken they were shipped for London. The Marquis of Tullibardine was put on board the Eltham Man-of-War at Leith. It being pretty well understood what the fate would be of all who surrendered, some of the chiefs stood out for terms, and in the *Courant* of May 24 it is stated—"We hear that Macdonald of Glengary has sent to his Royal Highness the Duke of

Cumberland, offering to submit on Terms, that the Answer returned was, that nothing but an absolute Submission could be agreed to, which if he fail'd to make he might expect a Visit in a few Days."

EMBARRASSING PRISONERS.

It appears that a few of the prisoners sorely perplexed the Government. Says the *Courant* of May 10:—"Some of the Rebel Ladies, who are now Prisoners, having behav'd like Men, with a true Military Spirit, it is presum'd that tho' no Cartel can be admitted with regard to the Rebel Gentlemen, there will be no Impropriety in exchanging these Ladies against such of our Officers as on former Occasions behav'd like Women, and are still in the Power of the Pretender's Friends, either in France or Scotland."

SEARCHES FOR REBELS AND ARMS.

"Formerly such things have been known as the suffering of Rebellions to grow to a great Head, when they might have been crush'd in the Infancy, with a view only to increase the Number of Forfeited Estates. This was thought to be the Case when the great Rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1641, which in the End prov'd fatal to so many Thousand Protestant Families. Therefore, as strict Enquiry is now going to be made into the Motives and Progress of the late Rebellion, and the Guilt of Participators concern'd in it, if there are any Persons living through whose wicked Neglect, or Misrepresentation, proceeding from rapacious Views, such great Numbers have been suffered to become guilty, it is hoped they will not escape due Punishment, any more than the Rebels who were actually taken in Arms." Thus argues the *Courant* of July 5, and it indicates very accurately the spirit which actuated the Government in hunting down the rebels. One district after another in the Highlands was scoured by detachments of soldiers. The details of these expeditions are rarely given, but paragraph after paragraph reports the arrest of the wretched chiefs and their still more miserable retainers. "The Highlanders are being brought in in shoals," says the *Courant*, which contains not a word of pity for the fugitives and prisoners. When they failed to capture those they were in search of the soldiers burned their houses. Thus in the *Courant* of June 21 we read:—"From Monteith we are inform'd that last week a Party of the King's Troops came to that neighbourhood in Quest of Glengyle, but, missing him,

they burnt his House, with all the Houses in Craig Royston, &c., possessed by the Macgregors, and carried off their cattle." It is clear that the Highlanders had hoped to make another stand, from the large quantities of arms and ammunition which were found. In the *Courant* of July 5 we read:— "From Strontian two Detachments were sent to search for the Rebels upon the Side of Loch Gheal, a fresh Water Lake, extending within two miles of Lochiel in Lochaber. One of the parties discovered eight Pieces of Cannon sunk ten Foot in the Loch, which they got up; it was supposed they had been concealed in that manner by Lochiel, who was in that Place a few Days before. Capt. Noble on a late excursion seized 19 Barrels of Powder, and 22 chests of Arms and Ammunition, buried below Ground, and scarce a Day passes without Discoveries of the like Nature." Under these attentions from the military whole districts were depopulated, and the *Courant* of June 28 reports that "there were found last week two women and four children dead in the Hills, who perished through want, their huts being burnt."

CAPTURE OF LORD J. MURRAY AND LORD LOVAT.

John Murray, the Pretender's secretary, was taken at the house of Mr Hunter of Pelmuir—Murray's brother-in-law. The *Courant* of July 12 says:—"Upon his Examination he declar'd that the Pretender's Son, with Sullivan and O'Niel, both Irish, and no other Person, in Company, did, about four Days after the Battle of Culloden, go off in an open Boat, in order to get on board of a Ship, but that he, Murray, being at that time indispos'd, was not able to go with them. The said Murray had been mostly with Lochiel, and his Uncle, Maj. Kennedy, and his Brother, in a starving Way, lying on the Side of Hills all Day, and travelling or wandering all the Night, with scouts at a mile or half a Mile's Distance, never daring to stay two Nights in one place. Lochiel was very ill, wounded in the Heel and oblig'd to Use a Horse. In a letter from Fort Augustus of June 17 the writer says:—"Yesterday, I had the Pleasure of seeing that old Ring leader of Rebellion, Lord Lovat, with his two Aides-de-Camp, and about 60 of his Clan, brought in here Prisoners. He is upwards of fourscore Years of Age, has a fine comely Head to grace Temple Bar, and his Body so large, that I imagine the Doors of the Tower must be alter'd to get him in. He can neither walk nor ride, and was brought m here on a Horse litter, as hardened as ever.' Lovat was taken by "Capt. Ferguson of the Furnace Bomb in a Boat, attempting to get on board a Ship," although

another paragraph in the *Courant* says he was found in a hollow tree. After he was brought to Fort Augustus, "he wrote a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke, in which he desir'd to have the Honour to kiss his Hand, promising if it was granted him to make some extraordinary Discoveries" In this letter, which we find in the *Courant* of July 12, he says:—"I durst not presume to solicit or petition your Royal Highness for any Favour, if it was not very well known to the best People in this Country attach'd to the Government, such as the Lord President, and by those that frequented the Court at that Time, that I did more essential Service to your Royal Family in suppressing the great Rebellion in the year 1715, with the Hazard of my Life, and the Loss of my only Brother, than any of my Rank in Scotland." After stating that he became a great favourite at Court, and that to destroy a hundred such old men as himself can be of no advantage to the Government, Lord Lovat goes on to say:—"Your Royal Father, our present Sovereign, was very kind to me in the year 1715, I presented on my knees to his Majesty a Petition in Favour of the Laird of Macintosh, to obtain a Protection for him, which he granted me. This was but one Testimony of several Marks of Goodness his Majesty was pleased to bestow on me while the King was at Hanover; so I hope I shall feel, that the same compassionate Blood runs in your Royal Highness's Veins." Glengyle appears to have given his pursuers a great deal of trouble. Repeated mention of him as lurking first in one place then in another occurs in the *Courant*. It appears that Glengary's son was taken, but effected his escape, and for this two soldiers who had "plundered Glengary's Son without Orders," and had failed to report his capture, were sentenced to 900 lashes apiece, to be given at three different times.

THE PRETENDER'S MOVEMENTS AND ESCAPE.

A letter from Lochaber of July 20 says:—"We have 2,000 Regular Troops out, besides Lord Loudon's and Gen. Campbell's Irregulars, in Quest of the Pretender, who is now wandering about the Mountains, in the Country of Morror, in an old Highland Habit and an old Plaid. One of Sir Alexander Macdonald's Factors, who conceal'd him in his House three Days, is now in Irons at Fort Augustus, where the Body of the Army is to remain till the Search is over. We have a Chain of Sentries from this Place to Inverness, and all other Places strongly guarded. It is almost impossible he can escape: he is in very bad health, and broke out to such a Degree that he is like a Leper." In the Edinburgh letter of the *Courant* of August 16 we have the following account of the Pretender's

subsequent movements and escape:—"On June 28, under the disguise of a Young Lady's Maid, he sail'd in a small Boat from South Uist to the Isle of Skye, and next Day, being in the same Habit, landed at a Gentleman's House, but not till he had got a Signal from a trusty Friend, whom he sent on Shore about half an Hour before. The Lady din'd there with several others, but refused the most urgent Solicitations to stay that Night; she removed with her Maid, who having put on Men's Apparel, hired one Mackinnon, a Boatman, to Raza, from whence he return'd to Skye, and at last set sail for the Continent. Here, it is said, he was join'd by Barrisdale, in manifest violation of the Protection which His Royal Highness had given to him; and notwithstanding the vigilance of the several parties who guarded the Passes, he escap'd thro' Glengary to Badenoch. Gen. Campbell, who was in South Uist, after ordering a certain Chieftain's Lady, who had not only protected him, but contrived his Escape, to be seized, set out directly for Skye, having previously despatched Capt. Ferguson in the Cutter. They landed below the Gentleman's House much about a time, went straight to it, and inquired at his Lady anent her two guests, but she knew nothing of the secret of the matter, she could give no satisfaction except as above. Mackinnon, who ferried the young Pretender from Skye to Raza, says that he walk'd 24 miles with him from Eight o'Clock at Night to Eight o'Clock next Morning, and that he carried on his Back a Wallet containing two Shirts and a Bottle of Brandy, and that he would not allow him (Mackinnon) to carry the Wallet."

