



ASCANIUS
OR, THE
YOUNG ADVENTURER

A TRUE HISTORY.

*Translated from a Manuscript privately handed about at the
Court of Versailles.*

CONTAINING,

A particular Account of all that happen'd to a certain Person during his Wanderings in the *North*, from his first Arrival there, in *August* 1745, to his final Escape *September* 19, in the following Year.

The whole introduced with a more critical and candid History of the Rise, Progress, and Extinction of the late REBELLION, than any yet publish'd; and interspersed with Remarks on the Characters of the principal Persons who appear'd in the Interest of *Ascanius*; particularly the celebrated Miss *Cameron*, Miss *Mac Donald*, the Duke of *Perth*, the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, Messieurs *Sherridan* and *Sullivan*, &c. &c.

LONDON:

Printed for *T. Johnston*, in *Salisbury-Court, Fleet Street*.

1746.



THE
Translator's Introduction.



DIVIDE and Destroy has, for these several hundred Years past, been the first Principle or Maxim of the Kings of France, with regard to their Conduct towards and Intercourse with most other European States and Powers. And the End they propose by thus dividing and destroying is obvious enough viz. To increase their own Dominions; which cannot so easily be done while the neighbouring Nations are not weakened by intestine Divisions, nor divided each against itself by Party Dissentions. For under these salutary Circumstances they will be able to stop the Progress, and turn aside the gigantick Strides of the Gallic or any other Monarchy towards the universal Empire of Europe, and consequently half the Globe besides.

Among the several European Nations, who from time to time have put a Check to the Gallic Incroachments, none have more gloriously distinguish'd themselves than the generous Britons; and therefore none more obnoxious to France, or more the Object of her Jealousy; and consequently none whom she more desires to ruin by all the Force and all the Artifices in her Power.

*In vain hath France brought forth her Armies against us, in vain are all her Efforts by open Force: Nothing but Artifice and Corruption can avail the Enemies of Britain. Oft have we turned aside and repulsed their Arms but, alas! as oft have we suffer'd by her wily Arts, her deep dissimulation, her fraudulent Practices.**

Surely no sensible Englishman, no impartial Briton, can imagine that the House of Bourbon hath any further Affection or Regard to that of Stuart, than so far as the latter may serve and advance the selfish Views of the other? The

* See the ingenious Mr. *Granville's Synopsis of England*, lately published.

exploded Rights of the exiled Stuarts have more than once furnished France with Opportunities of exciting the deluded Britons to turn their Swords, each Man against his Neighbour and his Brother, as the readiest and most effectual Way to weaken us till rendered unable to defend ourselves against a foreign Enemy, and then inevitably to fall an easy Prey to that Power, and into that slavish Dependance, from which a P— of the House of Stuart would be the last Person in the World to attempt our Deliverance.

In 1743, France, meditating on and concerting that hostile Declaration against us, which appeared in the following Year, but at the same time dreading the British Arms in the open Field, resolved to try the old Method for turning the Points of our Swords against our own Breasts. To facilitate this Scheme, the unhappy House of Stuart (unhappy only by its own Misconduct) lay ready. The young Ascanius being sent for from Italy, was given to understand that he would renew his Family Pretensions to, and venture his Life for the British Crown, he should not want Assistance. The destitute P— neither inclined nor dared to refuse the Offer, his chief Dependance being on the French Court.

Accordingly a Correspondence was settled with such Persons of Consequence in Britain as still thought themselves obliged to follow the Fortune of the House of Stuart; and with all British Exiles who were become such by their inviolable Attachment to that Family.

Mean time, while the Seeds of this Project were sowing, France declared War against Britain, and for about a Year maintained it fairly in the Field, 'till all was ready for striking a darker and less generous Blow; for stabbing the unsuspecting Britannia to the Heart with her own Sword, even while she held it in her own Hand.

The Scheme being ripened to Perfection, Ascanius embarks for the Northern Part of the British Isle, in order to excite the People to take Arms against the Prince then sitting on the Throne of the united Kingdoms, that while his Troops were employed in defending him at Home, his Dominions abroad, and those of his Allies; might fall an easy Prey to the most rapacious, the most Christian King; who for want of such a Diversion in his Favour, might have been reduced to the hard Necessity of agreeing to a just and reasonable Peace.

This Attempt of Ascanius was doubtless extreamly bold. Himself an unexperienced Youth, and little acquainted with the World, undertakes to raise a Rebellion among a People

to whom he was entirely a Stranger, &and in a Country wherein even his Family was unknown, except in former Generations. But Ascanius had an Interest among the Britons, independent on personal Acquaintance, or even on personal Accomplishments; which neither Merits nor Demerits could advance or diminish: This was the Doctrine of an Indefeasible Right of Succession, or, as Mr. Pope happily expresses it,

*The right divine of Kings to govern
wrong!*

This Doctrine paved our Adventurer a Way into these Kingdoms, and many scrupled not to forfeit for him their Allegiance to a King, known, tried and approved by all Men, except those whose Understandings were subverted by unintelligible Notions of a natural Right, which never existed in Nature. Notions which in our present Circumstances tend only to involve us in the most inextricable Difficulties, in the most deplorable Misfortunes. To attempt the Subversion of the present Government, which hath been taking Root among us for so many Years, and which is so strongly fortified even by the: very Doctrine I have mentioned, (by a direct lineal Succession) to attempt this, I say, was surely little less than Madness; especially as the British Nation hath no material Objection to her present King, nor the least Prospect of any to his Heirs.



ASCANIUS :

OR, THE Young ADVENTURER.

BOOK I.

Containing a Succinct and Impartial Account of the late Rebellion in SCOTLAND.

JULY 14th 1745, *Ascanius*, after having for some Time reposed himself at the House of the Duke *de Fitz-James*, at *Port Lazere* in *Britany*, embark'd at that Place for *Scotland*. The Vessel appointed by the *French* King to carry the P—, was a Frigate of eighteen Guns; which sailing first to *Belleisle*, was join'd by the *Elizabeth*, formerly an *English* Man of War, but taken by the *French* in Queen *Ann's* Time. She had above sixty Guns mounted, and was very well mann'd for this Occasion. In their Passage they met with the *Lion*, Capt. *Brett*, and two other *English* Men of War, with a Fleet of Merchantmen under Convoy. The Frigate immediately bore away, but the *Lion* and the *Elizabeth* maintain'd a desperate Fight, 'till the Night came, and saved the latter, who run off, and got into *Brest*, in a most terrible Condition. Her Captain and about seventy Men were killed, and double the Number wounded. She had on board a large Sum of Money, and Arms for several thousand Men, all design'd for the Service of *Ascanius* in *Scotland*.

Mean Time the Frigate continuing, her Voyage, arrived among the *Scotch* Isles, and after hovering about for several Days, at last put into the Country of *Lochabar*, and there *Ascanius*, with only seven Attendants landed, and went directly to the House of Mr. *McDonald* of *Kinloch-Moi-dart*, who, with many others, had been gain'd beforehand. Here he remained in private several Weeks, while some of the Highland Chiefs were getting the Clans together, in order to declare openly for him, and to endeavour in the first Place to reduce the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

By the Middle of *August* they had assembled about 1800 Men, consisting of the *Stuarts* of, *Appin*, the *McDonalds* of *Glengary*, the *Camerons* of *Lochiel*, and some others. *Ascanius* set up his Standard, on which was this Motto, *Tandem triumphans**. He also published two Manifestos in his Father's Name; one of which was printed and dated in the Year 1743. A third he published in his own Name, which he promised many Things agreeable to the *Scots*, and among others the Dissolution of the Union with *England*.

By this Time the Government was informed of his being in the Highlands; and though at first his Undertaking was ridiculed, it was soon after thought proper to send strict Orders to Sir *John Cope*, Generalissimo of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, to take all possible Care to prevent the young Adventurer from making his Party formidable; and if possible to take him alive or dead: And as an extraordinary Inducement to this, a Reward of 30,000*l.* was, by the Lords of the Regency (the King being, then in *Germany*) set on the Head of *Ascanius*.

Before the End of *August*, two Companies of General *Sinclair's* Regiment being sent to reconnoitre the Highlanders, were most of them made Prisoners, as was soon after a Captain of *Guise's* Foot. This Gentleman being released on his Parole, gave the Government the first circumstantial Account of the Number and Condition of the Highland Forces.

And now *Ascanius* prepared to march southward, with a View of taking the city of *Edinburgh*, the Capital of the Kingdom. Mean Time *Cope* having collected together all the King's Forces in *Scotland*, and arm'd the Militia, was marching for the Highlands in quest of *Ascanius*; who not chusing to risk a Battle in the Infant State of his affairs, gave the old General the Slip over the Mountains, and the fourth of *September* he enter'd *Perth* without Resistance. The, News of this being carried to *Cope*, who was got as far as *Inverness*, after a very fatiguing March, he saw no other Remedy than to march back again, though not the same Way that he came. Accordingly he order'd Transport Ships to

* That is, *At length triumphant*.

meet him at *Aberdeen*, to carry his Forces from thence to *Leith*. Mean Time *Ascanius* proclaim'd his Father at *Perth*, where he was joined by several Persons of Distinction, who brought with them considerable Supplies of Men and Arms. From hence *Ascanius* march'd his Troops (which by this Time he had, with the Assistance of Mr. *Sullivan* and the *French* Officers, pretty well disciplined) towards the River *Forth*, which they forded on the thirteenth, *Ascanius* first plunging in at the Head of the Infantry. Directing now his March towards *Glasgow*, (one of the finest Cities in *Scotland*, and noted for its University) he summon'd it, but receiving no Answer, he alter'd his Rout and marched directly for *Edinburgh*, which he doubted not to reach before *Cope* could be back from *Aberdeen* and so it happen'd.

While both parties were thus advancing towards the metropolis, the Inhabitants were making great Preparations for a vigorous Resistance, in case *Ascanius* should first appear before the Walls.

But the P— having many Friends in the City, no sooner came nigh it, which he did on the sixteenth, than a Treaty of Surrender was enter'd upon, and the next Morning the Provost, who is the first Civil Magistrate there, admitted him into the Place. However, the brave, though very old General *Guest*, retired with a few Regulars into the Castle, which he so obstinately held for the King, that *Ascanius* could never make himself Master of it.

While the P— was entering the City, *Cope* was debarking his Troops at *Dunbar*, within two Days March of *Edinburgh*, and being there joined by Brigadier *Fowke*, with *Hamilton's* and *Gardner's* Dragoons, he march'd on the Nineteenth, and encamped that Night near *Haddington*. Early next Morning continuing their March, they arrived at *Preston-pans* in the Evening, where they perceived the Troops of *Ascanius* on the Hills towards *Edinburgh*, at which Place only a small Body of Highlanders were left to secure a Retreat thither, in case of Necessity. That Night both Parties lay under Arms, and some firing frequently pass'd between them. The next Morning *i. e.* on the Twenty-first, about three o'Clock, the King's Troops were briskly attack'd. The Dragoons ran on the first Fire, and left

the Infantry exposed to the broad Swords of the Highlanders, with whose Weapons and Manner of fighting they were quite unacquainted; and not having Time to recover the Disorder they were thrown into by the first Attack, they were finally routed in a few Minutes. About three hundred were cut to Pieces on the Spot, and most of the rest made Prisoners Among the Slain was the brave Colonel *Gardner*, who scorning to fly with his Regiment, and fighting gallantly to the last, perished with some other Officers of Note. Many other, principal Officers were desperately wounded, as were a considerable Number of the common Prisoners. All the Cannon, Tents, and every Thing the vanquished had to lose was taken, As .for the General, he had the good Fortune to escape to *Berwick*, as did the Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume* and Brig. *Fowke*, and Col. *Lascelles* got safe to *Dunbar*.^{*} This Action was called the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, or by some the Battle of *Seat on*, from two little Towns near which it was fought; but it is more properly called the Battle of *Gladsmoor*, which was the Field of Action, being a wide barren Heath, about seven Miles East from *Edinburgh*: We have no certain Accounts of the Number of *Cope*'s Army. The Regiments he had were those, of *Gardner*, *Hamilton*, *Lee*, *Guisse*, *Murray*, *Lascelles*, and *Loudon*; but of these almost every one wanted near a third of their compliment of Men, and in all they are supposed not to have exceeded 4000, Sutlers, &c. &c. included. The Victors did not exceed 3400; and of these above two Fifths had no occasion to strike, nor did strike a Stroke.

The Defeat of these regular Troops gained *Ascanius* and his new raised Men great, Reputation, and induced many to join them, who 'till now had sat still thro' Fear of the King's Party. The P— did not return to *Edinburgh* 'till the 24th, quartering his Men in the mean time at *Duddingstone* and *Musselburgh*. On the 28th and the Day following, he sent away his

* In the Year following *Cope*, *Lascelles*, and *Fowke* were called to Account before a Court Martial, for their Behaviour in this *Action*, but were honourably acquitted.

Prisoners to *Perth*, and prepared to besiege the Castle of *Edinburgh* in Form.

On the first of *October* the Trenches were opened on the Castle Hill, and thereupon the Garrison began to fire upon the Highlanders, of whom they killed three Men, and wounded Col. *Macdonald*, one of their principal Officers, who had been in the Service of the King of *Spain*, and whose Experience in the military Art made his Life of great Importance to *Ascanius*. However the utmost Efforts of the Garrison, and the most obstinate Defence they could have made, had been insufficient to induce the Besiegers to abandon their Works; but the Want of heavy Cannon, and most other Requisites for such a Siege, were, the Cause of the laying aside this Design; which it must be confessed was rashly begun, through the Ignorance of some of the Highland Chiefs, whose Impetuosity *Ascanius* thought himself obliged in Prudence to humour, 'till Experience should teach them what sound Reasoning had been unable to do. And now *Glasgow* was again summoned to surrender, and 15000*l.* Contribution-Money was demanded; however 5000 Guineas being immediately paid, *Ascanius*, whose Moderation was equal to his Generosity, abated them the rest. Mean time Hostilities betwixt the P—'s Troops and the Garrison, continued 'till the fifth, when the former having lost twenty Men in an Attempt to dislodge a Party of the latter from a Post on the Castle Hill, and upon finding the Houses in the City begin to be beaten about their Ears by the Castle Guns, an Armistice was agreed on, and the Communication betwixt the City and Castle restored.

