was on the side of the rebels.* Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General of the Highland army, examined several people of the neighbourhood about the ground between the armies, to learn whether or not the Highlanders could make their way through the morass, and close with the King's troops. The accounts which he received were not favourable to his wishes. To make himself sure, by the report of a military man, he sent an officer to view the ground. This officer (known afterwards to be Ker of Gradon) came down from the Highland army alone; he was mounted upon a little white pony; and with the greatest deliberation rode between the two armies, looking at the ground on each hand of him. Several shots were fired at him as he went

* Sir John Cope's army, when he avoided an engagement with the rebels posted at Corryarrak, consisted only of 1400 men. In marching to Inverness, and from Inverness to Aberdeen, he met with two companies of Guise's regiment, which he brought with him to Dunbar. At Dunbar he was joined by the two regiments of dragoons, amounting to 600 men; so that his army, at the battle of Preston, consisted of 2100 men, besides some new raised companies of Lord Loudon's regiment, and the 42d, which were sent to Cockenzie as the baggage guard. When the rebels came to Edinburgh they were somewhat under 2000 men. Next day 150 M'Lachlans joined them; and before they marched from Duddingston to meet Sir John Cope, they were joined by 250 Athol men; so that the rebel army, at the battle of Preston, amounted nearly to 2400.
along. When he came to a dry stone dyke that was in his way, he dismounted, and, pulling down a piece of the dyke, led his horse over it. He then returned to Lord George Murray, and assured him that it was impossible to get through the morass, and attack the enemy in front, without receiving several fires. Soon after this piece of information, Charles, with a great part of his army, moved towards Dauphinston on their left, till they came opposite to Preston Tower, and seemed to meditate an attack from that quarter. General Cope observing this movement, resumed his first position, and formed his army with their front to Preston, and their right to the sea.

By and by the Highlanders returned to their former ground, and the King's army did the same. The afternoon was spent in various movements,*

* During these movements the two gentlemen who had set out for Haddington as scouts, and never returned, made their appearance. They were Francis Garden and Robert Cunningham (afterwards Lord Gardenston and General Cunningham.) They had gone so near Duddingston that they were taken prisoners by the rebels, who threatened to hang them as spies; and when the rebel army marched to meet Sir John Cope, the prisoners were carried along with them, to be placed, they said, in the front of the battle, and exposed to the fire of their friends. When the armies came in sight of each other, the Highlanders matched them backward and forwards for some time, and at last allowed them to slip away.
Sir John Cope always endeavoured to preserve the advantage of his situation. But when evening came, and night approached, his situation did not seem so advantageous as he imagined. It appeared too plainly that his troops were shut up, and confined to a place, from which it was not thought safe for them to go very far, whilst the rebels were at liberty to move about as they pleased, and were actually in continual motion, hovering about the King's army, to find an opportunity and rush in upon them. The night was at hand, dark and cold; for although the weather was fine, and remarkably warm in the day time, the nights were cold and frosty, as they usually are in Scotland at that season, (for it was the 20th day of September, old style.)

Then, and not till then, some people began to fear that the army, which stood upon the defensive, and was to pass the night under arms, would be attacked in the morning with advantage by an enemy, who, secure from attack, and sheltered from the cold by their plaid, might lie down, take their rest, and rise fresh and vigorous for the fight. Such were the gloomy reflections on one side, when night sat down upon the field.

Sir John Cope, to secure his army during the night, advanced picquets and outguards of horse and foot along the side of the morass, very near as far east as the village of Seaton. He ordered fires
to be kindled in the front of his army, and sent down the baggage and the military chest to Cockenzie, guarded by forty men from one of the regiments of the line, and all the Highlanders of his army, who were two companies of new raised men, belonging to Lord Loudon's regiments, and the two additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, that had marched with Sir John Cope from Stirling to Inverness,* and by desertion were reduced to 15 men a company.