A PROTEST AGAINST TRANSPORTATION'S.

The stamping out process does not appear to have had everyone's approval; and a correspondent writing in the *Courant* of June 21 says:—"I was as much against the Rebellion as anybody; but I am neither for killing Wretches in cold Blood, nor transporting them into the Plantations, where, the Spirit of Resentment remaining, they may possibly be more serviceable to the French, and dangerous to us than in the Highlands. Besides, I consider that every Rebel we destroy, we deprive the King of a Subject, or one that should be a Subject; and it would be a much more glorious and acceptable Service to his Majesty if a Way could be found to reconcile and make them useful as well as dutiful subjects. Taking this for granted, I will propose a Method, which wiser Heads may improve and digest, viz.—Resume the Herring and Salmon Fishery on the Scottish Coast, the fittest Place for it in the World, establish a Manufacture thereof there, which

may employ all the Hands of that Nation; and by enriching them, make it their interest to incline to those who alone are able to protect them therein.”

MURDER OF AN INFORMER.

The bitter feeling which these repressive measures evoked is shown in the vengeance which overtook informers. In the *Courant* of June 28, is the following:—“We hear from Glamis, that about three weeks ago, one John Cattanach, who had been a Servant to Mr Ogilvie Kenny, a Captain among the Rebels, was apprehended by some of Gen. St. George’s Dragoons quarter’d there; that in a short time after he was set at liberty by the Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Col. Arabin, upon which, and his returning once or twice to Glamis, his neighbours suspected that he gave the Colonel Intelligence of the Rebels in those Parts of the Country, in Consequence of which they determin’d to destroy him, calling him an Informer, which they put in Execution on the 11th inst. in the following manner:— Francis Anderson and Andrew Fithie, both of the Village of Kenny, seeing the said Cattanach as he was conversing with two other men in the said Village, came up to him, and telling him they had something to say to him, brought him behind a Barn, where they instantly threw him down and knocked out his Brains with Stones, Striking him time about, after which they had the barefaced Impudence to leave the body lying the whole Day exposed, and return’d to their Work, without the least seeming Remorse or Concern for the horrid Act they had been about; in the Evening they threw the Body into a Marlpit, and cover’d it with a few Stones and Sods. Col. Arabin having private Intelligence on the 16th, that there was just reason to suspect that Cattanach was murder’d, sent out, in the dead of the Night, an Officer and 30 Dragoons, who surrounded the Village, and had the good Fortune to take not only Anderson and Fithie, but also one Barbara Coutts, Housekeeper to the said Capt. Ogilvie, who had greatly encouraged and prompted them to this cruel Deed, besides several others who were supposed could give testimony; but they all at first obstinately denied their knowing anything of the Affair, till the Day after, that the Colonel sent another Party to the Spot to make further Enquiry, who in a few Hours found the Body, the News of which when brought to Glamis so surprised and thunderstruck the Criminals, that they acknowledg’d the whole; and upon giving their Declaration last Friday before George Campbell, Esq., Sheriff-Deputy of the County, it appears to be the most

deliberate, premeditated, and cruel Murder that has been heard of, and the Chain of Circumstances so very strong, besides the Criminals' full Confession, that there is not the least Room for any Doubt about it,"

A STARVING MINISTER.

Deprived of their rebel flocks, some of the ministers were reduced to a sad plight. In a letter from the North (place not named), dated June 21, we read:—"As most of this Parish is burnt to Ashes, and all the Cattle carried off by his Majesty's Forces, there is no such Thing as Money or Provisions to be got on this Desolate Place, I beg therefore you'll advise me, in course of Post, what steps I shall take to recover my Stipends. My Family is now much increas'd by the Wives and Infants of those in the Rebellion in my Parish, crowding for a Mouthful of Bread to keep them from starving, which no good Christian can refuse, notwithstanding the Villany of their Husbands and Fathers to deprive us of our Religion, Liberty, and Bread."

BURNING OF REBEL COLOURS.

The *Courant* of June 14, states in its Edinburgh letter—"Yesterday at noon 14 Stand of Rebel Colours display'd and supported by John Daghish. the common Hangman, as chief bearer to the Pretender's own Standard, and 13 Chimney Sweepers, his Assistants, were carried down in Procession from the Castle to the Cross, escorted by a detachment of Col. Lee's Regiment, where a Bonfire was prepar'd, and amidst a numerous crowd of Spectators, were burnt by the Hands of the Hangman, with Sound of Trumpet, and loud Huzzas from the Populace, after reading the Orders for the Effect in the Presence of the Hon. Sheriffs of Edinburgh, who attended the Ceremony with the Heralds in their Robes, and the Constables with their Batons. The Pretender's own Standard was first burnt, and Lord Lewis Gordon's Camp Colours the last. As each of them was thrown into the Fire, the Heralds proclaimed the Names of the Rebel Traitors to whom they belong'd. The whole was conducted with such Order and Decency as gave universal Satisfaction to the Spectators (some of which had come many Miles to witness it) and which ended without the least Disturbance. On June 25, the colours of Macdonald of Keppoch were burned publicly at Glasgow by the common hangman, "Amidst the Huzzas and Acclamations of many Thousands of Spectators, and to the

infinite Joy of the whole Inhabitants of the City.”

PUTTING DOWN THE HIGHLAND GARB.

The *Courant* of July 12 has the following:—“We hear that the Scots Highlanders for the future will be disarmed, and that they will be obliged to leave off their Plaids, and wear the same Habit as other People,” By August 9 a bill had been passed “for the more effectual disarming the Highlanders, and for securing the Peace of the Highlands.” By this act all persons who were privy to hiding or concealing of arms were liable to a fine of not less than £15, and in case of non-payment to serve the King as soldier. For a second offence such persons were liable “to be transported to any of his Majesty’s Plantations beyond the Seas.” The wearing of the Highland garb was also forbidden under heavy penalties.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF REBEL PRISONERS.

THE THREE LORDS.

Lawyers, judges, and executioners were kept busy a long time after the close of the Rebellion. The *Courant* of August 2 says that “an Order is sent down to Edinburgh, and several other places in Scotland, to remove the Rebels from thence to England, in order for them to take their trials at the ensuing Assizes at the Northern Counties.” The accounts of these trials in the *Courant* are very brief. The Earl of Kilmarnock pleaded guilty, so did the Earl of Cromarty, and both submitted themselves to the King’s mercy. The *Courant* of August 2 says:—“The Lord Balmerino pleaded Not Guilty; and after hearing the King’s Counsel, which were Mr Attorney, Mr Solicitor, and Sir John Strange, and examining several Witnesses, the Prisoner was order’d to be taken from the Bar; and the Question being put, he was unanimously found Guilty. Then they were order’d to be carried back to the Tower; and to be brought up To-morrow to receive Sentence. On their return to the Tower the Axe was carried with the Edge towards them.” On being asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him, the Earl of Cromarty delivered an impassioned speech, which is given in the *Courant* of August 9.

INTERCESSION FOR LORD CROMARTY.