About this Time *Ascanius* received a considerable Addition to his Forces, both by Supplies of Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, &c. from *France*, and by the Junction of several Persons of Distinction, all *Scots*; however he had the Misfortune, to lose a large *Spanish* Ship, laden with Stores and Money for his Service, which was taken by the *Try-all* Privateer of *Bristol*. At the End of this Month *Ascanius* detach'd Part of his Army to *Dalkeith*, where they encamped. Two hundred Carts were employed in bringing hither the Supplies lately arrived, and which were removed from *Montrose* and *Stonehive* without any

Loss: This was chiefly owing to the Battery erected at *Alloway*, and other Precautions taken by *Ascanius* to secure the Passage of the *Frith*.

And now the P—, and his Followers prepared for a March into *England*, hoping by so bold and unexpected a Step, to strike Terror into the *Georgians*,* and to get Possession of some Fastnesses in that Kingdom, if not the Capital itself, before they could recover themselves.

Mean time the Government, apprehensive of the P—'s forming such a Design, was taking all possible Measures to ruin it. An Army of 14000 Men was assembled on the northern Frontier, under Field Marshall *Wade*, an old General of much Experience and *Precaution*. The Militia of the Northern Counties were also raised; and a considerable Number of them, besides other Troops, appointed to garrison the City of *Carlisle*, the Capital of *Cumberland*, the nearest County to *Scotland* on the North-West, and by which *Ascanius* must march, or by *Newcastle upon Tyne*, where *Wade* lay. The most zealous of the *Georgians* also distinguished themselves by Associations and voluntary Contributions for the Defence of their Government. In short, the whole *Georgian* Party throughout the Kingdom appeared as it were in Arms: So great was their Dread of our young Adventurer, and so terrible their Apprehensions of the Strength of his Party in both Kingdoms.—But, beyond all others, the Zeal of the Archbishop of *York* was remarkably Fruitful. And his; Activity being seconded by the *Yorkshire* Nobility and Gentry, four new Regiments were raised and maintained at the Expence of that County besides a Body of Gentlemen who served on Horseback at their own Expence, stiling themselves the *Royal Hunters* and of these General *Oglethorpe* had the Command.—At the same Time *Duncan Forbes*, Esq; Lord President of the Court of Session in *Scotland*, extremely distinguish'd himself there, by his Zeal for the *Georgian* Interest, of which he

* Here the Reader may take Notice, that (for the Sake of Brevity, or for any other Reason which any one is at Liberty to assign) I shall henceforth distinguish the contending Parties by the Appellations of *Georgians* and *Adventurers*.

was undoubtedly the chief Support in the North of that Kingdom and it was principally by his Means that a considerable Body of *Georgian Highlanders* and other *Scots*, were raised, under the Command of the Earl of *Loudon*, for the Security of the Forts of *Inverness*, *Augustus*, and *William*, which are a Chain of fortified Places commanding the North of *Scotland*.

But notwithstanding all these vigorous Preparations to frustrate and ruin his Designs, the intrepid *Ascanius* resolved to pursue them thro' all Obstacles, all possible Dangers. *Nov.* 1st. he went from *Edinburgh* to the Camp at *Dalkeith*, from whence he daily dispatch'd his Agents into *England*, and from time to time he received Intelligence of what was doing there, both by his Friends for him, and by his Enemies against him. And tho' he had the Mortification to find that, contrary to the Assurances he had received, the former were but few, that is such as were hearty in the Cause, and determined to run all Risks to serve it, yet he still inflexibly resolved to push the desperate Attempt, having only as he had publickly signified, a *Crown* or a *Coffin* in view. He hoped that by his Presence in *England*, the Reputation he had already acquired by the extraordinary Progress of his Arms, and the bold Pushes he was yet determined to make; he should be able to put new Life into his *English* Friends, to reclaim the Apostate, to fix the Wavering, to animate the Fearful, and to inspire the Zealous with that Activity, Courage, and Contempt of Danger, of which himself would give an immediate Example.

With these Views, and in this resolute Disposition, *Ascanius* begun his March for *Carlisle*. His Army did not at this Time exceed 6700 effective Men, a small Number for such an Expedition; but he relied much on *English* Reinforcements, and more on a timely Descent by the *French* in the South. For in case of such a Diversion, nothing could have effectually obstructed his March to *London*. The principal Persons in his Army, were the Duke of *Perth*, the *P—*'s General; Lord *George Murray*, Lieutenant General; Lord *Elcho*, Son to the Earl of *Wemyss*, and Colonel of the Lifeguards; the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, Colonel of a Regiment mounted and accoutred as *Hussars*; Lord *Pitsligo*, General of the

Horse; the Lords *Nairn, Ogilvie, Dundee, and Balmerino*; Mess. *Sherridan and Sullivan, Irish Gentlemen*; General *McDonald*, Aid de Camp to *Ascanius*, *John Murray of Broughton*, Esq., his Secretary, and many others.

On the sixth the Army pass'd the *Tweed*, and entered *England*. Marshal *Wade* was at this Time, as hath been observ'd, at *Newcastle upon Tyne*; and might have intercepted *Ascanius* on the Borders, but being ignorant of the Rout the *Adventurers* intended to take, whether by *Carlisle*, or by *Newcastle*, the cautious old General determined to wait their Motions, and by them regulate his own: But this Conduct rendered both him and his Army, of little or no use to the Government in this critical and dangerous Juncture; for *Ascanius* taking the *Carlisle* Road, he arrived at that City, (which is almost Parallel to the *Scotch* Coast with *Newcastle*, from whence it is but three Winter-Day's March) and took it before *Wade* could arrive to prevent him. After proclaiming his Father here, *Ascanius* proceeded Southward, leaving a Garrison of *Highlanders* in the Place; Mean Time *Wade* was in full March for *Carlisle*, and was got about half Way, when he heard of the Place being taken: As the Weather and Roads were so extreamly bad, as almost to have ruined the Army, and as, consequently, they were not in a Condition to Attempt the retaking the City, it was thought proper to return to *Newcastle*, leaving the *Adventurers* to get so far to the Southward, that it would have been absurd for *Wade's* People to attempt the overtaking them: Therefore the General remained in the North, in order to guard those Parts, and prevent the P— from receiving Supplies, or Reinforcements from thence, or out of *Scotland*.

And now the Progress of *Ascanius* had thrown all *England* into Confusion, and the *Georgians* began in good earnest to dread his Arrival at *London*, before another Army could be formed in the Southern and Midland Parts to impede his March: Which was amazingly swift, all the Country flying before him, none daring or caring to resist, nor a single Town offering to dispute his Entrance into, or Passage through it.

However the Duke of *Cumberland*, youngest Son to the *Georgian* King returning from *Flanders*,

where he had commanded his Father's Troops, most of which returned with him, or were before arrived, and put under *Wade's* Command; this Prince returning I say from abroad, in order to lead the *Georgian* Troops against *Ascanius*, his now successful Rival in more Respects than one, an Army was formed with all the Expedition requisite in so urgent a Crisis, and the Duke put himself at the Head thereof, with a Resolution to wait the coming of *Ascanius*, and by one decisive Stroke determine the Fate of the *British* Crown.

Mean Time the daring young Adventurer, with equal Resolution, advanced with prodigious Celerity, while the Attention of both Kingdoms was intensely fixed on the expected approaching Action. It was on the 20th that our *Adventurer* left *Carlisle*, from whence thro' *Penrith* and *Kendal* he proceeded to *Lancaster*, where he arrived on the 24th. The 27th saw him at *Preston*, the 29th at *Manchester*. 'Till now the P—, had been joined by few of the *English*, and on this Account the Spirits of his faithful Followers began to droop. "The *English* are degenerate, *said they*, and lost to all Sense of Justice or Gratitude. They are stupidly in Love with their present Government, bigotted to their new fangled Notions, and Strangers .to those noble Sentiments of Loyalty which glowed in the Breast of their Ancestors. In vain have we made this long fatiguing March, in vain doth the generous *Ascanius* invite the infatuated *English* to shake off the Yoke of *Whigism*, to do Justice to his Catholic Family, to themselves and to their Posterity, in vain this glorious Opportunity, if they refuse the proffered Blessing, and chuse to live in Ease and Indolence."

In these Terms were the general Complaints of the Army couch'd. And *Ascanius* himself now began to see his Error in trusting to the Accounts sent him while in *Scotland*, of the Number and Disposition of his Partizans in the South. Nevertheless he prudently tried to disguise his Sentiments, and to keep up the Spirit of his People. *Who knows*, said, he at a general Council of War held at *Manchester*, *but that all will yet happen for the best, and my greater Glory. I grant we have run ourselves into imminent Danger; or rather, perhaps providence hath brought us hither to shew what great Things may be done for us.*

Victory does not always declare for Numbers, few though we are, we have Arms in our Hands, and hope every Man here is well satisfied of the Goodness of his Cause. We found the English less than Men at Gladsmuir, and surely we shall not find them to be more than Men on any Field in England. Our Friends, for aught we know, are at this Instant striking a more effectual Blow for us than if they joyn'd us in Person. Let us suspend our Fears, and our Judgment as to our Situation, 'till I have received fresh Advices from London, for there I hope Fortune is yet working for us.

Thus cheer'd, the *Adventurers* did proceeded Southward 'till they came within the Borders of *Staffordshire*, where the Duke lay with his Army to intercept them. *Wade* also was now marching after them through *Yorkshire*, with Intent to put them betwixt two Fires. Thus was this little Army encircled by the *English* in the Midst of their Country, and unable to go forwards or backwards, or to proceed any Way in which they would not meet with an Army treble the Number of their own, for even yet they did not amount to more than 7400 Men, having been join'd by not more than 500* since their entering *England*.

I must not forget to mention that in every City, or Market-Town through which *Ascanius* passed, he did not omit to take Possession of it for his Father, by proclaiming him in every Place: For Instance, in *Carlisle, Penrith Kendal, Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, Burton, Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton*; the two last in *Cheshire*, At *Congleton* it was, that finding his March Southward absolutely stopp'd by the Duke, part of whose Army lay at *Newcastle-under-Line*, within ten Miles of *Congleton*; here it was, I say, that *Ascanius* resolved to turn off Eastward to *Leek* in *Staffordshire*, and so through the *Moorlands* into *Derbyshire*, marching East and by South, 'till he got to *Derby Town*, where he would be nearer to *London* than the *English*. This Resolution was the most

* These Recruits were chiefly raised in *Lancaster*, particularly in *Manchester*. They were formed into a Regiment called the *Manchester Regiment Francis Townley, Esq; Colonel*.

prudent he could have taken in the Circumstances he was in, for it would have been Madness to engage the *English*, who had not only so much the Advantage of Numbers, but their Troops were in excellent Condition, abounding in all Conveniencies, nor had they been harrass'd to the utmost Extremity by forced Marches, as those of *Ascanius* were, many of the Men being scarce able to support it; and some even dying through excessive Fatigue and Want of the necessary Refreshments. On the other Hand, had they so soon gone back the Way they came, that would have been at once to forfeit every possible Opportunity which Fortune might yet have in store for putting them in Possession of the Capital. Had they turned Westward, in order to take Refuge in *Wales*, they would still have been never the nearer towards making the Conquest of *England*, and absolutely out of the Way of seconding a *French* Invasion, or a general Rising of their Friends in *London*, Besides, had *Ascanius* attempted to pass into *Wales*, he might have been greatly obstructed in his March thro' *Cheshire*, particularly by the Garrison of *Chester* City, where, besides the County Militia, some of the new Regiments raised by the Nobility* in the *English* Interest were quarter'd.

December 3d *Ascanius* was at *Leek* in the *Moorlands* of *Staffordshire*, the next Day at *Ashburn* in the *Peak* of *Derbyshire* and on the 4th at *Derby* Town, Mean Time the Duke, finding the dextrous *Adventurers* had given him the slip, began to march across the Country, in Expectation of intercepting, them in *Leicestershire* or *Northamptonshire*. And this he had infallibly done, had not *Ascanius* now at length opened his Eyes, and saw that to go still forward would be to oblige himself to risk a Battle under all the Disadvantages above mention'd, or to surrender at Discretion. He now saw that the *English* were not to be depended on, that they either were intimidated by Fear, or were only lukewarm in the Cause, not caring to declare themselves 'till they

* These new Regiments were as follows, viz. three of Horse raised by the Dukes of *Kingston*, *Bolton* and *Montague*; six of Foot by the Duke of *Ancaster*, *Cholmondeley*, *Berkeley*, *Hallifax*, *Gower*, and the Lord *Herbert* of *Shropshire*.

should see how he would extricate himself out of his present Difficulties, and whether or not the *French* would land. Here it was that *Ascanius* received Advice from *London*, “that his Friends there had not the Power to rise in his Favour, without desperately hazarding both his own Ruin, and that of all the Party in the Kingdom; that there was no Likelihood of a Descent from *France*, all the Southern Coasts being well guarded, as were the circumjacent Seas by the *English* Fleet; for Fear of whom the *French* durst not stir out of Port.”

Hereupon a Council of War was called, at which the Chiefs spake very freely, and strenuously insisted on the Army’s returning for *Scotland*, by the Way they came; urging that they might be gone back as fast as through the two Counties of *Derby* and *Stafford*, before the Duke on the South Side of them could know that they had begun to return; and that, on the other hand, as *Wade* lay directly North from them, and they were to march by the North-West, they doubted not of again giving him the slip, and reaching *Carlisle* before he could in the least obstruct their Flight. To this Advice *Ascanius*, perceiving now no other visible Resource for their Preservation, consented, still comforting himself with Hopes that Providence intended to work for *him* by other Means, than those *he* had yet thought of.