The line of battle formed along the side of the morass, consisted of five companies of Lee's regiment on the right, of Murray's regiment on the left, of eight companies of Lascelles', and two of Guise's regiment, in the centre. On the right of the line of foot were two squadrons of Colonel Gardner's regiment of dragoons; and on the left two squadrons of General Hamilton's, having the third squadron of each regiment placed in the rear of the other two squadrons, without any infantry. The cannon were placed on the left of the army (near the waggon road from Tranent to Cockenzie,) guarded by a company of Lee's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane, under the orders of

* When Sir John Cope left Inverness, 200 Highlanders (Monroes) marched with his army to Aberdeen, but refused to embark, as it was so near the time of harvest.
Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford. As soon as it was dark the Highlanders moved to their right, and took up their ground below the east end of the town of Tranent, where the morass seemed more practicable. Charles and his officers held a Council of War, in which it was resolved to attack the King’s army from that quarter at break of day. The Highlanders wrapt themselves up in their plaids, and lay down to sleep. There was in the rebel army a person who had joined them at Edinburgh: his name was Robert Anderson (the son of Anderson of Whitbrough in East Lothian, who had been engaged in the Rebellion of the year 1715.) He knew the country exceedingly well; and, having been consulted by Lord George Murray about the ground between the two armies, had given him the same account which Ker of Gradon did after his survey. Anderson had been present at the Council of War held to determine the manner of attack, but did not take the liberty to speak and give his opinion. After Charles and his officers had separated, Anderson told Mr Hepburn of Keith that he knew the ground perfectly, and was certain that there was a better way to come at the King’s army than that which the Counsellors of Charles had resolved to follow: that he would undertake to shew them a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the
enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire. Mr Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms, that Anderson desired he would carry him to Lord George Murray. Mr Hepburn advised him to go himself to Lord George Murray, who knew him, and would like better to receive information from him alone, than when introduced by another person. When Anderson came to Lord George Murray, he found him asleep; and, awakening him, repeated what he had said to Mr Hepburn, adding, that he was willing to go foremost and lead the men through the morass. Lord George Murray saw at once the importance of this information, and awakened Charles (who was lying on the ground* not far off, with a sheaf of peas under his head.) Charles having heard what Anderson said, was much pleased, and ordered Lochiel and the other Chiefs to be called, who unanimously declared their approbation of the plan of attack, proposed by a country gentleman who had never seen an army before. About three o'clock in the morning orders were sent to Lord Nairn, who had

* When Anderson came, Charles, Lord George Murray, and several of the Chiefs, were lying upon the ground very near one another, in a field of peas which had been cut some time, but was not led.
been detached with 500 men towards Preston (to prevent Sir John Cope from marching that way to Edinburgh,) to draw off his men, and join the army, which he immediately did. Before break of day the Highlanders began to move. Anderson led the way; next to him was the Major of the regiment of Clanronald with 40 men: close behind them was the army marching in column as before; three men in a rank. They came down by a sort of valley or hollow, that winds through the farm of Ringan Head. Not a whisper was heard amongst them. At first their march was concealed by the darkness, and when day began to break, by a frosty mist. They were near the place where Anderson intended to lead them through the morass, when some dragoons called, Who's there? The Highlanders made no answer, but marched on. The dragoons perceived what they were, and rode off to give the alarm. The Highlanders immediately entered the morass,* and passed through without