A letter from London, dated Aug. 7, in the *Courant* of Aug. 9 says:—"On Sunday last, the Countess of Stair accompanied the Countess of Cromarty to Kensington, where they went in Mourning, and the latter, upon her Knees, presented to the King, as he went to Chapel, a Petition in favour of her Husband. Her Ladyship swoon'd away at presenting it, upon which his Majesty order'd the Countess of Stair to carry her to an Apartment where she might be taken proper Care of. The Dukes of Hamilton and Montrose, and the Earl of Stair, and many others waited on his Majesty Yesterday, for the same Purpose. 'Tis earnestly reported, and with some Confidence, that the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty will be pardoned. As for Lord Balmerino, he is so far from asking his Life that he behaves with the utmost Defiance (which his Jacobite Friends impudently call Heroism), a notorious Instance of which follows:—The Day after Sentence of Death was pass'd, hearing the two Earls had made Application for Mercy, he observ'd by way of Sneer, 'That as they (the two Earls) had so great Interest at Court they might as well have Squeeze! his Name in with their own.' And Yesterday, a Gentleman who went to speak to him on Business, excusing himself for intruding upon the few Hours his Lordship had left, Lord Balmerino replied, 'No intrusion at all, Sir, for I have done nothing to make my Conscience uneasy. I shall die with a true Heart and undaunted; for I think no Man fit to live that is not fit to die; nor am I anywise concern'd at what I have done.' Amazing! that a Man should talk after this Manner who has been twice pardon'd already; once for Rebellion, and since for a Duel, but as his Lordship cannot have the least Probability of Success in petitioning for a third Mercy he is willing to put the best Face he can upon the Matter that his Friends may say he died a Martyr. The Duke of Hamilton was at Court again this Day, in favour of the Earl of Cromarty. The King receiv'd the Petition and said he would consider it."

EXECUTION OF LORDS KILMARNOCK AND
BALMERINO.

The London Letter of the *Courant* of August 23, says—"Yesterday Morning, between Five and Six o'Clock, a Detachment of about 500 Horse and 1,000 Foot Soldiers march'd thro' the City for Tower Hill, to attend the execution of the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, and the same

Morning the Sheriffs of this City (with their Officers, and the Executioner) went from the Mitre Tavern, in Fenchurch Street, to the House hir'd by them on Tower Hill for the said Lords. At Ten o'Clock the Block was fix'd on the Stage, and covered with Black Cloth, and ten Sacks of Sawdust were carried up to strew on the Stage. Soon after their Coffins were brought, covered with Black Cloth, with Gilt Nails, &c. On that for the Earl of Kilmarnock was a Plate with this Inscription, viz., *Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollet 18, Augusti, 1746, Ætat sue 42*, with an Earl's Coronet over it, and six Coronets over the six Handles. And on that for Lord Balmerino was a Plate with this inscription, viz., *Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollet 18, Augusti, 1746, Ætat sue 58*, with a Baron's coronet over it, and six others over the six Handles. At half an Hour after Ten the Sheriffs went to the Tower, and after knocking some Time at the Gate they were admitted, and the Prisoners on their giving a Receipt, were deliver'd to them, and Mr Sheriff Blatchford walk'd with the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Mr Sheriff Cockayne walk'd with Lord Balmerino, to the House provided for them at the Corner of Catherine Court, fronting the Scaffold, and about Thirty Yards distant; the back Parlour and Passage of the said House, the Rails enclosing a way from thence to the Scaffold, and the Rails around the Scaffold being all hung with Black at the Sheriffs' Expense. They spent about an Hour, and at half an Hour after Eleven o'Clock the Earl of Kilmarnock, with the Sheriffs, Mr Foster, the Divine, who attended him, and some other gentlemen came upon the scaffold. His Lordship was dressed in Black, and having spent a little Time in Devotion, he took the Bag from his Hair, and by the help of his Gentlemen pulled off his Coat and neckcloth, and put on a Cap made of a Damask Napkin, after which he spoke to the Executioner, who was dressed in white, and saluted his Friends. His Hair seeming to be in the way he put it under his Cap, and his Shirt and neck of his Waistcoat were tucked in; after which he knelt down at the Block on a black Cushion, and laid down his Head, and raised it again five several Times. Then the Cap being drawn over his Eyes (a great piece of Scarlet Cloth being held under the Block to catch his Head in) he laid down his Head, and in about four Minutes gave the Signal, and the Executioners at one Blow severed his Head from his Body, excepting a small Skin, which was immediately cut off, and wrapp'd in the Scarlet Cloth, and the Body was put into the Coffin. He behaved on the Scaffold with great Decency, but was weak in Body, having been indisposed for Days past. He was very penitent, and appeared in every respect melancholy at his unhappy circumstances,

notwithstanding he bore his Death with the Conduct and Resolution of a Man. As soon as the Scaffold was cleared from the blood of the executed Lord, the Sheriffs went for the Lord Balmerino, who soon come upon the Stage, dress'd in his Regimentals, a Blue Coat turn'd up with Red, with Brass Buttons, and a Tye-Wig, with the Air of a Man going to a Wedding; he read the Inscription on the Coffin, and afterwards read a paper to the Sheriffs which he deliver'd to them, and for some Time he walk'd about talking, seeming under very little Concern, He inquired after his hearse and ask'd for the Warder of the Tower, to whom he gave his Wig and some Money. He then pull'd off his Coat and laid it on his Coffin, put on a Cap made of Scotch Plaid, took up the Axe and felt of it, then call'd for the Executioner, and talked to him some Time, during which he gave him directions how to perform the Execution, and in about two minutes pull'd off his Waistcoat, tucked down his Shirt, and Knelt down on the wrong side of the Block, of which he being inform'd, got up again and went to the other side, and laying down his Head, gave the Executioner the Signal before he was prepared to receive it. He received three Blows, the first partly on his Shoulders, the second went about two-thirds through his Neck (on which the Lord fell down), and being immediately raised a third blow took off his Head, a Scarlet Cloth receiving it, as it did the other, and the Body being put into the Coffin, they were both carried in two Hearses to the Tower, where about Five in the Evening they were both interr'd in the same Grave with the late Marquis of Tullibardine in the Chapel there. Lord Balmerino did not appear so calm and sedate as the Earl of Kilmarnock, but behaved upon the Scaffold with the same Heat and Resolution he had acted all his Lifetime. During the whole solemnity, altho' the Hill, Scaffolds, and Houses were crowded full of Spectators there was the greatest Decency observ'd, which evinces how much the People enter'd into the Rectitude of the Execution, though they were too humane to rejoice in the Catastrophe. 'Tis believed so many People never met together before, associating in so perfect a Calm; nor, 'tis hop'd, when these unhappy Affairs are ended will ever have cause to meet again on so tragical an Occasion. Yesterday, when the above Lords came out of the Tower, the Governor, as is usual, said, 'God bless King George;' to which the Earl of Kilmarnock replied by making a Bow, and Lord Balmerino answer'd, 'God Bless K—g J—s.'

FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE DECEASED.

The *Courant* of August 30 adds the following particulars to the account of the Rebel Lords:—"The Earl of Kilmarnock gave Five Guineas, and the Lord Balmerino Three Guineas, 'tis said, to the Executioner." In an account of the Earl, the *Courant* says:—"In his Speech at the Bar of the House of Lords he declares he did not join the Pretender till after the Battle of Preston Pans, but, as that whole Performance has been censured as being void of Truth in many Passages, so this may be uncertain. Supposing it to be true, some say he did not do it then but by the instigation of his Countess, who being a Roman Catholick, naturally became a Partizan for the Pretender; but as he has in many Instances given Indications of having little respect for his Lady we are apter to believe the desperateness of his Fortune engaged him in that rash Attempt. He has left several Children, particularly three Sons, one of whom was in the Rebellion with his Father, another in the victorious Army at Culloden, commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and another is an Officer in the Navy. This Earl lost his father when he was very young, and discover'd betimes a genius not unequal to his birth; but as he grew up, instead of applying himself to the dry amusements of the Study, he launch'd out into the World in pursuit of Pleasures which were more extensive than his Fortune could support, and by this means considerably reduced an Estate that devolved to him, not without some Incumbrances, which, from the most probable Conjecture, was the true reason of his taking up arms against the King. His Person was tall and graceful, his Countenance mild, and his complexion pale; and he had Abilities if they had been properly applied, which might have render'd him capable of bringing an increase of Honour to his Family, instead of Ruin and Disgrace. Arthur Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino, was a Descendant of an ancient Scotch Family, from a German Stock, and second Son of the third Lord Balmerino. How, or when he join'd the Rebels, to us is utterly a Secret, and tho' he seems to have had a considerable command, yet we scarce heard anything of him till he was made a Prisoner. If we were to draw his Character, abstracted from the Consideration of his being an enemy to the present happy Government, we should call him a blunt, resolute man, who would, if his Principles had not been tainted by Jacobitism, have appear'd Honest in the Eyes of those who love Sincerity; but he was not so happy as to be loyal. His Person was very plain, his shape clumsy, but his make strong, and he had no marks about him of the polite gentleman, tho' his seeming sincerity