However the common Soldiers, among the *Adventurers*, who had flatter’d themselves with the taking of *London*, were greatly chagrin’d at their Disappointment, and would have severely reveng’d themselves on the People of *Derby*, and of the other Towns through which they had passed, and were to repass; but *Ascanius* and his Officers used their utmost Endeavours to appease their Followers, and convince them of the Necessity both for their returning, and for not injuring the Persons and Properties of the *English* as little as possible, in their necessitous Circumstances. Nevertheless, discovering that a Subscription had been here set on Foot by the *English* Party, and was already pretty full, the *Adventurers* procured a Copy of the Subscription-List, and made the Town pay all the Money to them. They also, obliged the People of *Derby* to furnish them with many Necessaries at an easy Price; but the disadvantageous Idea they gave of

themselves by this Proceeding, (which *Ascanius* could not easily prevent) was, perhaps, the principal Reason of their being joined by only four or five Persons in this County; of whom the unhappy Counsellor *Morgan** was one.

As a Delay of one or two Days must have render'd the Retreat, of *Ascanius* and his Troops impracticable, they staid at *Derby* but two Nights; for on the 6th of *December* we find them again at *Ashbourn* in the *Peak*. Mean Time, while *Ascanius* is making as masterly a Retreat as ever was perform'd, with one Body of *English* Foot hotly pursuing at his Heels, and *Oglethorpe*, with a Body of Horse, on his right Hand, flying to intercept him, but in vain, though the General made a very swift March across the Country from *Yorkshire* into *Lancashire*. While, I say, *Ascanius* is thus giving the World as extraordinary a Proof of his Skill and Dexterity in a Retreat, as he had before of his Courage and Conduct in a Battle, let us leave him on his March, and take a View of what, in the mean Time, his Friends in *Scotland* were doing for him there.

Lord *Lewis Gordon*, Brother to the Duke of *Gordon*, remaining in *Scotland* to take Care of the Interest of *Ascanius* in that Kingdom, while himself was in *England* was extreamly active in raising both Men† and Money in the Northern Parts, and may justly be consider'd as a Counterpoise to the Lord President *Forbes*, whose Zeal for his Majesty's Interest I have already, mention'd. Lord *Lewis*'s Endeavours were greatly supported by the Arrival from *France*, of the Duke *de Fiz-James's* Regiment of Horse, of which most of the Men were *Irish* and *Scotch*, or descended from Parents born in those Kingdoms. These were commanded by the Lord *John Drummond*, Brother to the Duke of *Perth*; who joining Lord *Lewis Gordon*, their Forces together made up a Corps of near 3000 Men. With these Troops the two Lords, quarter'd themselves in and

* Who with Col. *Townley* and seven others, was executed on *Kennington Common*, near *London*, July 30th, 1746.

† The Clans out of which he raised most Men were, the *M'Kenzies*, the *Mackintoshes*, the *Farquharsons*, and the *Fraziers*.

about *Perth*, at the same Time that *Ascanius* set out, on his Return from *Derby*.

On the other hand, the Earl of *Loudon* was equally active in spiriting up, the Clans in the *English* Interest and raised considerable Supplies among, the *Macleods*, the *Grants*, the *Monroes*, the *Sutherlands*, and the *Guns*; and at last he had a Body of above. 2300 effective Men, and with these he forced the Son of Lord *Lovat* to retire from before *Fort-Augustus*, which he had besieged with a considerable Body of *Frazers*, a Clan of which his Father was the Chief. The City of *Edinburgh*, now again in the Hand of the *English*, likewise exerted itself in raising Men; as also did the City of *Glasgow*, and betwixt them two numerous Regiments, and several independent Companies were raised. Thus, whether in *England* or *Scotland*, *Ascanius* was like to have Enemies enough to deal with, and Opportunities enough for exerting his Abilities.

Let us now return into *England*, and follow *Ascanius* in his Flight from *Derby*. December 7th he arrived at *Leek* in *Staffordshire* and on the 9th at *Manchester*. Mean Time the Duke of *Cumberland* having Intelligence that his Enemies had begun to retreat northward, immediately prepared to follow them with all possible Expedition. Flying with a Body of Horse through the Counties of *Warwick* and *Stafford*, on the 10th he arrived at *Macclesfield* in *Cheshire*, a Body of a thousand Foot following him as fast as they could, and at no great Distance; for the Duke's Scheme was to come up with the *Adventurers* with his Horse, and retard their March 'till his Infantry came up, and then to endeavour to bring *Ascanius* to a general Engagement. This, however, was what the latter very prudently avoided, well knowing the great Difference betwixt the Spirit of Troops pursued by an Enemy in that Enemy's Country, and the Spirit of the Pursuers. Besides, perceiving that Fortune inclined her Face with a Smile towards *Cumberland*, the Country People voluntarily supplied his Army with Horses, Carriages, Provisions, and all other Necessaries; while the *Adventurers* could get nothing but what Violence forced from the grumbling who took all Methods to distress them, and retard their March. This indeed they were in some measure obliged to

do, in Compliance with the Duke's Orders, who daily sent Expresses before him to that Purpose, as he march'd from Town to Town. And in the mean Time, those who privately inclined to succour the young *Adventurer*, were deterr'd from appearing for him in any Manner, by their Apprehensions of the Duke of *Cumberland's*, superior Force and good Fortune.

Macclesfield, where, as we have observed, the *English* arrived on the 10th, is but one Day's March from *Manchester*, from whence *Ascanius* march'd that Day, resting his Troops there only one Night. At *Manchester* the fickle Inhabitants, perceiving that Fortune seem'd to frown on the *Adventurers*, whom they had joyfully received but a few Days before, now began to shew a very different Spirit, and gave the Troops several rude Marks of their new Disposition. This *Ascanius* so highly resented, that, before he left their Town, he made the People pay him the Sum of two thousand five hundred Pounds, to preserve themselves from being plunder'd: However, in Consideration of the many Friends he still had there, he gave them a Promise of Repayment, as soon as the Kingdom should be recover'd to his Family, of which he did not despair yet.

On the 11th the *Adventurers* march'd further northward and came to *Wigan*, from whence the next Day they push'd to *Preston*. The Duke still followed at the Distance of about a Day's March, which he yet found it impossible to gain of *Ascanius*, who, on the other hand, found it equally impracticable to out-strip his formidable Rival in youthful Vigour and Vigilance.

On the 13th in the Morning *Ascanius* quitted *Preston*, which he had no sooner done than *Oglethorpe*, with the Horse and Dragoons, from *Wade's Army*, arrived there, having in three Days march'd above one hundred Miles thro' the Ice, and over Mountains covered with Snow. And now the *Adventurers* had certainly been forced to come to an Action, (in which nothing less than a Miracle could have given them the Advantage, in the distressed Condition they were in) had not their *English* Friends in the South luckily, at this critical Juncture, done them some Service. A Report was raised, and

successfully propagated, *that the French were landed in the South*; and this was so generally believed by the *English*, that an Express was sent to inform the Duke thereof, and hereupon he halted a Day, waiting for further Notice, and also sent Orders to *Oglethorpe* to discontinue the Pursuit, and even to return towards the Duke's Army. Still more happy indeed had it been for *Ascanius* had this Report been grounded on Fact. But the Seas were so well guarded by the *English* Fleet, that though a strong Squadron of *French* Men of War had been fitted out, with a great Number of Transports, having a considerable Body of Troops on board yet they durst never venture out of Port, the *English*, with superior Force, continually hovering about the *French* and *British* Coasts, to intercept them. However, the Report was of great Service to the *Adventurer* for had not the Duke and *Oglethorpe* been thus retarded, the latter would doubtless have forced *Ascanius* to halt; and though the General's Troops were as much fatigued and disorder'd by their forced March as *Ascanius*'s were, yet they would at least have been able to have obstructed his Retreat 'till the Duke came up, and then the Action must have been decisive. I say, decisive for the harrass'd *Adventurers* could have little Hopes of Victory, over an Army so much superior in all Respects, and a Defeat must have ruin'd them entirely whereas, had the *English* been worsted on one Day, they would have been reinforced the next, and able to have continued the Dispute for a Week together, even though they lost a thousand Men every Day.

However, on the 14th, upon better Information, the Duke order'd *Oglethorpe* to continue the Pursuit, whilst himself follow'd as fast as possible. On the 15th *Ascanius* arrived at *Kendal* in *Westmoreland*, whence he marched the next Day for *Penrith* in *Cumberland*. Mean Time the *English* follow'd with prodigious Celerity, and on the 18th the Duke, with the King's Regiment of Dragoons and the Duke of *Kingston*'s new-raised light Horse, came up with the Rear of the *Adventurers*, after a fatiguing Ten Hours March. At this Time *Ascanius* was, with the main Body at *Penrith*, and knew not that his Rear was in so much Danger 'till the Danger was over; for on Sight of the *English*, Lord *George Murray*, who

commanded the Rear (in Conjunction with Lord *Elcho*) order'd his People to halt in a Village called *Clifton*, and there receive their Attack. Mean time the eager young Duke of *Cumberland*, whose Capacity as a Soldier all impartial Persons must acknowledge to be consummate, made every necessary Disposition for driving the *Adventurers* from their Post, in which indeed they had great Advantages over the *English*. The Attack was resolutely made, and as resolutely opposed. The *Highlanders* being much shelter'd by the Walls and Hedges, from behind which they fired with great Security, lost very few Men; nor had the Assailants Time to receive any great Loss, the Night being so very far advanced even before the Action was well begun, that it was soon put an end to, it being difficult to distinguish Friends from Foes. The *Adventurers* (who must have been at length overpower'd by Numbers had the Action happen'd in the Day) took Advantage of the Night, and abandon'd the Village to the *English*, continuing their Retreat to *Penrith*, where they joined *Ascanius* before Midnight. The Darkness of the Night added to the Closeness of the Country, which was extremely rough and cover'd with Wood-Lands, obliged the *English* to discontinue the Pursuit 'till Morning. Their Loss in the Action was about twenty Men and Officers kill'd, and thirty wounded. The Troops of *Ascanius* suffer'd less which, as I have observed, was chiefly owing to their being so much covered during the Action. They had only one Man (an Officer) taken Prisoner. This was Captain *George Hamilton** of Colonel *John Roy Stuart's* Regiment, a Man of desperate Valour, and whom *Ascanius* and his Officers greatly confided in. He made a stout Resistance, and killed two Troopers with his own Hand; but was himself at last cut down, and dangerously wounded in the Head and one Shoulder, by one of the *Austrian* Hussars, who voluntarily served the Duke.

The next Morning *Ascanius* arrived at *Carlisle*, after a miserable March all Night. The same Morning also the Duke began his March for the same City, and in his Rout he glean'd up the Stragglers,

* He was tried at *York*, with many others of his Party, and received Sentence of Death.

the Weak, the Weary, the Sick and the Wounded of the *Adventurer's* Army, to the Number of an hundred Men, who were confined in the Country Jails thereabouts.

On the 20th the *English* Army advanced to *Hesket*, which is within a short Day's March of *Carlisle*. At the same Time *Ascanius* leaving that City, continued his March for *Scotland*, fording the River *Esk*, though at that Time; swollen very high by the Rains, and many of the *Adventurers* were drowned in attempting this Passage. *Ascanius*, though much against his Will, was forced to leave a small Garrison in *Carlisle*, in order to stop the Duke, and prevent his following him into *Scotland*, at least not so soon as to force him to an Engagement before he had got Recruits both of Men, Money, and Spirits. 'Twas with Regret, I say, that he left any Garrison in *Carlisle*, for he well knew that those Troops must be sacrificed to his Conveniency. Shock'd at the Misfortune they were destined to, he would have forborn this Measure, but was over-persuaded by Mr. *Sullivan*, who insisted that *Ascanius* ought to improve this Opportunity, and to run the Hazard of sacrificing a few of his Followers, to the Safety of himself and all the rest, who had so chearfully ventured their Lives, and experienced, so many Hardships for him in this their unfortunate Expedition into *England*.

The Troops left at *Carlisle* were about 400 Men, half of whom were Recruits raised in *England*, particularly the *Manchester* Regiment. This small Garrison, animated with a greater Share of Courage and Fidelity to the Cause they had embraced, than of Prudence or Human Foresight, resolved obstinately to defend the City against the *English*. They were greatly spirited up by Mr. *John Hamilton* of *Aberdeenshire*, their Governor; who represented to them "that it was both their Duty, and the most honourable Thing they could do, to defend the Place to the last Extremity. The Place is, said he, both by Art and Nature pretty strong, and we have Artillery enough. The *English* hath no Cannon, nor can speedily bring any hither, so that we may, doubtless, hold out a Month. Mean Time *Ascanius* will certainly do all in his Power to relieve us, and who knows how far it may be yet in his, Power? Besides,

the *English* may not, perhaps, when they see us resolute, stay to besiege us in Form, but follow our Friends into *Scotland*; in which Case we may do *Ascanius* some Service, by employing part of the Enemy's Troops to look after us, and thereby, in some Measure pave the Way to his being a Match for 'em in the Field; whereas at present he is in danger of being overwhelmed by Numbers."