* The place where the rebels passed through the morass, is about 200 paces to the westward of the stone bridge built over Seaton mill-dam, many years after the Rebellion. The Highlanders crossed the ditch with the run of water, upon a little narrow timber bridge which still stands. The ground on both sides of this bridge was then so soft and boggy, that several of the Highlanders sunk a good way, and Charles himself fell upon one knee. The ground is now drained, and bears both grass and corn.
much difficulty. The column marched directly north towards the sea, till it was thought that the men who were behind them might have reached their ground; then the Duke of Perth, who led the column, ordered the men to halt, face to the left, and form a line as usual. The first line consisted of six regiments; the Clanronald regiment had the right; on their left stood the regiments of Glen-gary and Keppoch; in the centre of the line there was a regiment composed of the Duke of Perth's men, and the MacGregors; on their left was the regiment of Appin; and on the left of all the regiment of Lochiel. Behind the first line stood a body of reserve, or second line, commanded by Lord Nairn, consisting of the Athol men, the Robertsons of Strowan, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and the Macalachlans.* Between the first and second line Charles took his place. As soon as the men formed, the Duke of Perth sent Anderson to inform Lord George Murray that the right was ready to march. Anderson, in his way to Lord George, met an Aid-de-Camp sent by him, to tell the Duke of Perth it was time for the right to move, as the left was already advancing against

*The Athol men were 250; the Robertsons 100; the Mac- donalds of Glencoe 120; the Macalachlans 150. The body of re- serve was never engaged.
the enemy. Sir John Cope, informed by the dragoons who had seen the Highlanders that they were coming from the east, immediately put his troops in motion, and changed the front of his army from south to east. The disposition was the same, and each regiment in its former place in the line; but the out-guards of the foot not having time to find out the regiments to which they belonged, placed themselves on the right of Lec's five companies, and did not leave sufficient room for the two squadrons of dragoons to form; so that the squadron which Colonel Gardner commanded was drawn up* behind the other squadron commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The artiller y with its guard which had been on the left, and very near the line, was now on the right, a little farther from the line, and in the front of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney's squadron. The ground between the two armies was an extensive corn field, plain and level, without a bush or tree. Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened

* See Lord Loudon's Account of the Battle of Preston. Sir John Cope's Trial, p. 139.
their fierceness and rage. When they set out, the mist was very thick; but before they had got halfway the sun rose, dispelled the mist, and shewed the armies* to each other. As the left wing of the rebel army had moved before the right, their line was somewhat oblique, and the Camerons, who were nearest the King's army, came up directly opposite to the cannon, firing at the guard as they advanced. The people employed to work the cannon, who were not gunners† or artillery men, fled instantly. Colonel Whiteford fired five of the six

* Some of the rebel officers have since acknowledged, that when they first saw the King's army, which made a most gallant appearance both horse and foot, with the sun shining upon their arms, and then looked at their own line, which was broken into clumps and clusters, (the bravest and best armed foremost) they expected that the Highland army would be defeated in a moment, and swept from the field.

† When Sir John Cope marched with his army to the north, there were no gunners nor matrosses to be had in Scotland, but one old man, who had belonged to the Scots train of artillery before the Union. This gunner, and three old soldiers belonging to the company of invalids in the garrison at the Castle of Edinburg, Sir John Cope carried along with him to Inverness. When the troops came to Dunbar, the King's ship that escorted the transports furnished Sir John Cope with some sailors to work the cannon; but when the Highlanders came on, firing as they advanced, the sailors, the gunner, and
field-pieces with his own hand, which killed one private man, and wounded an officer in Lochiel's regiment. The line seemed to shake, but the men kept going on at a great pace. Colonel Whitney was ordered to advance with his squadron, and attack the rebels before they came up to the cannon. The dragoons moved on, and were very near the cannon, when they received some fire which killed several men, and wounded Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. The squadron immediately wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled. The men of the artillery guard, who had given one fire, and that a very indifferent one, dispersed. The Highlanders going on without stopping to make prisoners, Colonel Gardner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and attack them, disorderly as they seemed to be, without running over the cannon and the artillery guard. The Colonel advanced at the head of his men, encouraging them to charge; the dragoons followed him a little way, but as soon as the fire of the Highlanders reached