recompensed all those Defects. He was illiterate in respect of his Birth, but rather from a total want of application to Letters than from want of Ability. He has left a Lady behind him, but whether he has left any children or no we are uncertain. It was indeed reported that he had ten children, but that has been once contradicted. When he came upon the Scaffold he behav'd (as hath been hinted) with blameable intrepidity, tho' not with indecency, when the Axe put an End to his Life. We hear that his Majeity, at the Request of Lord Balmerino, has been pleas'd to grant the Lady of that Lord, whom he call'd his 'Peggy,' Fifty Pounds a year."

CARLISLE PRISONERS IN LONDON.

The following officers taken at Carlisle were tried at the Court of St. Margaret's Hill in London:—Francis Conneley, Alexander Abernethy, Thomas Furnival, James Ged, George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, William Barragh, James Dawson, Thomas Deacon, John Barwick, Andrew Blood, Christopher Taylor, John Sanderson, Thomas Syddall, Charles Deacon, James Wilder, and David Morgan. We learn from the London letter of the *Courant* of August 2, that having been convicted they were brought up to receive sentence on July 22. We read:—"Two Points were made in Arrest of Judgment. 1.—That the Test of the Commission was not set out in the Capitulation of the Indictment. 2. —That it was not set out in the Indictment that the Prisoners were in actual Custody on or before 1st of January, 1746, pursuant to the late Statute. But the Court being unanimously of Opinion that these Exceptions were not good in Law, overrul'd them; and the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench pronounc'd the Judgment of the Court upon the Prisoners. They seem to have deceiv'd themselves with a vain Expectation of Deliverance, and a mistaken Reliance on the Capitulation at Carlisle, falsely pretending that they were entitled to the same Treatment as the Subjects of a Foreign Prince taken Prisoners of war on a like Capitulation. The Counsel for the Crown were Mr Attorney-General, Sir John Strange, Mr Solicitor-General, Sir Richard Lloyd, Mr Yorke, and Mr Spooner. For the Rebels, Serjeant Wynne and Serjeant Eyre. His Lordship told them that the Crime they had been convicted of was one of the most heinous that could be committed by mankind in endeavouring to destroy their lawful Sovereign, ruin the Country, and overturn both our Civil and Religious Rights, and to introduce Popery and Slavery. His Lordship also informed them that much innocent Blood had been spilt, and the lives of many had

been lost, who stood up for their King and Country, and whose Deaths lay at their Doors. He exhorted them to make use of the short Time that was to be allowed them in this World, and then proceeded to pronounce that sentence upon them which the law commanded him to do." The sentence was that they must be taken to the place whence they came, be hanged by the neck, but not until dead, their bowels were to be taken out and burnt before their faces, their heads were to be severed from their bodies, and their bodies were to be divided into four parts. We read that "they all desir'd to be recommended to his Majesty's Mercy with Tears in their Eyes." The sentences were in most cases carried out. The heads of Townley and Fletcher were fixed on poles on Temple Bar. The heads of Chadwick, Barwick, Deacon, and Syddall were preserved in spirits, and sent to Manchester and Carlisle. The heads of the rest, with their bodies were buried altogether.

LORD LOVAT'S APPEAL VERSIFIED.

Lord Lovat remained some time at Fort Augustus. At length orders were given to prepare apartments in the Tower for his reception and that of the Earl of Kellie. It appears there were doubts as to whether Lord Lovat should be considered a peer, as his title had not been properly settled. In the *Courant of* August 23, we have the letter which he addressed to the Duke of Cumberland, pleading for pardon, versified as follows:—

When first the proud Scotchmen rebell'd,
In your great, good, old Grandfather's days,
He lov'd me and did all he could.
Both by my Fame and my Fortune to raise.

When a child I remembered it well.
Your Highness was wondrous Pretty,
And what is more wonderful still,
Though a Prince, most exceedingly Witty.

Who then more in favour than I?
Who hugg'd you and kissed you like me?
And can you behold you're fond Nurse,
Who thus fondled you swing on a Tree?

You'll say my behaviour of late
Look'd cold to'ards you're father and you;
That I fain would have cut both you're throats;
And the Charge in some measure is true.

But consider. Sir, I'm in my dotage,
 Some years above Three Score and Ten,
 You're grown a bold, matchless young Hera,
 And I a mere baby again.

Besides, I've done damnable Penance
 Liv'd on Oatmeal twelve days in a tree,
 And after such marks of Repentance
 You'll sure, Sir, have mercy on me.

Lord Lovat readied the Tower on August 15. We read that—"As he pass'd thro' the Streets, he seem'd very unconcern'd, but on his coming on the Hill he turn'd his Eyes to'ards the Scaffolding that is building for the Spectators to see the Execution on Monday next, and lifting up his hands, with great concern, said—'A few Days and it will be my unhappy Fate.'"

THANKSGIVINGS.

The second half of the year 1746 was a busy time for the hangman in the North of England. Towards the end of July the Duke of Cumberland passed through Newcastle on his way from Scotland, and was presented with the freedom of the town in a gold box, and also with that of the Trinity House, also in a gold box. The town was illuminated on the occasion, and there were great rejoicings. All through the following month parties of a very different kind passed through the town, Lord Lovat among the rest, on their way either for trial or for transportation; for the prisoners were so numerous that those who pleaded guilty at York, Carlisle, and other places were allowed to draw lots, nineteen out of every twenty, the twentieth to be tried, which meant to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Simultaneously there was a great deal of hand shaking over the suppression of the Rebellion. We read in the, *Courant* of Aug. 30 that—"Lancelot Allgood, Esq. High Sheriff of Northumberland, receiv'd Orders to return his Majesty's Thanks' to the Gentlemen of the said County, for the distinguished Zeal they have shew'd for his Majesty's Service during the Continuance of the late unnatural Rebellion." We also read in the *Courant* of Oct. 11—"Thursday last being the Day appointed for a General Thanksgiving, for the Victory obtain'd by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland over the Rebels at Culloden on the 16th of April last, the morning was usher'd in with ringing of Bells, which continued the whole Day. The Magistrates in their Robes went to St. Nicholas Church, where the Rev the Vicar preach'd a very loyal and learn'd Sermon from these

Words, 'If my Kingdom were of this World,' &c. There were above 70 Officers and Gentlemen din'd with the Right Worshipful the Mayor. In the Evening were great Illuminations in the Windows, &c."

SURRENDER OF FUGITIVES.