On the 21st the Duke's Army entirely invested the City of *Carlisle*, it being thought proper to reduce this important Key of the Kingdom before the Army marched after *Ascanius* into *Scotland*. This Step was disapproved by many of the Government's Friends, who objected "that the Duke's Army was amusing itself with a trifling Siege, while *Ascanius* was suffer'd to escape, and had Time given him to strengthen himself by a Junction with the several Corps his Friends had been raising for him in *Scotland*, during his Excursion to the Southward." But these Censurers were doubtless unacquainted with the important Reasons the Duke had for not immediately following his Enemies out of *England*. They did not consider that he might, by the Time he got to *Carlisle*, be convinced that he could never overtake or bring *Ascanius* to a Battle, unless the latter pleased. That though, he might again come up with, the Rear of the *Adventurers*, yet the obstinate Resistance they made at *Clifton*, was a sufficient Specimen that it would be still as difficult to bring their main Body to an Action, since, as before, the Rear, would again cover the Retreat of the rest. And, further, that it could be of little Advantage to the *English* Interest to harrass and weaken their Army by forced Marches and Skirmishes with the *Adventurers*, who might at last lead them so far to the Northward, and into such a Country as they might find it difficult to subsist in, and in the End, perhaps, become the weaker Party, and have their own Retreat into *England* cut off. And hence, that as it might have been very proper to discontinue the Pursuit, at the Time when it was discontinued, even if *Ascanius* had left no Garrison in *Carlisle*, so it luckily happen'd, to save the Honour of the Pursuers, that this City furnished them with a plausible Pretence for not immediately following the *Adventurers* into *Scotland*, but rather to reduce so important a Place,

that the Duke might have the Honour of clearing Kingdom of its Invaders.

As the *English Army* under the Duke was utterly destitute of Artillery and Ammunition proper for a Siege, it was obliged to sit still before the Place till the 26th, when being amply provided with all Things necessary, two Batteries were raised, which play'd upon the City from the 28th to the 30th, in the Morning; when the Garrison having yet no Prospect of Relief from their Friends in *Scotland*, and fearing to be reduced by Storm, thought it most adviseable to hang out the white Flag and capitulate. However the best Terms they could obtain was that they should not be massacred, but reserved for the King's Pleasure and these, tho' hard indeed, they were forced to accept, and the *English* took Possession of the City the same Day. In this Affair, besides the Men, the *Adventurers* lost 16 Pieces of Ordnance, being all that *Ascanius* had brought with him into *England*, and which he had neither been able or willing to take back into *Scotland*, it being necessary to leave them at *Carlisle* for the Use of the Garrison there. Of this Garrison many have already been tried, and convicted and some have been executed, particularly *John Hamilton*, Esq; * Governor of *Carlisle*, besides Colonel *Townley* of the *Manchester* Regiment, whom I have before mentioned, and several others.

The Duke had no sooner reduced this City, than he invested General *Hawley* with the chief Command of the Army, with Orders to march it into *Scotland*, there to make such Opposition to the Motions of *Ascanius*, as the future Circumstances. of Affairs should direct; mean while the Duke himself returned to his Father's Court, there to concert Measures for entirely compleating the Ruin of the *Adventurers*.

Let us now follow the indefatigable *Ascanius* into *Scotland*, where we shall find him, emerging for his late *Disgrace*, and carrying his Affairs to a higher Pitch of Prosperity than ever: But by the Way, I know not if it be proper to look upon that as a

* Who (with Sir *John Wedderburn* and three others) was hanged on *Kennington-Common*, November 26, 1746.

Disgrace to Ascanius, which was not the Effect of any Want of Vigilance or Capacity in him, but of Treachery or Remissness, or want of ardent Sincerity in those who had made great Professions of Zeal for his Interest, and who, after having drawn him into a vain and fatal, Dependence upon them, remained indolent Spectators of the Danger they had run him into; and would have left, him to perish, had it not pleased God to protect and deliver him in the Hour of Necessity.

December 22. *Ascanius*, who had divided his Forces on the Borders of *Scotland*, march'd with the largest Body, being about 4000 Men, to *Dumfries*, where he, knowing how well that Town was affected to the *English* Interest, demanded of the Inhabitants 2000*l.* Contribution Money. Of this 1100 was immediately paid, and Hostages given for the other nine. From hence he moved Northward on the 23d, and on the 25th, he arrived at *Glasgow*, chusing rather to take Possession of that Town (of which he resolved to raise another large Contribution *, in Revenge for its active Zeal against his Party, while he was in the South) than to attempt the Recovery of *Edinburgh*, which the *English* had now put in a much stronger Posture of Defence than it was in when he took it before. *Glasgow* was also the more obnoxious to *Ascanius*, as it had ever been distinguish'd for its Disaffection to his Family, and peculiarly in the Reigns of *Charles* and *James II.* in which it was considered as the principal Fountain, of *Whigism* in the North.

Accordingly *Ascanius* quartered his Troops for several Days upon the People of *Glasgow* and before he left their City, he obliged them to furnish him with Necessaries to the Value of 10000*l.* Sterling. And now it was that *Ascanius* form'd the Design of laying Siege to *Stirling*, one of the strongest and most important Places in *Scotland*. As in order to carry on this Siege all the Forces he had in this Kingdom would be wanted, he dispatched Orders to Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat*[†], and other Chiefs in the North, to advance

* See the Sum paid him by that City before his Expedition into *England*, p. 10.

† Lord *Lovat*'s Son.

with their Troops, and give him the Meeting betwixt *Perth* and *Stirling*. These Chiefs had with them a considerable Treasure, which had been landed from on board some *Spanish* Privateers, together with some Artillery, Ammunition, and other Stores. Lord *Lewis Gordon* had also raised a vast Sum of Money in *Scotland*, some of which was voluntarily contributed, and the rest levied under Pain of military Execution. He and the other Chiefs had also taken other vigorous Measures for serving their Party. The *Hazard* Sloop of War which the *Adventurers* had taken from the *English*, they fitted out for their own Service, as they did also a stout Privateer at *Montrose*, and another armed Sloop at *Perth*.

January 3, 1745-6, Ascanius and the Troops at *Glasgow* left that City and on the 5th, having then got the best Part of his Forces together, he summoned the Town of *Stirling* to surrender, but General *Blakeney* who commanded there for the King, gave him a flat Denial, declaring he would sooner lose his Life than betray the Trust that was reposed in him. However, the Town being of no great Strength, though its Castle is, the Inhabitants, after some Hours spent in Treaty, obtained their own Terms of Surrender, and the next Morning the *Adventurers* took Possession of the Town; but the resolute old *Blakeney* retired with the Troops under his Command into the Castle, which he determined to defend to the Last Extremity. Again *Ascanius* summons him to surrender, but to as little Purpose as before, and therefore *Ascanius* resolved upon taking this Castle at any Rate, prepared to besiege it in Form with what Artillery he had, which was however insufficient for so considerable an Undertaking.

Mean while Lieutenant-General *Hawley*, Commander in Chief of the *English* Forces in *Scotland*, was assembling a strong, though not numerous Army in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh* and having all Things in order and fit for Service, he determined to march to the Relief of *Stirling Castle*. But first he detach'd Brigadier-General *Huske* (who was next in Command under *Hawley*) with part of the Army, to dislodge the *Earl of Kilmarnock* from *Falkirk*, where he lay with Part of the young *Adventurer's* Forces, being all the Horse *Ascanius*

had, and which, being of little Use in a Siege, he had posted at this Town, which lies in the direct Road from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*. On the first Intelligence of *Huske's* Approach, *Kilmarnock* retired with some Precipitation to the rest of the Army at *Stirling*, not having Forces enough to stand his Ground against the Brigadier-General's Troops; and thus, the Road being opened, the whole *English* Army marched to *Falkirk*, where *Ascanius* resolved to give them the Meeting.

Ascanius's Affairs were not now in the same Situation as when he was in *England*. Then, encircled by the *English*, and without the least Prospect of any Re-inforcements in Case of a Defeat, it was the highest Prudence in him to avoid an Engagement, and (upon finding that he had nothing to expect from *English*) to retire into *Scotland* before his Retreat was cut off: But now, at the Head of a Body of resolute Fellows, elate and re-animated by their successful Retreat, the fresh Troops which had joined them, and the Absence of the Duke from the *English* Army, of which, he was the very Life and Soul; in these Circumstances *Ascanius* had little to fear as to the Event of an Engagement: He doubted not his Troops in their own Country, in which they had already been so successful and in which he foresaw many Ways of retrieving the Loss of a Battle.

Hawley's Design was to have attack'd the *Adventurers*, but *Ascanius*, sensible of the Difference betwixt an Army's attacking, and being attack'd, and of the usual Disadvantage in the latter Case, resolved to prevent the *English*, and give them Battle, without allowing them Time to chuse their Ground. This he did with great Success on the 17th in the Afternoon. The Field of Battle was the *Moor* of *Falkirk*, about a Mile distant from that Town. *Ascanius* was informed by his Spies that the *English* (who had made great Haste, to gain the rising Ground on which they were posted) had left their Cannon in their Camp, and that they would find it very difficult to get any up the Hill; therefore he resolved to attack them before they could possibly get their Artillery up.

The *English* Army, though formed in a Hurry, advanced in good Order, the Dragoons on the Left,

and the Infantry in two Lines. As soon as the adverse Parties came within little more than Musket-shot of each other, *Hawley* order'd the Dragoons to fall on Sword in Hand, and the Foot to advance at the same Time, in order to give, the *adventurers* a close Fire. But before they could execute these Directions, a smart Fire from the latter put the Dragoons into some Disorder, and at the same Time some of the *English* Battalions firing without Orders, increased the Confusion; and the Dragoons falling in upon the Foot, occasioned their making only one irregular Fire before they began to retreat. *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* Regiments however were immediately rallied by Brigadier *Cholmondeley* and Col. *Ligonier*. These Troops made a brave Stand, and repulsed the *Adventurers*, who poured upon them very briskly. Mean Time General *Huske*, with great Prudence and Presence of Mind, drew together and formed another Body of Foot in the Rear of the above two Regiments. General *Mordaunt* also rallied another Corps of Infantry, and, upon the Whole, the *English* made a tolerable Retreat to the Camp at *Falkirk*.

This Battle cannot properly be said to have been fought out, or finished. It had certainly been renewed by the Troops on both Sides, who would have fought longer than they did, had not the bad Weather hindred them. The Rain and the Wind were violent, and render'd the Fire-Arms of little Use. Besides, the *English* wanted Artillery, the only Thing they could trust to besides their Firelocks, for they had no Arms to oppose to the broad Swords of the *Highlanders*, except their Bayonets, which they had not yet learned to use and trust to in a close Conflict. 'Tis true, their Train of Artillery was, during the Action, drawn up the Hill, but the Owners of the Draught-Horses seeing the Army in Disorder, were seized with a Pannick, and rode away with the Horses, so that none could be found to draw the useless Cannon from the Field, by which means the whole Train (except one Piece which the Grenadiers of *Barrel's* Regiment, yoked themselves to and carried off, and three others which the People of *Falkirk* furnished Horses to draw away) fell into the Hands of the *Adventurers*.

The *English* at first, (after quitting the Field) determined to keep Possession of their Camp, and wait to see if *Ascanius* would attempt to dislodge them. But the Rain continued so heavy, the Tents were so excessive wet, and so much of their Ammunition was spoiled, that it was judged improper to expose the Troops to the Inclemency of the Weather, and therefore they were order'd to the Town of *Linlithgow* that Night, purely for the Sake of getting under Shelter: The next Day they continued their Retreat, and in the Evening took up their former Quarters in and about *Edinburgh*. Here they examined into their Loss, and missed more Officers in Proportion than Men; for the former behaving much better than the latter, and standing their Ground where the Soldiers gave way, were the more exposed to Danger.—Thus far all the Facts I have mentioned relating to the memorable Battle of *Falkirk*, are admitted, by the *English*, and are to be found in their Accounts published by Authority. But let us now consult the Accounts given us by the other Party. The following Narrative was drawn up by Mr. *Sherridan*, and by him transmitted to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, the *Pope* and other Powers in Alliance, with the *young Adventurer's* Family.

“After an easy Victory, gained by 8000 over 12000, we remained Masters of the Field of Battle; but as it was near five o’Clock before it ended, and as it required Time for the *Highlanders* to recover their Muskets,* rejoin their Colours, and form again in order, it was quite Night before we could follow the Fugitives. On the other Hand we had no Tents nor Provisions; the Rain fell, and the cold sharp Wind blew with such Violence, that we must have perished had we passed the Night on the Field of Battle. And as we could not return to our Quarters without relinquishing the Advantages of the Victory, the * * * * resolved, tho’ without Cannon or Guides, and in the most extreme Darkness, to attack the Enemy in their Camp; and the Situation of it was very

* The Arms of the *Highlanders* are a Musket, a broad Sword and a Target; their manner of fighting is to fire at about 30 Yards Distance, then sling down their Muskets, and rush upon the Enemy with their Swords and Targets.

advantageous, and fortified by strong Retrenchments, their Soldiers were seized with such a Pannick on our Approach, that they durst not stay therein, but fled towards *Edinburgh*, having first set Fire to their Tents. They had the Start of us by above an Hour, and some Troops which they left at *Falkirk* disputing our Entrance, gained them another Hour; so that our Cavalry being poorly mounted, could not come up with them: Hence it was that in a Flight in which 5 or 6000 Prisoners might have been taken, we did not make above 500, only half of which were regular Troops. They had 600 slain, two Thirds whereof were Horse and Dragoons, but we know not exactly the Number of their Wounded. Our Wounded were not above 150, and our slain only 43, Officers included. We have taken seven Pieces of Cannon, three Mortars, one Pair of Kettle-Drums, two Pair of Colours, three Standards, 600 Muskets, 4000 Weight of Powder, a large Quantity of Grenadoes, 25 Waggons loaded with all Kinds of military Stores, Tents for 4700 Men, and all the Baggage that escaped the Flames. Among their Officers that fell are five Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels, with almost all the Chiefs of *their Highlanders* and Militia. Our ***** who at the beginning of the Action, had been conjured, for the Love of his Troops, not to expose himself, was in the second Line of the Picquets but as soon as the left Wing was thrown into some Disorder, he flew to their Relief with an Ardour that was not to be restrain'd. In the Disposition of his Troops he followed the Advice of the Lord *George Murray*, who commanded the Right Wing, and fought on Foot during the whole Action at the Head of his *Highlanders*. Lord *John Drummond* commanded the Left and distinguished himself extreamly; he took two Prisoners with his own Hand, had his Horse shot under him, and was wounded in the Left-Arm with a Musket-Ball; we should likewise do Justice to the Valour and Prudence of several other Officers, particularly Mr. *Stapleton*, Brigadier in his most Christian Majesty's Army, and Commander of the *Irish* Picquets; Mr. *Sullivan*, Quartermaster General of the Army, who rallied part of the Left Wing; and Mr. *Brown*, Col. of the Guards, and one of the Aid de Camps, formerly of Major Gen. *Lally's* Regiment,

Camp at *Stirling*,
1745-6, Jan. 31, N.S.