the three old invalids, ran away, taking the powder flasks with them, so that Colonel Whiteford, who fired five of the field pieces, could not fire the sixth for want of priming. Sir John Cope had only four field-pieces when he came to Inverness, but he ordered two field-pieces to be taken from the castle there, and added to his train.
them, they reeled, fell into confusion, and went off as the other squadron had done. When the dragoons on the right of the King’s army gave way, the Highlanders, most of whom had their pieces still loaded, advanced against the foot, firing as they went on. The soldiers, confounded and terrified to see the cannon taken, and the dragoons put to flight, gave their fire, it is said, without orders: the companies of the out-guard being nearest the enemy, were the first that fired, and the fire went down the line as far as Murray’s regiment. The Highlanders threw down their muskets, drew their swords, and ran on. The line of foot broke as the fire had been given from right to left. Hamilton’s dragoons seeing what had happened on the right, and receiving some fire at a good distance from the Highlanders advancing to attack them, they immediately wheeled about and fled, leaving the flank of the foot unguarded. The regiment which was next them (Murray’s) gave their fire and followed the dragoons. In a very few minutes after the first cannon was fired, the whole army, both horse and foot, were put to flight. None of the soldiers attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood. In this manner the battle of Preston was fought and won by the rebels: the victory was complete, for all the infantry of the King’s army were either
killed or taken prisoners, except about 170,* who escaped by extraordinary swiftness, or early flight.

The number of private men in the King’s army who were killed in the battle did not exceed 200;† but five officers were killed, and 80 officers (many of them wounded) were taken prisoners. Four officers of the rebel army, and 30 private men were killed; six officers and 70 private men were wounded. The cannon, the tents, the baggage, and the military chest of the King’s army, with the men that guarded it, fell into the hands of the enemy. The dragoons, after their first flight, halted once or twice, but fled again, whenever any party of the rebels came up and fired at them. General Cope, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, gathered together about 450 dragoons at the west end of the village of Preston, and, marching

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* On Monday the 23d, 105 soldiers who had escaped from the battle, were mustered in the castle of Edinburgh. Besides those that got into the castle, about 70 soldiers found their way to Berwick, where the number increased, for a good many of the men taken prisoners at Preston enlisted with the rebels, and, during their long stay at Edinburgh, deserted, and joined their comrades at Berwick; so that the number of soldiers who had escaped from the battle, and met at Berwick, amounted in the end of October to 200 men.

† Some accounts of the battle of Preston, written by officers in the rebel army, make the number of men in the King’s army who were killed, to have been 400 or 500.
them by Soultra Hill and Lauder, reached Coldstream that night.

In this battle there were not wanting instances of generous valour on the side of the vanquished. Colonel Gardner, a veteran officer, who had served in the armies of the Duke of Marlborough, encouraging his men by his voice and example to charge the rebels, when he found himself abandoned by the dragoons, did not follow them, but endeavouring, wounded as he was, to join the foot, met a glorious death, which he preferred to flight. Captain Brymer of Lee's regiment, the only officer in the King's army who had seen Highlanders attack regular troops, (at the battle of Sheriffmuir,) and the only person who seemed to think* that there was anything formidable in their attack, when the rebels broke in upon that part of the line where he stood, disdained to turn his back, and was killed with his face to the enemy.

* William Congalton of Congalton, coming to the camp at Haddington to inquire for Captain Brymer, who was his brother-in-law, found him in his tent reading, and asked what made him so grave, when all the other officers were in such spirits, and made light of the enemy. Captain Brymer answered, that he thought his brother officers would find themselves mistaken, for he was certain the Highlanders would make a bold attack.
Charles remained on the field of battle till midday, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, for the disposal of his prisoners, and preserving, from temper or from judgment, every appearance of moderation and humanity. That night he lay at Pinkie, and next morning returned to Edinburgh.
CHAPTER IV.

Charles at Holyrood House—Resolutions of his Council.
—Contest with General Guest in the Castle.—The Rebels reinforced.—Some Ships arrive from France.—Correspondence of Charles with the Chiefs.—Of the Chiefs with one another.—Their Engagements to join the Rebel Army.—Message by Lord Lovat’s Secretary.—Embarrassment of Charles and his Council.—Resolution and Preparations to march into England.—Number of the Rebels when they left Edinburgh.