Meanwhile the hunting down of Highlanders was going on in Scotland. Says the *Courant* of Sept. 13:—"All the private Letters from Scotland agree, that Things are in a manner quiet again throughout the Highlands, most of the Chiefs being fled Abroad that were too Guilty to submit, and numbers of all Sorts repairing daily to some or other of his Majesty's Garrisons to deliver up their Arms, and submit themselves to the Royal Mercy; so that the Tranquility of that Country is like to be very soon restored." In the same paper we read of Dejean's Regiment visiting Lochiel's house, where they seized the gardener and cook. "The former would confess nothing, but the latter, by Means of the Drumers, who were set with their Rods of Discipline at his Back, discover'd the Place where his Master's last Effects were conceal'd." As in other places, more recently the work of hostile soldiery was followed by that of the missionary. In the *Courant* of Nov. 8 we find a letter from the committee of directors at Edinburgh to the Incorporated Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands, and Isles. The writer says:—"We have now Accounts from different Parts of the North Country, where Popery and Superstition mostly prevailed, that the destroying of their Mass-houses by the King's Army, and the putting to Flight the Romish Priests, and other Popish Teachers have produced very good effects; particularly in Strathglass, in the County of Inverness, in Braemair, the Euzie, Glenlivet, and other Parts of the Counties of Aberdeen and Murray. Where bigotted Papists would seldom suffer their children to be taught at our Charity Schools, being now happily deliver'd from the Menaces of their Bishops, Priests, and other Popish Emissaries, do now actually send their Children to our Schools, and do themselves also attend the Public Worship at Church, and have their infant Children baptised by one establish'd Clergy."

A STRANGE EPITAPH.

In the London letter of the *Courant* of Sept. 13 is the following epitaph, which reads like a protest against this

cant:—“It appears by the underwritten Epitaph or Inscription, a Copy of which was taken from the Gravestone of one of the Balmerino Family, whose Names are Elphinstone, and put there, as the Tenor of it shews, by his own Direction, and from the Behaviour in several Respects of the late Lord of that name, that a Strain of at least Oddness and Singularity has run thro’ more Branches than one of that Family—

“Under this stone lies John Elphinstone
Oh! Lord God! do thou by me, as he would do by Thee
Were he Lord God, and thou John Elphinstone!”

MILITARY EXECUTION ON THE TOWN MOOR.

As the Pretender’s Army did not visit Newcastle the hangman had little to do here. The *Courant* of Sept. 20 has the following, however:—“Last Monday Alexander Anthony, a Soldier in Brig. Cholmondeley’s Regiment now quarter’d here, was shot on the Town Moor, for enlisting into the French Service. He was wounded at the Battle of Fontenoy, and made Prisoner by the French, afterwards persuaded to enlist into Fitz James’s Horse, with whom he came over to Scotland, and join’d the Rebels, and was very active in their Service at the Battle of Culloden; after which he was taken prisoner. He was a Roman Catholick, behav’d decently, and begg’d of all his Brother Soldiers never to desert their Colours. He was about 23 years old, and born at Stamford in Lincolnshire.”

TRIALS AT YORK.

In one day the judges at York passed sentence of death on 70 Rebels who had been found guilty. One of these was Captain Hamilton. It is stated in the *Courant* of Oct. 11, that—“There were two several Commissions produced upon the Trial, sign’d Charles, P.R. that were found in a Pocket-Book taken from Captain Hamilton, in one of which he was appointed Deputy Quarter Master General. There were also found in the same Pocket-Book the Form of an Oath, conceived in the most strong Terms, wherein all Those that engag’d in his Troop, were made in very Injurious Words, to Renounce their Allegiance, and to swear Fidelity to the pretended Prince, and those of his Family for Ever.”

TRIALS AT CARLISLE.

A large number of prisoners were brought up at the assizes at Carlisle in August before Lord Chief Baron Parker, Baron Clerk, and Judges Brand and Denniston. The Grand Jury found 29 bills against the Manchester Rebels, and about the same number against the Lancashire and Scotch Rebels taken in England. The Scotch prisoners refused to swear in the form prescribed by the English law, and the Judges allowed them to take the oath after the Scotch form. Sir David Murray, George Hamilton, John Seaton, Clavering, and other officers' were tried. The arraignment began on Sept. 10. All the English prisoners except one pleaded guilty. Three of the Scotch prisoners pleaded guilty, and the rest, 98 in number, pleaded not guilty. Charles Douglas, Lord Mordington, put in a plea that he was a Scotch Peer. "The city," says the *Courant* of Sept. 20, "is very much crowded with people from all parts of the country to see the Trials of the unfortunate Rebels." On Sept. 23 sentence of death was pronounced on 23, who were found guilty; on Sept. 21 sentence of death was passed on 20, and on Sept. 25 on 43 prisoners. One of the most remarkable trials at Carlisle was that of George Abernethy, which is narrated in the *Courant*, of Nov. 1. He was an officer in Glenbucket's Regiment and acted as a captain and commissary of stores at Carlisle. Witnesses were called in his favour, and among others General Cope, who could not, however, identify Abernethy as a man who had done the King good service. Witnesses were also called from Banff, of which town Abernethy was a magistrate, and it was alleged that he had rendered service to Cope while the latter was there, and that for this Abernethy's house was afterwards plundered by the Rebels. He was brought in guilty, but recommended to mercy'.

EXECUTION OF THE PRETENDER'S BISHOP OF
CARLISLE.

The *Courant*, of Oct. 23 says—"Saturday last were executed at Carlisle, for High Treason, being all concern'd in the late unnatural Rebellion, the nine following Parsons, viz., Thomas Coppoch, the Bishop, Edward Roper, John Macnaughton, Donald Macdonald, Francis Buchanan of Aronprior, Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, James Brand, John Henderson, and Hugh Cameron. They all persisted in the justice of their cause, and died in that Opinion. The Bishop preach'd a sermon to them at the

Gallows, which was design'd for their Spiritual Comfort, which, when over, he flung among the Populace, but was immediately taken up and given to the Sheriff, in whose custody it now is. After which they made some short Prayers, and then gave the Signal, when the Cart immediately drew away; but Brand seemed to beforehand, he jumping off upon the first motion of the Cart. After hanging a few Minutes, they were Cut down, and their bowels were taken out and burned before their Faces, then their Heads were cut off; but we hear their Bodies were allowed to be buried. We hear that James Ancram, who should have suffer'd with the above, has got his Majesty's Pardon, that the Mock Bishop, who preach'd about an Hour, and other two, were buried by the Gallows, but the other six in the Churchyard, and that a Reprieve arriv'd at Carlisle last Monday night, for Richard Morrison (who should have suffered at Brampton with the eight on Tuesday) by one of his Majesty's Messengers who is to carry him to London. Tuesday were executed at Brampton, on the same Account, the following, viz., Peter Taylor, James Forbes, Andrew Anderson, Valentine Holt, Michael Dillard, John Roebottom, Philip Hunt, and Quarter-Master Harvey. There was one other to have suffer'd the same Day but died in jail." The *Courant*, of Nov. 1, has the following—"By a private letter from Carlisle we are inform'd that a Reprieve came for Francis Buchanan, Esq., two Hours after he was Executed. And that one William Stout of Hexham, was agreed with for 20 Guineas, and all the Cloaths and other Perquisites, attending the Office of Hangman, to be Executioner."

TRIALS IN LONDON.

The *Courant* London letter of Nov. 6 gives an account of the trial of Sir John Wedderburn, at St. Margaret's Hill, London. In his defence he produced witnesses to prove, that at the time he was alleged to have been among the Rebels, he had been four times taken by force from his own house by them. "But unluckily for the prisoner, the Council for the Crown produced twelve Receipts, signed John Wedderburn, for Excise, which he had collected in Perth, Dundee, &c., and prov'd to be in his hand-writing; and some of the witnesses themselves prov'd the paying of Excise to him. Upon the whole, the Jury found him guilty, without going out of Court." A few days later Sir John Wedderburn, Sir James Kinlock, George Abernethy, John Hamilton and others were reprieved, but only for a time, their execution taking place on Nov. 20. Lord George Murray was tried at the same Court, and alleged that he was in the service of the King of Spain,

but the point was given up, and he was found guilty.

TRIAL OF CHARLES RATCLIFFE.