On the eighteenth, the Day after the Battle, *Ascanius* marched his Army back to *Stirling* and as he was well satisfied that *Hawley's* Design of relieving this Fortress was disappointed, he resolved to try the Effect of another Summons: But *Blakeney* was still in the same Humour, repeating what he before declared, *That he had always been looked upon as a Man of Honour, and the Adventurers should find he would die so.* Hereupon the Besiegers began to erect two new Batteries to play upon the Castle, which in the mean time they continued to ply with, small Arms, which did little or no Mischief, though at the same time it exposed their Men extreamly and they suffered pretty much from the Fire of the *Garrison*. This made the *Highlanders* soon begin to grow out of Humour with the Siege, and their Uneasiness was at length greatly heightened by a Scarcity of Provisions, which obliged *Ascanius* to send out Parties on all Sides, in order to carry off what Corn or Meal they could find in any Part of the Country.

In truth the *Highlanders* are a People no way qualified to be employed in Sieges being both by Nature and Habit extreamly unfit, and equally averse to that kind of Service. Their chief Deficiency lies in their Untractableness, and impatient Disposition; and besides, they are very bad Engineers, of which *Ascanius* had few, or rather not one good one in his Army: such as he had were *French*, and *Irish* in *French* Pay.

In these Circumstances, it will perhaps be asked, *why did the Adventurers undertake the Siege of a Place so strong and so well provided as Stirling?* To this it may be answered, that the Advantages *Ascanius* proposed to himself by the taking of this Place were many, but I shall only mention these three. First, it would have added great Reputation to his Arms both in *Britain* and in all *Europe*, as *Stirling Castle* is famous, and reputed a Place of greater Importance than it really is. Secondly, if the *Adventurers* could have got this Place, and fortified *Perth* tolerably, they would hereby have secured the greatest Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* for the

Winter; and thirdly, it would have afforded the Means of maintaining themselves along the Coasts of both Sides the Country, which would have facilitated their receiving Supplies from abroad.—In this Siege we shall at present leave the *Adventurers* engaged, but without making any Progress, disappointed of the Succours they expected from *France* and *Spain*, and very much perplexed to find Ways and Means for subsisting their Troops, which created great Murmurings and Heart-burnings among them: Of so little Profit did the Advantage gained over *Hawley* prove to *Ascanius*! A melancholy Omen of what he had to expect hereafter; for if a Victory was of so little Benefit to him, what unfavourable Consequences had he not to apprehend from a Defeat.

When the News of the Battle of *Falkirk* reached *London*, the Government thought it highly necessary to take more vigorous Measures than had Hitherto been judged requisite) for defeating the Designs of the once more formidable *Ascanius*, who was now more dreaded by the *English* than ever. The Army in *Scotland* was so considerably re-inforced as to free the *English* Nation from, their Apprehensions of the further Progress of the *Adventurers*, who might be expected, to do all in their Power to improve their late Advantage. But as an Invasion by the *French* and *Spaniards* was yet feared in *England*, so it was judged unsafe to drain that Kingdom of its Forces sending many of them into *Scotland*, the *Hessian* Troops in *British* Pay, then lying in the Neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, were order'd into the northern Parts of *Britain* some of them landed in the North of *England*, others in the South of *Scotland*, and immediately they were assembled in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, under the Prince of *Hesse*, who had married a Daughter of the King of *England*.

Mean time the Troops under *Hawley* were extremely mortified at their late Disgrace, and it must be confess'd, that many of them ardently wish'd for a Speedy Opportunity of retrieving their Honour. And in order to this, they were every Day busied in marching once more to the Relief of the gallant old *Blakeney*, who still continued to defend the Castle of *Stirling* with such Courage and

Constancy, as made the Highlanders so extremely sick of the Siege, that their Chiefs were oblig'd to trust their Works entirely to the *Irish* and *French*, who being but few in Number, were excessively weaken'd and fatigued by this Service.

In a few Days the *English* Army was in all Respects better provided, and in a better Condition than before the Action at *Falkirk*. And to animate the Troops still the more, on the thirtieth of *January* in the Morning, their darling Commander, the young Duke, arrived at *Edinburgh*, after a Journey from *London*, which will appear amazingly expeditious, when the Rigour of the Season and the Length of the Way is considered. He was received by the Army as its Guardian Angel, whose Presence was a sure Omen of Victory. In short, his Arrival banish'd all Remembrance of the late disagreeable Affair, and the Soldiers express'd unusual Ardour to be led against the Enemy, bad as the Weather, still continued.

The active and indefatigable Duke reviewed the Troops on the Day after his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, and immediately marched them towards *Stirling*, in two Columns, consisting of fourteen Battalions, besides the *Argyleshire Campbell's*, and *Cobham's* and *Ker's* Dragoons. The first Night (*February* 1.) eight Battalions of this Army took Quarters at *Linlithgow*, where the Duke himself lay; Brigadier *Mordaunt* with six Battalions lay at *Burrowstouness*, the Dragoons in the adjacent Villages, and the *Campbell's* took Post in the Front of the Army towards *Falkirk*, where *Ascanius* had Rationed a considerable Body of the *Adventurers*. These thought it most commodious to retire on the Approach of the *English* and marching back in the Night as far as *Torwood*, they were there met a Courier from *Ascanius*, with Orders to halt there 'till Morning, when himself intended to join them with the rest of the Army from *Stirling*, and to give the Duke Battle.

The next Morning the *English* made the necessary Dispositions for continuing their March, and all the Officers and Soldiers seemed extremely eager to come to a fresh Trial with the *Adventurers*. But hardly had the *English* begun to move forward, e'er they received Advice that the Enemy instead of

preparing for Battle, were repairing the *Forth* with great Precipitation, and to confirm this Intelligence, the Duke's People actually saw all the advanced Guards of the *Adventurers* retiring from their Posts in great Haste and Confusion. This News was soon after put out of all doubt by the Noise they heard of two great Reports, like the blowing up of Magazines. Hereupon the Duke ordered Brigadier *Mordaunt* to put himself at the Head of the *Argyleshire* Troops and the Dragoons, and to harrass the *Adventurers* in their Retreat. *Mordaunt* begun to execute this Order with all the Alacrity and Diligence imaginable, and arrived late in the same Evening at *Stirling*, where he took Possession of the Camp which *Ascanius* and his Troops had abandoned with all their Artillery. They had also blown up St. *Ninian's* Church, in which they had a great Magazine of Powder and Ball; and the Noise of this Explosion was what the Duke's Army heard as before-mentioned.*

The *Adventurers* had likewise left behind them, all the wounded Men they had made Prisoners at the Battle of *Falkirk*, together with nineteen of their own sick Men.

As it was very late when *Mordaunt* and his Troops arrived at *Stirling*, and as the Fugitives had broke down the Bridge which crosses the River running by that Town, it was judged unnecessary to continue the Pursuit and accordingly the Brigadier halted there till the next Day at Noon, when the Duke with the rest of the Army joined them.—Having thus particularly related the Motions of the one Party, let us return and take a View of what *Ascanius* in the mean time had been doing, and attend to an Explanation of his Motives for, and the Obligations he was under of quitting the Camp at *Stirling*, and retiring to the Highlands.

* It was reported in *England* that the *Adventurer* had maliciously and cruelly, decoy'd some of the Country People to this Church, under Pretence of giving them some of the Effects which they had not Time to carry from thence, but that when the poor unsuspecting People were got thither, they were inhumanly blown up with the Church: But this Report we can assure the Reader was absolutely false.

On the Approach of the *English* Troops towards *Falkirk*, the Corps of *Adventurers* quartered there retired, as we have before observed to *Torwood*, where *Ascanius* intended to join them in the Morning, and to fight the Duke. To this End he called a Council of War, to which he communicated his Purpose, and it met with the general Approbation of the Officers and Chiefs of the Clans. However, when the Troops were order'd to march, the Lowlanders struck with a sudden pannick on the Retreat, of the detach'd Corps from *Falkirk* to *Torwood* and the Approach of the Duke with an Army treble the Number of *Ascanius*'s, were found to be all in Disorder and Confusion, scatter'd about the Fields, and, as it seem'd, preparing rather to shift for themselves than to advance against the Enemy. In vain did their Leaders endeavour to re-inspire them with fresh Courage, telling them, "That now or never was the Time for making themselves Masters of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, by defeating the approaching Enemy. But that if they should turn their Backs on a Foe they had hitherto vanquished as oft as engaged, nothing would then remain but a shameful Flight, a Flight that must infallibly bring down the most dreadful Ruin on themselves, and on their * * * *." In vain, I say, were these Representations, the dastardly *Lowlanders* were not to be reanimated. Not even the Presence of the undaunted *Ascanius* who himself appeared among them; not all his Commands, Intreaties, Reproaches, Exhortations, in the least availed, they attended to nothing but their inaccountable Pannick, and absolutely declared they would not sacrifice themselves, nor madly throw away their Lives by engaging an Enemy so vastly superior both in Numbers and Condition.

Ascanius seeing that it was in vain to waste his precious Minutes on these Troops, gave immediate Orders for their passing the *Forth*, and retiring towards *Perth*; while he with his trusty *Highlanders* would abide the Coming of the Enemy, and defend their Camp to the last Man; himself chusing rather to die on the Spot than join in the ignominious Flight of his Troops. As for the *Highlanders* they were resolved to stand by him at all Hazards, and to share in his Fate, let it prove never so desperate. However a

fresh Council of War being held, the Chiefs endeavoured to moderate the extreme Ardour and forlorn Resolution of the less experienced *Ascanius*, whom they, befought not to hazard *his All* upon one desperate Engagement.

Among others the Duke of *Perth* strenuously opposed coming to Action with the Duke of *Cumberland*, 'till their Circumstances should become more favourable, and 'till they should have somewhat a better Prospect of Victory before they fell to Blows. In fine, it was at last thought expedient, and *Ascanius* resolv'd to decline the Battle for the present, and to march the whole Army into the Highlands, where it was not in the least to be doubted but that they should raise a great Number of Recruits, and in the End either be able fairly to beat the *English* in a pitched Battle, or to harrass and ruin them by terrible Marches, Fatigues, the Badness of Country, and the Rigours of the Season, none of which the *English* were so well qualified to endure as the hardy Natives.

In Consequence of the above Resolution, *Ascanius*, with a sorrowful Heart, (for he little thought he should have been obliged to turn his Back on the Enemy so soon after the Advantage he had gain'd at *Falkirk*) gave Orders that all the Troops should quit the Camp immediately, and follow the others that had already marched to pass the *Forth*. This was done with all possible Secrecy and Speed for the Consequence might have been fatal, had they given the Enemy time to come so nigh as to fall upon their Rear, and interrupt their Retreat.—I shall now give the Reader the Particulars of the Return of *Ascanius* into the Highlands, of the Duke's March after him, in the Form of a Diary or Journal; that the future Transactions of each Party, every Day, from this Period to the decisive Battle of *Culloden*, may be the more regularly exhibited, and the more clearly comprehended by the Reader.

February 2d having broke down the Bridge at *Stirling*, to retard the Enemy's Pursuit, the *Adventurers* entirely quitted the Neighbourhood of that Town, separated themselves into different Corps and took different Routs, though all of them led to the appointed general Rendezvous in the Highlands. Part of them took the Road by *Tay-bridge*, directly

towards the Mountains; *Ascanius* with the rest, consisting of Lord *Lewis Gordon's* and Lord *Ogilvie's* Men, the *French* Troops, and what Horse the *Adventurers* had, got to *Perth* the same Evening.

The same Day the Duke entered *Stirling*, where he received the Compliments of General *Blakeney* and the Officers of the Garrison on this memorable Occasion; and at the same Time this young Prince was pleased to testify his extreme Satisfaction with regard to the good Defence the General had made, by which a Place of so much Importance had been preserved, and the Designs of his dangerous Rival *Ascanius* defeated. Mean while, pursuant to the Duke's Orders, many Hands were employed in repairing the Bridge which the *Adventurers* had broke down after passing it; it being intended to march the Army over this Bridge, as soon as it should be repaired, and to follow the Fugitives into the Mountains.

On the *Third* in the Morning *Ascanius* and his People quitted *Perth*, and continued their march Northwards: Lord *John Drummond*, with the Remains of the *Scotch* and *Irish* Troops which he had brought from *France*, made directly for *Montrose*. The *Adventurers* left behind them at *Perth* thirteen Pieces of Iron Cannon, nailed up; and they flung a great Quantity of Ammunition into the River, together with fourteen Swivel Guns which they had taken out of the *Hazard Sloop*.

February 4th, Notwithstanding the Retreat of the *Adventurers* was made with the utmost Hurry and Precipitation, yet it was barely made in Time; for on this Day, early in the Morning, the Bridge being sufficiently repaired, the Army passed over, and the advanced Guard, consisting of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders and the Dragoons; marched that Night as far as *Crief*, but the Foot were canton'd in and about *Dumblain*, where the Duke took up his Quarters that Evening.

The next Day the Duke's advanced Guards took Possession of *Perth*, mean time the *Adventurers* were continuing their Retreat to the Northward, in which we will leave them for a little while, and stop to make a short Reflexion on one of the most surprizing Instances of the great Effects of a General's Reputation that any History hath ever been

exhibited.—In the Space of a single Week, the Duke of *Cumberland* posted from his Father's Court, travelled above three hundred Miles in the midst of Winter, put himself at the Head of the Forces in *Scotland*, and saw his Enemies flying with Precipitation before him; those very Enemies, who in his Absence despised those very Troops by whom they were now pursued, and who were now grown terrible to the Flyers, chiefly on account of only one single Person's having resumed the Command of them. Should the Duke's best Friends endeavour to heighten this Event by any Strains of Compliment or Panegyrick, they would only obscure it; the bare Recital of the Matter of Fact is the noblest Eulogium, and the only Remark I shall add is this, that as surprizing and incredible as it may seem to Posterity, it must be at present allowed a Truth notorious to the whole *British* Nation.

Ascanius was very sensible how much the News of this his Retreat would alarm his Friends both at home, and abroad; and therefore he caused several printed Papers to be dispersed, setting forth his Reasons for taking this Step. I have already mentioned some of them; besides which the following were assigned, *viz.*

“That as his Men, particularly the Highlanders, were loaded with the Booty they had collected both in *England* and *Scotland*, it was very proper to let them convey it Home, where it might be lodged in Safety; and, further, that this would secure to them an acquired Property for which they would doubtless fight valiantly to the last, and be induced to stand by the * * * * not only on his account, but also on their own. That, moreover, it was necessary, after so fatiguing a Campaign, to allow the Troops some Relaxation, after which, when well refreshed and recruited, they would not fail to make another Irruption into the Lowlands, in the next Spring.”

Ascanius had, moreover, another Reason, which he did not yet think proper publickly to divulge. He judged that by removing the War into the *Highlands*, and by the Reports that might be spread of the Severities of the Enemy's Troops, his Men would be the better kept together, which he now found difficult to do, and would also contribute to encrease the Number of his Followers. He had besides these

another Reason, which was, the giving his Friends of *France* and *Spain* a good Opportunity for attempting an Invasion in the South which he flatter'd himself would afford such a Diversion as might go near to free him from all his Difficulties. He had also a great Desire to make himself Master of the Chain or Line of Fortifications, which run along the North of *Scotland*; viz. the Forts, *William*, *Augustus* and *George*, the last being the Castle of *Inverness*. By taking these Places, he would be able to secure the Country behind him, and thereby afford Means for his Friends abroad to land the Reinforcements, of which he had received large Promises, but which had hitherto been (and indeed, never were any otherwise than) slightly and ineffectually performed.

But the Duke, who had very good Intelligence of all the Enemies Motions, and had always Spies among them, easily penetrated all their Views, and took the most proper Measures that could be thought on for defeating them. He marched the Army by different Roads to *Aberdeen*, where he resolved to fix his Head Quarters, to raise Magazines, and to receive such Succours and Supplies, as from Time to Time might come by Sea from *England* nor were the Adventurers able to surprise any of these separate Corps, Care being taken that every Detachment should be strong enough to make a good Defence in Case of an Attack.

He station'd the *Hessian* Troops, and some Corps of *English*, at the Castles of *Blair* and *Menzies*, at *Perth*, *Dunkeld*, and other Places, by which he entirely secured the Passage into the Lowlands, and put it out of the Power of the *Adventurers* to return that Way into the South. The *Argyleshire* Men, under their warlike Leader, General *Campbell*, undertook the Defence of *Fort William*, a Place at that Time of infinite Importance, as it secured another Passage through the West of *Scotland*, by which *Ascanius* might have made his Way into *England* a second Time.

Having taken these Precautions, the Duke set out for *Aberdeen*, where he arrived on the 28th of *February*. The necessary Dispositions having been made for continuing the Operations of the War, the *English* Generals judged it necessary to make Examples of some who had heretofore misbehaved:

This was highly expedient, for the better Support of Discipline, at a Time when it was so requisite for the Security, as well as Reputation of their Troops, which had suffer'd not a little by the scandalous Behaviour of some Regiments and some particular Officers at the Battles of *Gladsmuir* and *Falkirk*.

Accordingly a Court Martial was held at *Montrose*, by which Capt. * * * * *, an Officer in the Artillery, who had deserted the Train in the Action at *Falkirk*, was sentenc'd to have his Sword broke over his Head by the Provost, his Sash thrown on the Ground, and himself turned out of the Army and this was accordingly executed at the Head of the Artillery.* A Lieutenant in *Flemings* Regiment was broke for disobeying Orders, and prevaricating before a Court Martial, on account of the plundering the House of Mr. *Oliphant* of *Gask*, a zealous *Adventurer*, and who was at that Time with *Ascanius* in the Mountains. From this and other Instances which might be produced, all impartial Men must be led to acknowledge, that the Burnings, Plunderings, and Devastations of the Houses and Estates of the *Adventurers*, wherewith the King's Troops have been charged, were not absolutely connived at, nor permitted with so much Impunity as reported by some over-zealous People.—Let us now return to *Ascanius*, who, in Prosecution of his Designs, made it his first Care to become Master of *Inverness*.

Inverness is a Town of some tolerable Trade; it lies on the East Side of the Highlands, has a good Port, but the Fortress or Castle is small, and of no

* This is the Gentleman mentioned in the *Adventurers* Account of the Battle of *Falkirk*, who cut an Artery to avoid the disgraceful Punishment he expected for his Cowardice: But he missed his Point, recovered the Blow thus aimed at his own life, and lived to receive the Reward of his Pusillanimity and Folly. Strange Infatuation! that a Man should do that to avoid an honourable Death, which he knew might probably bring him to a shameful Death, or a Disgrace which he dreaded worse than Death; and to avoid which, he afterwards chose to end his Life in a Manner the most shocking to a reasonable Mind, even by his own Hand: This is what I cannot, in a few Words account for.

great Strength. Lord *Loudon* was then there, with about 1600 of the new rais'd Men before-mentioned. With these he marched out to fight the *Adventurers* but, upon their Approach, finding them much stronger than he expected, he judged it proper to retreat, and also to abandon the Town of *Inverness*, which he did without the Loss of a Man, leaving Major *Grant* with two Independant Companies in the Castle, with Orders to defend it to the last Extremity.

These Orders were however, but indifferently obeyed; for *Ascanius* no sooner appeared before the Place, than the Hearts of the Garrison begun to fail; and after a very short Siege, the *Adventurers* became Masters of the Town and Castle, and here *Ascanius* fixed his Head Quarters.

Besides the 4000 Troops which now lay at *Inverness*, *Ascanius* had several detach'd Parties abroad and some of these falling upon several small Corps of the Duke's Highlanders station'd about the Castle of *Blair*, defeated them with little Loss to the Victors. These Successes raised the Spirits of the whole Party of the *Adventurers*, notwithstanding the Badness of their Quarters, want of Pay, Scarcity of Provisions, and other Inconveniencies.

And now, in Spite of all the Difficulties he lay under, *Ascanius* resolved to prosecute his Design upon the Forts *Augustus* and *William*. The former* of these was accordingly attack'd. There was at that Time in the Place but a small Garrison, consisting only of three Companies of *Guise's* Regiment, commanded by Major *Wentworth*; so that it was speedily reduced, and as speedily demolished, which was the same Fate that Fort *George*, (*i. e.* the Castle of *Inverness*) had already met with: A clear Demonstration that *Ascanius* did not now think it necessary to have any Garrison in that Part of the Country. But being still incommoded by the Neighbourhood of Lord *Loudon*, who lay at the Back or the *Adventurers*, with only the Frith of *Murray* between them; the Duke of *Perth*, the Earl of *Cromartie*, and some other Chiefs resolved to

* Fort *Augustus* is a small Place, and only important by its Situation between *Inverness* and Fort *William*, making the middle Link of this Chain of Fortifications.

attempt the surprizing of *Loudon*, by the Help of Boats, which they drew together on their Side of the Frith. Taking the Advantage of the Fog, they executed their Scheme so effectually, that falling upon the Earl's Forces quite unexpectedly, they cut off some, made a good many Officers Prisoners, and obliged *Loudon* to retire with the rest out of the County of *Sutherland*.

But, tho' these Advantages made a good deal of Noise, and greatly contributed to the keeping up the Spirits of his Party; yet, in the End they proved but of little Service to *Ascanius*. Money now began to be very scarce with him, and Supplies both from Home and Abroad fell much short of his Expectations. In short, his People began to grumble for their Pay, and required their Arrears; and as their Demands were not speedily to be satisfied, new Divisions and Heart-burnings arose among them: A sure Presage of the approaching Ruin of the whole Party.—Let us now return to the Duke, and see what he hath been doing since we conducted him to *Aberdeen*.

Though the Rigour of the Season, the Badness of the Roads, and the Difficulty of supporting so great a Number of Men as he had under his Command, were Sufficient to exercise the Abilities of the most experienced General; yet the Duke disposed of his Troops in such a Manner, as proved effectual, both for their Safety and Subsistence, and at the same Time took Care to distress the *Adventurers* as much as possible. For the very Day after he came to *Aberdeen*, he detach'd the Earl of *Ancram* with an hundred Dragoons, and Major *Morris* with three hundred Foot to the Castle of *Corgarf*, at the Head of the River *Don*, forty Miles from *Aberdeen*, and in the Heart of the Country then possessed by the *Adventurers*, and wherein they had a large Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, which the Earl had Orders to Seize or destroy. This was executed with great Facility, the Garrison, upon his Lordship's Approach, abandoning the Place with great Precipitation, not allowing themselves Time to carry off their Stores, However, for Want of Horses, the *English* could not convey away all the Spoil, but were obliged to destroy most of the Arms, and above thirty Barrels of Powder.

On the Sixteenth of *March*, the Duke received Intelligence, that Colonel *Roy Stuart*, one of the Chiefs of the *Adventurers*, had posted himself at *Straithbogie*, having with him a thousand Foot, and a Troop of *Hussars*. Hereupon Lieutenant General *Bland* was sent with a strong Detachment to attack the Colonel, and Brigadier General *Mordaunt* was order'd after him with another Party and some Cannon, in order to support *Bland* if Occasion should be. The next Day the Major General arrived at *Straithbogie*, but *Stuart* only waited 'till the Enemy were advanced almost within Sight, and then he quitted the Place; and, notwithstanding the strict Orders he had received from *Ascanius*, retreated with great Precipitation towards *Keith*. Though the Weather was wet and hazey, yet the Marquis of *Granby*, Colonel *Conway*, and Captain *Halden*, with the Voluntiers, continued the Pursuit 'till Night. But Fortune, tho' she had thus far seemed to favour these Gentleman, play'd them a slippery Trick at last. For General *Bland* having detach'd a Captain of the *Argyleshire Campbell's*, with seventy of his Men, and thirty of *Kingston's* Horse, to clear the Village of *Keith*, and then rejoin the Army; they, contrary to their Directions, ventur'd to Quarter in this Place for that Night. This gave the *Adventurers*, who had been driven out of the Village, an Opportunity for surprizing the Captain and his Party, which they improved in the following manner. Returning in the Night from *Fochabers*, whither they had retired, they surrounded the Town of *Keith*, enter'd it at both Ends, and furiously attacked the *Argyleshire Highlanders*, who were quarter'd in the Church yard. The brave *Campbells* defended themselves with the greatest Resolution, but were at length overpower'd by Numbers, and most of them cut to Pieces; however they sold their Lives at a dear rate. The Duke of *Kingston's* Horse came off but little better; the Cornet who commanded them escaping with only a third of his Men: But this Accident made the Duke's People much more circumspect for the future, and nothing of that kind happened afterwards. Indeed, the Dispositions made by their excellent young Commander, put all Attempts of that Sort out of the Power of *Ascanius*, who narrowly watch'd for such Opportunities, and had they occur'd, would

doubtless have improved them to the utmost: Though at that Time unable to encounter the *English* in the open Field, the *Adventurers*, had they found means to surprize them, either in the Night or otherwise, might have put an End to the Dispute at one Blow, and *Ascanius*, had perhaps been enabled to make a second and more successful Expedition into *England*.

The *English* Army was canton'd in three Divisions as follows. The whole first Line, consisting of six Battalions, *Kingston's* Horse and *Cobham's* Dragoons, lay at *Straithbogie*, within twelve Miles of the River *Spey*, and was commanded by the Earl of *Albemarle*, assisted by Major General *Bland*. The second Line consisting of six Battalions, and Lord *Mark Ker's* Dragoons lay at *Aberdeen*; and the third Line, or Corps de reserve, consisting of three Battalions, with four Pieces of Cannon, was stationed at *old Meldrum*, half Way, betwixt *Straithbogie* and *Aberdeen*.

Fort Augustus being taken, *Ascanius*, who was very well appris'd of the great Importance of *Fort William*, resolved to leave nothing unattempted that might, contribute towards the Reduction of this Fortress also. By the taking of *Fort William*, he would have made himself Master of the whole Extent of Country from East to West, and from Sea to Sea; and would besides, as I have already observed, have opened him a Passage into *Argyleshire*, and the West of *Scotland*.

Brigadier *Stapleton*, of his most Christian Majesty's Forces, hath already been mentioned. This brave and experienced Officer was sent by *Ascanius* to besiege *Fort William*. He had with him a large Corps of the best Men among the *Adventurers*, and a pretty good Train of Artillery, considering how much Ordnance *Ascanius* had lately lost. The Brigadier with a thousand Men, arrived at *Glenavis*, in the Neighbourhood of this Fortress, on the third of *March*. About this Time, it was that this Detachment took a Boat belonging to the *Baltimore* Sloop, Capt. *Richard How*, which was employed in the Service of the Garrison of *Fort William*. On the other Hand, Captain *Askew* of the *Serpent* Sloop, sending his own Boat, with another belonging to the *Baltimore*, and a third belonging to the Garrison, forced *Stapleton's*

People from the Narrows of *Carron*, where they were posted, and made themselves Masters of all the Boats the *Adventurer* had in these Parts: This was on the fourth of *March*, and proved a most important and well-tim'd Piece of Service to the Government.