One of the most interesting accounts in the *Courant* is that of the trial of Charles Ratcliffe, who was tried and condemned for being in the Rebellion of 1715, but escaped from Newgate on the 11th of December, 1716. The *Courant* of Nov. 29, 1746, says:—"Yesterday Charles Ratcliffe, Esq. (who was taken on board a French Ship bound to Scotland, with Fitz-James's Horse) was brought under a strong Guard from the Tower to the King's Bench Bar, Westminster, in order to prove him the Person attainted of High Treason in the Rebellion in 1715, when his former judgment was read to him; but he told the Court he was quite unprepar'd, desir'd longer Time, and pray'd that Counsel might be assign'd him. Accordingly the Court granted him Mr Joddell and Mr Ford for his Counsel, and order'd him to be brought up to Westminster on Monday next. In the meantime a Jury is to be impannell'd and Evidences to attend in order to prove him to be the identical Person who was concerned in the aforesaid Rebellion, and that he was outlaw'd and escap'd out of Newgate. After he was brought from the Court of King's Bench he was conducted to the King's Arms Tavern in Palace Yard, till his Majesty was gone to the House of Peers, and from thence was convey'd to his Apartment in the Tower. As the Guards were conveying him thither thro' Watling Street, the Coach broke down at the End of Bow Lane, and they were obliged to walk up to Cheapside before they could get another. Mr Ratcliffe told the Chief Justice of the King's Bench (when he called him Charles Ratcliffe) that he was Earl of Darwentwater by Birth and Title, and that he was an officer in the King of France's Service, and had his Commission in his Pocket, and that he knew no such Man as Charles Ratcliffe. He despised the Court and their Proceedings, and behav'd in every respect Indecent. He said that he was a subject of the King of France, and would acknowledge no other; that he had had no Opportunity of consulting any person to make his Defence, and desir'd time to write to his Master. He is above 5 Foot 10 Inches high, rather upwards of 50; he appear'd very gay, being dress'd in Scarlet, fac'd with black Velvet, and Gold Buttons, a Gold Laced Waistcoat, Bag Wig, and Hat and White Feather." The *Courant* of Dec 6 says that:—"He was very artful in stiling himself Earl of Darwentwater. To explain this it may be proper to observe, that the late Earl, who was beheaded, had two Brothers, viz., Francis and Charles; Francis retir'd to France before the Rebellion in 1715, and was

reported to be dead. Now the present Gentleman, who is the Second Brother, would pretend to be him and not Charles, who was convicted on that Account. When on Monday he came into Court he would not address the Chief Justice as Lord, because he said they would not give him his Title. Upon being order'd to hold up his Hand he refused. When the Attorney-General told him as a Gentleman he ought to comply, and that his Counsel would acquaint him that it was only a form of the Court, he answer'd 'That he knew many things that he would not advise his Counsel upon.' Upon settling the Rule for his Execution he desired Time, that he and Lord Morton should take the same journey together. He married some Years since a Lady of Quality (it is said of Ireland), pursued her thro' several parts of Europe, and afterwards to England, where she thought he dared not to appear, but being so bold at length made a Conquest, and by her has several Children. Whilst here he took an Opportunity of soliciting several Noblemen to prevail on his Majesty to restore him to the Dignity of his Family; and it is reported he might then have received his Majesty's Pardon if he would have taken the Oaths, which he refused. The unfortunate gentleman above-mention'd is Grandson to the first Earl of Darwentwater, and the youngest of three Sons born to Sir Francis Ratcliffe his Father, by the Lady Mary Tudor, Natural Daughter to King Charles II. by Mrs Mary Davis."

EXECUTION OF RATCLIFFE.

A London letter, dated Dec. 9, contains the following:—
 "Yesterday being the day appointed for the Execution of Charles Ratcliffe, Esq., about Eight o'clock in the morning, two Troops of Life Guards, and one Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, and a Battalion of Foot Guards march'd to Little Tower Hill, where the Horse lined the Way from the Scaffold to Irongate, and the Foot Guards and some of the Horse encompass'd the Scaffold. About Ten the Block, cover'd with Black, with a Cushion and two Sacks of Sawdust were brought up and fix'd, and soon after Mr Ratcliffe's coffin, which was cover'd with Black Velvet, with eight Handles, and the Nails double gilt, but no Plate upon it. At near Eleven Mr Alderman Winterbottom, and Mr Alderman Allsopp, the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, with their Deputies, &c., came upon the Stage to see if everything was ready for their Reception, and finding the Scaffold entirely finished, return'd with a party of Foot Grenadiers for Mr Ratcliffe, who came in a Coach soon after, and being conducted into the little Booth (which was lin'd with Black for that purpose) at the foot of the

Stairs which led to the Stage, he there spent about half-an-hour in his Devotions, and then, with the Sheriffs, the Clergyman, and a few of his Friends, ascended the Stairs, which brought him to the Block. When he came upon the Scaffold he took leave of his Friends with great Serenity and Calmness of Mind, and having spoken a few Words to the Executioner, gave him a Purse with Ten Guineas, and put on a Damask Cap, knelt down to Prayers, which lasted about seven minutes, all the Spectators on the Scaffold joining with him. Prayers being over he pull'd off his clothes, and fix'd his Head to the Block, from whence he soon got up, and having spoke a few words, he knelt down to it, and fixing his Head, in about two minutes gave the Signal to the Executioner, who, at three Blows, struck it off, and was receiv'd in a Scarlet Cloth held for that purpose. He was dress'd in Scarlet, turn'd up with Black Velvet, and trimm'd with Gold, a Buff Colour'd Waistcoat, and a White feather in his Hat. He behav'd with the greatest Fortitude and Coolness of Temper, was no way shock'd at the approach of Death, but kept an exact Medium between too much Serenity of Mind, and being too bold and resolute in his Behaviour. His body was immediately put into his Coffin, and carried back in a Hearse to the Tower; and the Scaffold, Booth, and all the Boards belonging to them, were clear'd away in the afternoon." The account goes on to say that Lady Petre presented a petition to the King for a respite of execution for a short time, but it was not granted. We also read:—"The Darwentwater Estate was only confiscated to the Crown for the Life of Charles Ratcliffe, Esq.; but by a Clause in an Act of Parliament pass'd some few years since, which says, 'That the Heir of any Person attainted of High Treason, born and bred in any Foreign Dominion, and a Roman Catholick, shall forfeit his reversion of such Estate, and the Remainder shall for ever be fix'd to the Crown,' by which Clause the son of that unfortunate Gentleman is absolutely deprived of any Title or Interest in the affluent Fortune of that ancient Family to the Amount of better than £200,000."

CONCLUSION.

We have now come to the last chapter in the story—a story which began like a drama and ended in a tragedy. Those who have followed the narrative will have observed that, as it appears in the *Courant*, there are many omissions, if the popular histories are to be believed. A newspaper a century and a half ago was not at liberty to report everything as it actually occurred, and what did occur had to be reported in a way which would not lay the newspaper open to official

interference. For instance, Flora Macdonald, who nobly aided the Pretender to escape, is only referred to once, and then as a prisoner on her way to London. On the other hand, for the same reason, many things are mentioned which are barely referred to in popular histories. The rebellion was the last effort of the Stuarts to regain the British Crown, but it was also the last effort of the Papacy to re-establish its authority by force of arms in this country; and in the earlier stages of the movement this was manifested by the support which the young Pretender received from Roman Catholic families in both England and Scotland. It was this that defeated the Rebellion. The Protestants in the Lowlands of Scotland gave it no encouragement, though they did little to check it at the outset. The Church clergy denounced it from their pulpits, and this prevented any movement in favour of the Rebellion on this side of the Border. The rising began in the Highlands, and it ended there. It might be thought that it had extensive ramifications, judging from the wholesale arrests and the crowding of the prisons from Fort Augustus to the Border towns; but every Highlander was deemed either a friend or a foe to the Government, who seized the opportunity for entirely breaking up the clans, both loyal and disloyal. This was not an easy task, and we read in the *Courant* London letter of Jan. 24:—"The breaking off the Scotch Vassalage is attended with so many Difficulties, as to render the Scheme impracticable; it being an affair of so delicate a Nature, as to require some time to bring it to Maturity." Commercially, the entire kingdom was in a deplorable plight, what with the Rebellion at home and exhausting wars abroad, although the former was credited with having caused the disaster. The *Courant* London letter of January 17 says:—"We hear that there will be an Act of Insolvency brought into the House some time this Session, all the Prisons in the Kingdom being exceedingly full of unhappy Debtors, most of whom are reduc'd thro' the Stagnation of Trade, and other unavoidable Losses, occasion'd by the late Rebellion." More direct help was given in some cases to those who had suffered by the Rebellion, and the *Courant*, of March 24th says:—"A Bill is order'd into Parliament for Relief of such of his Majesty's subjects in Scotland whose Title Deeds or Writings were destroyed or carried away by the Rebels."