As the Siege of *Fort William* was the only regular Operation of that kind, which happened during the Continuance of this Civil War, a regular Journal of it as drawn up by an Officer employed in the Siege, may not be unacceptable to the Reader.

Journal of the Siege of Fort William.

MARCH the fourteenth, the *Adventurers* continuing in the Neighbourhood of *Fort William*, and the Garrison at last perceiving that they were actually to undergo a Siege, began to heighten the Parapets of their Walls on the Side where they apprehended the first Attack would be made. This Work lasted a whole Week, and the two Faces of the Bastions were raised seven Foot high. On the fifteenth, a Detachment of the Garrison, with some Men belonging to the Sloops of War before-mentioned, went in armed Boats, to attempt the destroying of *Kilmady Barns*, commonly called the *Corpoch*. *Stapleton* having Notice of their Motions, and suspecting their Intention, sent out a strong Party to frustrate it. However, the falling of the Tide contributed as much as any thing to the Miscarriage of this Scheme. Some firing indeed passed on both Sides, but little Damage was done on either. On the Side of the Garrison a Sailor was killed, and three Men were wounded. The *Adventurers* had five Men wounded, four of them mortally.

On the eighteenth the *Baltimore* went up towards *Kilmady Barns*, in order to cover the landing of some Men for a fresh Attempt upon this Place. He threw some Cohorn Shells, and set one Hovel on Fire, but the King's Party were nevertheless prevented from landing, the *Adventurers* firing upon them with great Advantage from behind the natural Intrenchment of a hollow Road or Rill. The *Baltimore's* Guns being only four Pounders, had no Effect upon the Stone

Walls of the *Corpoch*: However, the Sloop and the King's Forces retired without any Damage. On the Side of the *Adventurers*, one of their principal Engineers was killed, but no other Man hurt. This Day three Centinels and a Drummer of *Guise's* Regiment, who had been taken at *Fort Augustus*, made their escape from the *Highlanders*, and got safe into *Fort William*.

On the twentieth, several Parties of the Garrison being appointed to protect their Turf-diggers, frequent Skirmishes happen'd between these and *Stapleton's* People; but as both Sides skulked behind Craggs and Rocks, so neither received any Damage.

The same Evening the *Adventurers* opened the Siege, by discharging at the Fort seventeen Royals, or small Bombs, of five Inches and a half Diameter, weighing about sixteen and eighteen Pounds each, and loaded with fourteen Ounces of Powder: These were play'd off from a Battery erected on a small Hill called the *Sugar-Loaf*, about eight hundred Yards off, which being at too great a Distance, the Ordnance did little Execution, the greatest Part falling short. On the other Hand the Garrison answered the Besiegers with eight Bombs of eighteen Inches Diameter, six Cohorns, one twelve Pounder, six five Pounders, and two Swivels.

Friday the twenty first, the *Adventurer's* finding that their Batteries were too far off, erected a new one at the Foot of the *Cow-Hill*, about four hundred yards off, from which, between twelve and four in the Morning, they discharged eighty-four of their Royals, which did little Damage, except penetrating through the Roofs of several Houses, and slightly wounding three Men. The Garrison this Day answered the Besiegers with twenty Bombs, nine Cohorns, three Six Pounders, and two Swivels.

On the twenty-second, the Besiegers opened their Battery of Cannon from *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, consisting only of three Guns, six and four Pounders but discharged only seven times, and that without doing any Damage. About twelve o'Clock the same Day, General *Stapleton* sent a *French* Drum to the Fort, upon whose Approach, and beating a Parley, Captain *Scot*, Commander of the Garrison, ask'd him what he came about? The Drummer answer'd, that General *Stapleton*, who commanded the Siege by Directions

from *Ascanius*, had sent him with a Letter to the commanding Officer of the Garrison, requiring him to surrender. To this Captain *Scot* reply'd, *I will receive no Letters from REBELS, and am determin'd to defend the Fort to the last Extremity.* The Drummer returning to *Stapleton* with this Answer, a close Bombarding ensued on both Sides, for some Hours; but at last the Garrison silenced the Besiegers, by beating down their principal Battery. However, about ten that Night, they opened another Bomb Battery, near the Bottom of the *Cow-Hill*, about three hundred Yards off; from which, and from their Battery upon *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, they discharged before three in the Morning, one hundred and ninety-four of their Royals, and six Cannon against the Fort, but all this without doing any other Mischief, than the Demolition of the Roofs of a few Houses. The Garrison did not return them one Shell, but kept all their Men within Doors, except the Piquet, to stand by the Fire-Engine, the Governor and most of the Officers being upon the Ramparts.

On the twenty-third, as soon as Daylight appeared, the Garrison fired twenty-three Bombs, two Cohorns, two twelve Pounders, seven six Pounders, and six Swivels at the Besiegers Batteries; some of which tore up their Platforms. The *Adventurers* in Return, fired as briskly as they were able upon the Fort, but did the Besieged no other Damage, than the shooting off the Leg of a private Soldier.

The same Day about three in the Afternoon, some Vessels appeared with Supplies for the Besieged, who on Sight of the Ships all at once discharged eight twelve Pounders, two six Pounders, two Bombs, and several Cohorns against the Besieger's Batteries, which were all so well levell'd as to do great Execution, and occasioned much Confusion among the *Adventurer's*; who, besides the Damage done their Batteries, had several Men kill'd, and many wounded. However, to cheer the Men, the Officers gave out that they would certainly burn the Fort within four Hours after their next new Battery was erected. And accordingly all this Evening the People were employed in erecting another Work or Battery, under Cover of their Cannon, and at the

Distance of three hundred Yards, at the Foot of the *Cow- Hill*.

On the twenty-fourth, neither Party fired much, and the Garrison employed the greatest Part of the Day in getting their Supplies of Provisions on Shore.

The 25th, at Daybreak, Capt. *Scot* sent out a Party to a Place about six Miles off, to bring in some Cattle. The *Adventurers* fired very briskly this Morning, and the Garrison plied them a little with their Mortars and Guns. About Three in the Afternoon the aforementioned Party return'd with nineteen good Bullocks and Cows. The same Evening another Detachment went from the Fort for another Prize of Bullocks and with Orders to pass the Narrows of *Carron*, and to get off all they could from the adjacent Estates of the *Adventurers*.

On the 26th the Garrison fired slowly at the Besieger's Batteries on the Hills; and as the latter now only fired from two Guns, the former perceived that they had dismounted the third. In the Afternoon the last mentioned Party returned with a Booty of black Cattle and Sheep, from the Country near *Ardshields*; they also brought in four Prisoners, one of whom was dangerously wounded; they had likewise burn'd two Villages belonging to one of the Chiefs of the *Adventurers*, together with the whole Estate of the unfortunate *Appin*.

The same Night Capt. *Scot* went out and damned up some Drains near the Walls of the Fort, in hopes of rainy Weather, to make a small Inundation; and with some Pioneers raised the Glacis, or rather Parapet, to seven Feet. For want of Pallisadoes the Garrison could not make a right Cover'd Way, but then this might serve to hinder the Besiegers from seeing the Foot of their Walls.

On the 27th, at Day-break, the *Adventurers* open'd their new Battery of four Embrazures, but only with three Guns, Six-pounders, with which, however, they fired very briskly. But the Garrison plying them with their Mortars and Guns, silenced one of the Besiegers Guns before eight in the Morning. About Nine the Magazine Battery of the Besiegers was set on Fire, and it blew up. This Day the Garrison received no other Damage than the wounding of two Men and the Governor's Horse in

the Stable. The *Adventurers* had three Men killed outright, and nine dangerously wounded.

On the 31st Capt. *Scot* order'd twelve Men from each Company to march out to the Craggs, about an hundred Yards from the Walls, where the *Adventurers* had a Battery, which, after some Dispute, and the Loss of a Serjeant of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders, the Men from the Garrison made themselves Masters of. The Victors brought off from this Battery, three Brass Field-pieces, Four-pounders, and two Cohorns, from which the Besiegers threw their Shells also another Brass-Cannon, a Six-pounder, which being too heavy to draw in, they spik'd and left under the Wall, whence they afterwards dismounted it by Cannon-Shot. The other large Cannon and Mortars on that Battery they likewise spik'd, and left there; and brought away two Prisoners. The *Adventurers*, however, still continued, with five Cannon they had yet mounted, to give the Garrison all the Disturbance in their Power, and destroy'd the Roofs of most of the Houses but the Garrison did not mind that, the Men being safe.

On the 3d of *April*, the *Adventurers* received Orders from *Ascanius* to quit the Siege immediately, and to join him at *Inverness* with all possible Speed. Hereupon General *Stapleton* retir'd from the Place with the utmost Precipitation, and repair'd to *Inverness*.

As soon as Capt. *Scot* perceived that the Besiegers had turn'd their Backs on the Fort, he detach'd a Party of the Garrison, which secured eight Pieces of Cannon and seven Mortars, the *Adventurers* not having Time to carry off such cumbersome Movables. The Miscarriage of this Enterprise may be consider'd as the immediate Prelude to the many Disasters which afterwards befell the *Adventurers*, one Misfortune immediately following upon the Heels of another, 'till their Affairs become wholly desperate, and their Force entirely crush'd by the decisive Action of *Culloden*.

The Reason of this sudden and hasty Retreat of the *Adventurers*, from before *Fort-William*, was the Necessity *Ascanius* was under of drawing together all his Forces in the Neighbourhood of *Inverness*, upon the Approach of the Duke of *Cumberland* with

the *English Army*, But before we come to treat of the Measures taken by the *Adventurers* after the raising of this Siege, it is requisite that we give some Account of another Misfortune which befell them, which was no less fatal in its Consequences, than the Disappointment of their Design upon *Fort-William*.

We have already observed, that they were in great Distress for Money, and other Necessaries, and waited impatiently for a Supply from *France*, which they hoped (notwithstanding the Miscarriage of so many Vessels that had been fitted out for *Scotland*) would soon arrive on board the *Hazard* Sloop, to which they had given the Name of the *Prince Charles* Snow, and which they had Intelligence was at Sea, with a considerable Quantity of Treasure from *France* on board, and a good Number of experienced Officers and Engineers, who were very much wanted.

On the 25th of *March*, this long looked for Vessel arrived in *Tongue-Bay*, into which she was followed by the *British* Sloop of War the *Sheerness*, commanded by Capt. *O Brian*, who immediately attack'd her. In the Engagement the *Hazard* had a great many Men killed, and not a few wounded; so that not being able to maintain the Fight, she ran ashore on the Shallows, where the *Sheerness* could not follow her; and there landed her Men and Money. The Place on which she ran ashore, after being chased fifty Leagues, was in the Lord *Rea's* Country and it happen'd there was then in his Lordship's House, his Son, Capt. *Mackay*, Sir *Henry Monroe*, Lord *Charles Gordon*, Capt. *Macleod*, and about eighty Men of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, who had retir'd thither when the *Adventurers*, under the Duke of *Perth* and the Earl of *Cromarty*, attack'd them by Boats, as hath been before related. These Gentlemen having animated the Soldiers, advanced against the People who landed from on board the *Hazard*, and, notwithstanding the Superiority of the latter as to Numbers, gained a compleat Victory, tho' without much Bloodshed on either Side; for not above four Men of the *Adventurers* fell, and not one of the other Party, though many were wounded. Besides five Chests of Money, and a considerable Quantity of Arms, the Victors took a hundred and fifty-six Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors Prisoners; with whom

they embarked on board the *Sheerness*, and sailed directly for *Aberdeen*, in Company with another Prize which Captain *O Brian* had taken in the *Orkneys*. The Money, exclusive of one Chest which was missing, and what had been taken out of another that was broke, amounted to twelve thousand and five hundred Guineas, and amongst the Prisoners there were forty one experienced Officers, who had been long either in the *French* or *Spanish* Service.

At the same Time that *Ascanius* employ'd so great a Part of his Forces in attacking *Fort William*, he sent another Body under the Command of Lord *George Murray*, to make a like Attempt upon the Castle of *Blair*, the principal Seat of his Grace the Duke of *Athol*, but a Place of no great *Force*, and in which there was only a small Garrison, under the Command of Sir *Andrew Agnew*; which Siege, or rather Blockade, Lord *George* raised with the same Hurry and Precipitation (on the Approach of the Earl of *Crawford*, with a Party of *English* and *Hessians*), as *Stapleton* did that of *Fort William* upon the very same Day, and from the very same Motives.

Having thus, in as clear and as succinct a Manner as possible, run through all the Operations of the *Adventurers*, and shewn how all their several Bodies were drawn off, in order to join the Corps under *Ascanius* at *Inverness*, and enable him to make a Stand there, in Case the Duke of *Cumberland* should think of paying him a Visit on that Side the *Spey* let us now return to the latter, whom we left properly disposed to march as soon as the Season and Roads would permit, in Hopes of putting an End to all the future Hopes of *Ascanius*, by one general and decisive Action.

The Duke's Troops, notwithstanding the Severity of the Winter, and the Fatigues they had endured by making a double Campaign, were in the beginning of *April*, so well refreshed, and in such excellent Order, that they were in all Respects fit for Service; and so far from apprehending any thing from the Impetuosity of the *Highlanders* of the adventuring Party, or the Advantage they had in lying behind a very deep and rapid River, that they shewed the greatest Eagerness to enter upon Action. But though the Duke encouraged and took every possible Measure for keeping up this Ardour in his Army, yet

he acted with great Deliberation, and did not move till the Weather was settled, and there was no Danger that the Cavalry should suffer for want of Forage.