RESPITES, REPRIEVES, AND TRANSPORTATIONS.

After nearly a hundred rebels had been executed, the thirst for blood was satiated. The prisons at that time were in a fearful condition, and many prisoners died. Paragraphs like

the following are frequent:— “On Thursday, a Respite to Tuesday, the 10th of March, was granted to the following 16 Rebels, lately convicted of High Treason at St. Margaret’s Hill—viz., Francis Farquharson, Thomas Watson, James Lindsey, Sir James Kinloch, George Abernethy, John Bromet, Charles Gordon, James Gordon, Walter Mitchell, George Ramsey, Allen Cameron, Alexander Maclauchlan, Hector Mackenzie, Roderick Macculloch, John Farquharson and James Stewart.” Other respites are mentioned in the *Courant* of Jan. 24, the Rebels, with one exception, being among the first convicted. A month later, in February, we read this:—“We hear that the Sentences of Death the Rebels lie under in the several Gaols in England will be changed to Transportation, and they will accordingly be transported next month to several American colonies.” A few more weeks pass over, and then the following suggestive paragraph appears in the *Courant* of April 11:—“We hear that Mr Smith, who has the Transportation of all the Rebel Prisoners, has within these tew days shipp’d off above 600 of them for the Continent of America.” An Act of Indemnity was passed, clogged with eighty omissions. Most of the eighty, however, had then escaped.

A FATAL DUEL.

The harsh measures of the Government had the effect of stirring up bitter feeling in England against Scotchmen. An instance of this is recorded in the *Courant* of Jan. 17:— “Last Sunday night, Mr Melvill, a Lieutenant, and Mr Reynolds, an Ensign, both in Cholmondeley’s Regiment, now quartered here, were in Company with several other Officers at a Tavern in Town, where the Ensign, being a Native of Ireland, more than once, and with an Air of Seriousness, drank Damnation to all Scotchmen, calling them Rebels, &c., which the Lieutenant, being a Native of North Britain, bore with long and great Patience. And at last gave him a very calm and Gentleman-like Reproof for his ridiculous and abominable Language, which the Ensign, over heated perhaps with a knowledge of his own Abilities, despising the friendly Admonition given him, then highly resented. But the Gentlemen present interfering, they were seemingly reconcil’d, and both went home to their respective Quarters under Arrest, by Order of the Lieutenant-Colonel. However, the Ensign next Morning (misfortunately for himself) sent a Challenge to the Lieutenant to meet him at a place therein mention’d; but he (knowing the Consequences of disobeying the Orders of a superior Officer) sent word to the Ensign by

the Messenger that, if he wanted anything with him, he must come to him, who accordingly came, and brought three loaded Pistols with him to the Lieutenant's Lodgings; but the Ensign had not well got upstairs till he called for a Knife and Pin, supposed to sharpen the Flint and clear the Touch-hole, which were immediately carried to him, and within six Minutes two Pistols were fir'd, which alarm'd the House, and some of them ran up Stairs, who found the Ensign lying dead, shot thro' the Breast, with a loaded Pistol in his Pocket. 'Tis said the Ensign gave the Lieutenant the Pistol which shot him, and that the Ensign fir'd first, but miss'd the Lieutenant. The Lieutenant has gone off; but the Ensign is generally blamed. The Coroner's Inquest sat on the Body the same Day near five Hours, when several Circumstances appearing to Favour the Lieutenant, they brought in their verdict Manslaughter!

TRIAL OF LORD LOVAT.

The last act in the tragedy was the trial and execution of Lord Lovat. The old man, after lying some time in the Tower, was brought up to Westminster for trial. The *Courant* London Letter of Jan. 15 says:— "When Lord Lovat deliver'd in his Answer last Tuesday to the Impeachment against him, he denied every Article, and, after making a long Speech, he was order'd into Custody again by the Lord Chancellor. Upon his retreating, he said that if his Lordship had order'd him to Portmahon, he would willingly obey, his Lordship's commands. He preferred two petitions; first, that he might have his strong box deliver'd to him; second, that one Mr Frazer might attend him." The former was rejected, and the latter permitted him. The poor old man was so broken down by age and infirmity that adjournment took place after adjournment. Yet this excited no sympathy in his behalf. The *Courant* of Feb. 14 has this:— "'Tis said there will be some Difficulty in proving his Lordship's Hand Writing, and that he wants to slip his own Neck out of the Collar and make his eldest son a compliment of it. The Second Son of his Lordship is his Darling, and said to be a Wit, an Instance of which is that, when young, the old Gentleman ask'd him, What Business he would be of. He replied, a Tanner, because a Trifle would set him up. The Father admiring the Oddity of his Choice (and he persisting in it), made him insist upon his Reasons. 'Why, Sir,' says he, 'Two Hides will set me up; Yours and my Brother's will make me Swim above Water.'" In the same paper we read:— "Yesterday, a Highlander, disguised in a Lowland Dress, was stopped at the Tower Gate by one of the

Wardens, who, inquiring what he wanted, the Highlander answer'd, "That he had travell'd 500 miles from their good Lord Simon Frazer's country, on purpose to ask his Lordship for three guineas which he promised to pay him for five Cows that his Lordship bought of him, a little before the Rebellion; and by my Soul man, if you should chop his head from his Shoulders before I see him, I should lose my Siller, and carry bad Tidings to my own country." The trial at length commenced on March 9, at Westminster Hall. Lord Lovat was brought from the Tower, and soon after "the Lord High Steward, on his State Coach, drawn by Six Horses, with five led Coaches, and follow'd in a grand Procession by the Lord Chief Justice Lee, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice Willes, the Lord Chief Baron Parker, and the rest of the Judges and the Masters in Chancery, went to the House of Peers. After which they adjourn'd into Westminster Hall, and being there seated in their Robes, the Commission for appointing a Lord High Steward was presented to his Lordship by the Clerk of the Crown, which was afterwards read, and all the Lords stood uncover'd. Then the Articles of Impeachment against Lord Lovat were read; and the Lord High Steward acquainted him with the nature of his Crime, to which he pleaded Not Guilty. The substance of the Articles were: —1.—That he barbarously conspired against his Majesty in 1743 and 1745. 2.—That he corresponded with the Pretender in 1743, and accepted a Commission under him of Lieutenant-General, and General of the Highlands, and of a Patent creating him a Duke, by the Style and Title of Duke of Fraser, &c., and associated with the Traitors and Enemies to his Majesty and his Government. 3.—That he aided and assisted in raising Men and Money, and levying War against his Majesty. 4.—That he caused a treasonable Letter to be written and sent to the young Pretender, with Offers of his Service and that of his Son and Clan. 5.—That he excited others to rebel, and dispers'd treasonable Papers and Letters among his Acquaintances and Dependents, with Promises of Assistance. 6.—That he sent his eldest Son and his Vassals to join the Rebels, and supplied them with Arms, Ammunition, and Money. 7.—That he held a Correspondence with several of the Rebels, viz., Roy Stewart, Lochiel, the Camerons, J. Murray, &c., knowing them to be so. Sir William Yonge spoke in defence of the said Articles exhibited against him by the Commons. All which he by his Answers absolutely denied, lamenting his Misfortune that after the strongest Proof of his Zeal shown against the Rebels in 1715, he should have his Fidelity question'd, and he charg'd now that he is worn out with old Age and Infirmities, with endeavouring to subvert a

Government he had, in the Vigour of his Life, exerted his utmost Power and Addresses to support; confiding in their Lordships' Justice, that they would regard only plain Facts, clearly and manifestly prov'd by credible and unexceptionable Witnessess." The trial lasted several days. Lord Lovat objected to his tenants being put into the witness box, as by the laws of Scotland tenants could not be examined as witnesses against their lord, but the objection was over-ruled. Secretary Murray also gave evidence against him "particularly of an intended Invasion in the year 1743, and the meetings of several Persons in many parts, at which the Lord Lovat was present, and sums of money advanced." The trial proceeded slowly; the prisoner was, however, found guilty on March 18, by the whole of the Peers.

SENTENCED TO DEATH.

Lord Lovat was sentenced to death at once. The *Courant* London letter of March 21 says—"Last Thursday, about 11 o'clock, the Lord Lovat was brought from the Tower in the usual Manner to Westminster Hall. And the Lords were seated in their Robes, and the Prisoner brought to the Bar, the Lord High Steward ask'd him if he had anything to offer why Judgment of Death should not be pronounced against him; whereupon he said he had nothing to offer. Lord Lovat afterwards made a Speech setting forth the great Attachment he had for the House of Hanover, and the great services he did the Government in the Rebellion in the year 1715. When the Lords Adjourn'd to the Chamber of Parliament. Being returned, the Lord High Steward, after a most learn'd and excellent Speech, setting forth the nature of his Guilt, and Heinousness of his Clime, pronounced Sentence of Death on him in the usual Form. Then Lord Lovat made a Speech in which he gave a History of his Life, and so anticipated the full and true Account which usually follows the Malefactor's Execution. It had a Mixture of Humour in it, which occasioned a Wit, who would in some manner imitate it, to say:—"That as Life is but a Story it was a little ungentle in the Lords to interrupt it; and that they should have let the old Man bring his Days to an End as well as the Tale that is Told." He said he had receiv'd Promises of a Post in Queen Anne's Time, but was hinder'd from having it conferred on him by the Lord Oxford; that he had been serviceable to the Government in suppressing the Rebellion in 1715; that he was sent for once to join a Party which he found, upon coming up to them, not to exceed 300; something was to be done immediately or else they would be overpower'd. A

Gasconade, he thought, might be as good as a Stratagem. They summoned a town to surrender, threatening to blow up every House in it if they refus'd. The Town surrender'd to the big words, tho' we had, said he, but three pounds of Powder. For these and the like services he had promises of Favour from King George I., and had been closetted by the present King when Prince. That the sending away to foreign Service the Independent Companies of Highlanders was what had greatly irritated them, and if that step had not been taken there would have been no Rebellion. He thank'd the Lords for the patience with which they had heard him, and commended the abilities of Mr Murray, the Solicitor-General, his Adversary, though his Cousin. He hop'd that relationship would never be of any prejudice to him in his preferment, and wish'd him all the Success imaginable. The Managers in general had been, he said, very close upon him; but he hop'd they would intercede for Pardon, and as they were Stout they would be Merciful. Before the Prisoner was taken from the Bar he took leave of their Lordships, and wish'd them Everlasting Life, being well assur'd that he should never meet them again in the same Place, as also of the Hon. House of Commons. After which the Lord High Steward stood up and broke his Staff, and Dissolv'd his Commission. Then he retir'd to the Woolsack, and ask'd their Lordships if it was their Pleasure to adjourn to the Upper House. They adjourn'd immediately. Then the Lord Lovat was order'd back to the Tower, which was accordingly done, the edge of the Axe being carried towards him."

EXECUTION OF LORD LOVAT.

Some efforts were made to obtain a pardon, but they were unsuccessful, and after lying in the Tower a few months longer, the prisoner was led out for execution. The *Courant* London letter of Aug. 9 thus describes the scene:—"This morning, between Seven and Eight o'clock, a Detachment of about 300 Horse, and about 1,000 Foot Soldiers march'd thro' the City from the Parade for Tower Hill to attend the Execution of Lord Lovat; and the Sheriffs of the City with their Officers and the Executioner, went from the Mitre Tavern, in Fenchurch Street to the House hired by them on Tower Hill, for the said Lord Lovat, being the same that was made use of for the late Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino. At Ten o'Clock, the Block was fix'd on the Stage, and cover'd with Black Cloth, and three Sacks of Sawdust were brought up to them on the Stage. His Coffin was likewise brought and set on the Stage, which was cover'd with

black Cloth, with Brass Nails, Coronets, &c., and on the Lid was the following inscription:—'Simon Dominus Fraser do Lovat, decollet April 9, 1747, ætat sua 80.' At half an hour after Ten, the Sheriffs went to the Tower, and after Knocking some time at the Gate they were admitted, and the Prisoner, on their giving a Receipt, was deliver'd to them, who was carried from thence in a mourning Coach to the said House on Tower Hill, where his Lordship spent about three quarters of an Hour, Mr Baker, a Romish Priest, and Mr Colin Fraser attending him; the back Parlour and Passage of the said House, the Rails enclosing a Way from thence to the Scaffold and the rails round the Scaffold, being all hung with Black at the Sheriff's expense. About Twelve o'clock his Lordship came upon the Scaffold, neatly dress'd in Black, and without showing the least Fear, walk'd round the Stage with his Stick in his Hand, supported by two Warders; came to his Coffin, read the Inscription thereon, and talk'd to Mr Stephenson, his undertaker; then sat in a Chair, and for some time talk'd to the Sheriff, who told him he was sorry it was his Lot to attend upon such an Occasion. His Lordship answer'd he was well pleas'd that he had fallen into so good Hands. He then spoke to the Executioner, look'd upon the Axe, and putting his hand into his Pocket, pull'd out Twenty Guineas, which he gave to the Executioner, Then rising and giving a Paper to the Sheriffs, look'd at the Block, saluted, and took leave of his friends. His Hat (which he wore all the Time, tho' the whole on the Stage besides were uncover'd) was taken off, and his Coat and Waistcoat likewise, and a white Cap put on his Head. He was then led to the Block in his Shirt, when with some Composure, he knelt down, and laid his Head on the Block, when one of the Wardens observing the Position he was then in, thought his Neck not fully plac'd upon the Block as it ought to be, took hold of his Legs and pull'd his Body a little farther distant from the Block, by which means his Neck lay more extended than before. He having look'd up sideways twice at the Executioner, desiring him to take notice of the Signal, in a minute gave it, when happily the Executioner, at one blow, sever'd his Head from his Body, which was immediately put into his Coffin and carried off. His Lordship ate a very hearty Breakfast that morning in the Tower of minced Veal; and when his Barber brought him his Wig at nine o'Clock, he kiss'd him, gave him a Crown, and told him he should be in Heaven by one o'clock. Just before Lord Lovat came from the Tower, the Scaffolding at the Ship Alehouse, near Barking Alley, which was built from that House in many Stories, and computed to have on it near one thousand Persons, fell entirely down, by which most shocking

and melancholy Accident, we hear fifteen or twenty People were kill'd on the spot, and many had their Arms and Legs broke, &c. Such are the avaritious Views of the Proprietors of these Scaffolds, who build them without the least Regard to the safety of their fellow Creatures, whose too fatal curiosity may induce them unthinkingly to venture their Lives on such Occasions."

LINKS ON LORD LOVAT.

The *Courant* of the same week has the following:—

Pity'd by gentle Minds Kilmarnock died;
 The Brave Balmerino were on thy side;
 Ratcliffe, unhappy in his Crimes of Youth,
 Steady in what he still mistook for Truth,
 Beheld his Death so decently unmov'd,
 The Soft lamented, and the Brave approv'd;
 But Lovat's end in difficulty we view,
 True to no King, to no Religion true;
 No Child laments the Tyrant of his Son;
 No Tory pities, thinking what he was;
 No Whig compassions, for he left the Cause;
 The Brave regret not, for he was not brave;
 The Honest mourn not, knowing him a Knave.



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