At length, *April* the Eighth, the *English* Army moved from *Aberdeen*, and encamped on the Eleventh at *Cullen*, where the Earl of *Albemarle* joined them: Here all the Troops being assembled together, the Duke gave Orders for their immediately passing the River *Spey*. Mean time *Ascanius* was continually busied in a Council of War, which he held Day and Night, and in which it was debated whether or not they should suffer the *English* to pass the River, and then come to Action, or whether they should defend the Banks, in order to gain Time by obliging the Duke to remain on the other side.

Ascanius with the Warmth of a young General, eagerly argued for the latter Measure; but most of the other Chiefs were of Opinion that it would be less hazardous to adhere to the first. The old Duke of *Athol*, alias the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, with great Coolness and Judgment advised to give the Enemy a free Passage, if it should prove that they really were determined to attempt it. “They are, said he, well provided with Cannon and Engineers, of both which we are in great Want: Consequently they have it in their Power to cover the Passage of their Troops, and mow down whole Ranks on the opposite Shore, while we are destitute of the like Means for opposing them with any Prospect of Success and what other Means can we trust to? to our Swords and small Fire-Arms we cannot, for their Cannon will not suffer us to come within Musket-shot of the River. In short, I believe no Gentleman here can (after mature Consideration) reasonably hope for Success by attempting to hinder the Enemy’s Passage. If we do attempt to hinder them, and prove unable to do it, we are ruined inevitably. It will be impossible to rally and bring our Men to renew the Conflict after our Enemies have got ample Footing on this Side the River; and, on the other hand, will it not at the same Time be too late to make any other Retreat than a mere Flight for our Lives; and after such Flight, can we ever hope to face the Enemy again? But if we remain here and suffer them to pass over to us, we have a fairer Chance: We shall then have Time enough to get ready for a regular Action, or a regular

Retreat, according as Circumstances occur. If we fight, we have the same Advantages that we had at *Glaidsmair* and *Falkirk*. If we retreat, we may take our Time, and having a sufficient Distance betwixt us and the Enemy, may march off either in the Day or Night, and shall have leisure enough to take Care of our Rear. I said we have the same Advantages as at *Falkirk* or *Glaidsmuir*, and I may further add, that we have also a Chance which cannot turn out to our Disadvantage, and may prove of infinite Service to us. If we come to Action with the Enemy after they are entirely on this Side the *Spey*, and gain an entire Victory over them, we may possibly cut them entirely off before they can find Means to repass the River. In this Case their Force in *Scotland* will be absolutely ruined, we shall carry all before us in this Kingdom, and perhaps none on this Side *London* shall be able to stop our Progress: One lucky Battle may yet put us in Possession of that Capital.”

The noble old Lord pronounc'd the latter Part of this Speech with so warm an Emphasis, as produced a great Effect on the young Officers, and even upon *Ascanius* himself: However the Question was long controverted before it was decided; but at last it was resolved to follow the Marquiss of *Tullibardine*'s Advice, and suffer the Enemy to pass the River without the least Opposition; and mean Time *Ascanius* prepared every Thing for attacking the Duke: Nor was he at all disheartened by the superior Numbers of the Enemy, whom however he did not all despise, though he had already twice vanquished them; and much less did he despise the known Valour and Capacity of his gallant young Rival the Duke, aspiring to no greater Honour than the Vanquishing so noble an Enemy.

Early in the Morning of the twelfth of *April* fifteen Companies of the *English* Grenadiers, the *Argyleshire* and other *Highlanders* of that Party, and all the Duke's Cavalry, advanced towards the *Spey*, under the Conduct of the Duke himself, assisted by Major General *Huske*. This Party no sooner arrived on the Bank of the River, than immediately the Cavalry began to pass it, under cover of two Pieces of Cannon. Mean Time a Body of about two thousand *Adventurers*, whom *Ascanius* had posted within Ken of this Part of the River, retired as the

Enemy passed over, and thereupon the young *Adventurer* began to call in his out Parties, as was before related.

The Duke of *Kingston's* Horse were the First that forded the River, sustained by the Grenadiers and *Highlanders*; the Foot waded over as fast as they arrived, and notwithstanding the Rapidity and Depth of the Water, which in some Places came up to their Breasts, they went through with great Chearfulness, And without any other Loss than one Dragoon and four Women, who were drowned through Hurry and their own Indiscretion. The Duke's Army marched on to *Elgin* and *Torres* the same Day; and from thence to *Nairn*, where they halted on the 15th. Mean Time *Ascanius* was busied in Preparations for attacking the Enemy, in encouraging his Men, and collecting them altogether, which however he had not sufficient time to do, and some of the Clans never arrived till it was too late. In short, the Army of the *Adventurers* at this Time did not amount to more than seven thousand Men, so that it was no extraordinary Thing for the *English*, who were much superiour in Numbers to defeat them, especially when animated and inspired by the Presence and noble Example of so gallant a General as the Duke.

The memorable Battle of *Culloden* was fought on the 16th of *April*, 1746. *Ascanius* had formed the Design of surprizing his Enemies on the 15th, while they were at *Nairn*, but was prevented by the Vigilance and strict Discipline of the Duke and hereupon both Parties advanced to decide the Fate of the *British* Crown in a fair and open Field. The Scene of the Battle was a Moor, not far from *Inverness*, and nigh to a House belonging to the Lord President *Forbes*, called *Culloden* House, and from which the Battle took it's Name. We have had several Accounts of this important Action, but the clearest as well as most authentic is that dispatch'd by the Duke of *Cumberland* to the King his Father, dated from *Inverness*, *April* 18th; and to this I think it best to adhere. Neither *Ascanius*, nor any one of his Party, had any Opportunity, after the Fight, and during the Remainder of his Stay in *Scotland*, to draw up an Account of it; nor yet has he or his Friends thought proper to give the World this Satisfaction, though frequently solicited thereto at the Court of

Versailles. Had the *Adventurers* published any Account of the Battle of *Culloden*, the Reader may be assured that it would not have been omitted in this Narrative.

*Account of the Battle of Culloden,
drawn up by Order of his Royal
Highness the Duke of Cumberland.*

“WE gave our Men a Day’s halt at *Nairn*, and on the 16th marched, between Four and Five, in Four Columns. The three Lines of Foot (reckoning the Reserve for one) were broken into three from the Right, which made three Columns equal, and each of five Battalions. The Artillery and Baggage followed the first Column on the Right, and the Cavalry made the fourth Column on the Left.

After we had marched about eight Miles, our advanced Guards (composed of about forty of *Kingston’s* Horse, and the *Highlanders*, led on by the Quarter-Master General) perceived the Rebels at some Distance making a Motion towards us on the Left upon which we immediately formed, but finding they were still a good Way from us, and that the whole Body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our March in our former Posture, and continued it to within a Mile of them; and then we formed again in the same Order as before. 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, General *Hawley* and General *Bland* went to the Left with two Regiments of Dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right Flank of the Enemy, and *Kingston’s* Horse were order’d to the Reserve. Ten Pieces of Cannon were disposed two in each of the Intervals of the first Line, and all our *Highlanders* (except about one Hundred and Forty which were upon the Left with General *Hawley*, and who behaved extremely well) were left to guard the Baggage.

When we were advanced within five hundred Yards of the *Rebels*, we found the Morass upon our Right was ended, which left our right Flank quite uncovered to them. His Royal Highness thereupon immediately order’d the Duke of *Kingston’s* Horse

from the Reserve, and a little Squadron of about sixty of *Cobham's* Horse which had been patrolling, to cover our Flank, and *Pulteney's* Regiment was also ordered 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 in the mean time his Royal Highness sent Lord *Bury* (Son to the Earl of *Albemarle*) forward to within one hundred Yards of the Enemy, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared to us like a Battery. On Lord *Bury's* Approach, the Enemy immediately began firing their Cannon, which was extremely ill-serv'd and ill-pointed. Ours as immediately answered them, and with great Success, which began their Confusion. They then came running on 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 a hundred Yards of our Men, firing their Pistols and brandishing their Swords, but the Royals and *Pulteney's* hardly took their Firelocks from their Shoulders each Time, before the Enemy retreated, abash'd at the *Havock* made among them by the Fire-Arms of the *English*; so that after these faint Attempts they made off, and the little Squadron on our Right was sent to pursue them. Mean Time General *Hawley* had, by the Help of our *Highlanders*, beat down two little Stone-Walls, and came in upon the right Flank of the Enemies Line.

As their whole first Line came down to attack all at once, their Right somewhat out-flanked *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 smart Fire upon those who had out-flanked *Barrel's*, soon repulsed them; and *Barrel's* Regiment, and the left of *Monroe's* fairly beat them with their Bayonets; there was scarce a Soldier or Officer of *Barrel's*, or that Part of *Monro* which engaged, who did not kill one or two Men each with their Bayonets and Spontoons.

The Cavalry, which had charged from their Right and Left, met in the Center, except two Squadrons of Dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone in pursuit of the Runaways; Lord *Ancram* was order'd to pursue with the Horse, as far as he could, and he

did it with so good Effect, that a very considerable Number were killed in the Pursuit.

As we were on our March to *Inverness*, and were near arrived there, Major General *Bland* sent a small Packet to his Royal Highness, containing the Terms of the Surrender of the *French* Officers and Soldiers whom he found there; which Terms were no other than to remain Prisoners of War at Discretion. Major General *Bland* had also made great Slaughter, and had taken about fifty *French* Officers and Soldiers Prisoners in the Pursuit. By the best Calculation that can be yet made, 'tis thought the Rebels lost two thousand Men upon the Field of Battle, and in the Pursuit."

I have omitted the Lists annexed to the above Account, as well for the sake of Brevity, as because they could not be very exact at that Time, but were afterwards much enlarged. Among the *French* Prisoners were Brigadier *Stapleton*, the Marquiss *de Guilles*, (who acted as Ambassador from the most Christian King to *Ascanius*) Lord *Lewis Drummond*, and above forty Officers more who all remained Prisoners at large in the Town of *Inverness*, upon their Parole of Honour.

The Loss on the Side of the Victors was but inconsiderable. The only Persons of Note killed, were Lord *Robert Kerr*, Captain in *Barrel's* Regiment; Captain *Grosset* of *Price's*; Captain *John Campbell* of Lord *Loudon's*; Captain *Colin Campbell* of the *Argyleshire* Militia: Besides these about fifty private Men were killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded.

The Number of the Prisoners taken by the *English* in this Signal Victory, was two Hundred and thirty *French*, and about four Hundred and forty *Scotch*, including a very few *English* of the adventring Party, who, unhappily for themselves, had continued in the Army of *Ascanius* till this fatal Day.

All the Artillery, Ammunition, and other military Stores of the *Adventurers*, together with twelve Colours, several Standards, and amongst them *Ascanius's* own, fell into the Hands of the Victors. The Earl of *Kilmarnock* was taken in the Action; Lord *Balmerino*, who at first was reported to be killed, was taken soon after by the *Grants*, and deliver'd up to the *English*. Four Ladies who had

been very active in the Service of *Ascanius*, were likewise taken at *Inverness*, viz. Lady *Kinloch*, Lady *Ogilvie*, Lady *Mackintosh*, and Lady *Gordon*.

Immediately after the *Adventurers* had entirely quitted the Field, Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detach'd with nine hundred of the Volunteers into Lord *Lovat's* Country, to reduce the *Frazers*, and all others who should be found in Arms there; and with the like View other Detachments were sent into the Estates of most of the Adventring Chiefs, which put it entirely out of *Ascanius's* Power afterwards to get together any considerable Number of Troops.

In short, the *Adventurers* who escaped the Battle, were now necessitated to separate into small Parties, in order to shift the better for themselves.

The Earl of *Cromarty* was not at the Battle. This Lord had been order'd by *Ascanius* into his own Country, in order to raise Men and Money. But this Order proved fatal to the Earl, who almost at the very Instant when *Ascanius* was defeated at *Colloden*, was also taken by a small Party of Lord *Rea's* Men and a few others, who found Means to surprize his Lordship, and made both him and his Son, Captain *Macleod*, Prisoners, together with a great many other Officers of Distinction, and above one hundred and fifty private Men: They were all convey'd on board the *Hound* Sloop of War, and carried to *Inverness*.

That the Reader, whether *Englishman*, *Scotchman*, *Frenchman*, or of any other Nation, may know in what Light the *English* in general looked upon this important Event, I shall quote a Reflexion from a Writer, who, though a zealous Whig, has honestly and impartially sum'd up and repeated only what was about this Time remark'd in almost all Companies, both publick and private.

“Thus,” says he, “the Flame of this Rebellion, which after being smother'd for a Time in *Scotland*, broke out at last with such Force, as to spread itself into *England*, and not without Reason alarmed even *London* itself, that great Metropolis, was in a short Space totally extinguished by him who gave the first Check to its Force; and who perhaps alone was capable of performing this Service to his Country,

his Father, and his King^{*}. It is sufficiently known how great a Hazard the Person runs of displeasing him, who praises his Royal Highness but the Regard we owe to Truth, Justice, and the Publick, obliges one, on this Occasion, to declare that Providence particularly made use of him as its most proper Instrument in performing this Work. He it was who revived the Spirits of the People by the Magnanimity of his own Behaviour. He, without Severity, restored Discipline in the Army. He prudently suspended his Career at *Aberdeen*, till the Troops recovered their Fatigue, and the Season opened a Road to Victory. He waited with Patience, chose with Discretion, and most happily and gloriously improved that Opportunity which blasted the Hopes of the *Rebels*, and has secured to us the present Possession and future Prospect of the wisest and best-framed Constitution, administred by the gentlest and most indulgent Government *Europe* can boast.”

Leaving the Reader to make his own Remarks on the foregoing quoted Reflection, I shall herewith conclude this History of the first Part of the *Adventures of Ascanius*, and of that civil War the like of which God grant may never again happen in this Nation.



* Quere whether this Author was aware how great a Compliment he, by this Expression, indirectly pays to *Ascanius*.