When Charles with his army returned to Edinburgh, after the battle of Preston, the friends of government were extremely apprehensive that the rebels would march immediately to the southward, and make a dangerous progress in England, before the arrival of the British troops from Flanders. But Charles and his counsellors did not think it advisable to march into England with so small an army,* whose appearance might discourage their friends in that part of the country from declaring themselves. They therefore resolved to remain

* Besides the men killed and wounded in the battle, a good many of the Highlanders had gone home to their own country with the booty they had gained.
some time in Scotland, and wait for an accession of force, which they expected in consequence of their victory. Messengers were forthwith dispatched to France, and to the Highlands, with accounts of the battle of Preston, calculated to obtain the assistance which they required, to render, they said, their success certain and infallible. From the time that the rebel army returned victorious to Edinburgh, Charles, as Prince Regent, exercised every act of sovereignty, ordering regiments to be levied for his service, and troops of horse-guards to be raised for the defence of his person. To carry on business with the appearance of royalty, he appointed a Council to meet in Holyrood House every day at ten o'clock. The members of this Council were the two Lieutenant-Generals (the Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray,) Secretary Murray, Sullivan, Quartermaster-General, Lord, Pittsligo, Lord Elcho, Colonel of the first troop of Horse-Guards, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and all the Highland Chiefs.

For some days after the battle of Preston, the communication between the castle and the town of Edinburgh continued open. The Highlanders kept guard at the Weigh House, and at some old buildings still nearer the castle; but allowed necessaries of every kind to pass, particularly for the use of the officers. By and by they began to be more strict; and on the 29th of September, orders were
given to the guards to allow no person to pass or repass to the castle. That evening a letter was sent by General Guest to the Provost of Edinburgh, acquainting him, that unless a free communication was allowed between the castle and the town, the general would be obliged to make use of his cannon to dislodge the rebels, who blockaded the castle. The Provost obtained a respite till next day, when six deputies were sent down to the Abbey. They presented to Charles, General Guest's letter, which was really intended for him. Charles gave an answer in writing, expressing his surprise at the barbarity of the officer who threatened to bring distress upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for not doing what was out of their power to do; and observing, that if compassion to the inhabitants of Edinburgh should make him withdraw his guards from their posts, General Guest might with equal reason require him to leave the city with his troops, and abandon all the advantages of his victory.

The citizens transmitted to General Guest the answer which Charles had made to his letter; and they obtained from the General a suspension of the threatened cannonade, till the return of an express which was sent to London. This delay was granted by the General, upon condition that the rebels, in the meantime, should attempt nothing against the castle. This condition, however, seems not to have been well understood; for on the 1st of Oc-
tober the Highlanders having fired at some people whom they saw carrying provisions to the castle, the garrison next day fired both cannon and small arms at the houses that covered the Highland guard; upon which Charles published a proclamation prohibiting all correspondence with the castle upon pain of death; and gave orders to strengthen the blockade by posting additional guards at several places. When General Guest was informed of this proclamation, and the orders given by Charles, he sent a message to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, to acquaint them that he intended to demolish with his cannon those houses where the guards were posted, that prevented provisions being carried to the castle, but that care should be taken to do as little damage as possible to the inhabitants of the city. Accordingly, about two o'clock on the 4th of October the cannonade began, and continued till the evening. As soon as it grew dark, the garrison made a sally, set fire to some of the houses that were next the castle, and made a trench between the castle and the upper end of the street, where they planted some field-pieces, and fired down the street with cartouch shot. Next day the cannonade continued, several of the rebels, and some of the inhabitants, were killed or wounded. In the evening, Charles published a proclamation recalling his orders, and allowing a communication between the town and the
castle. This cannonade, or, as it was called, bombardment of Edinburgh, was grievously complained of. The generality of people concluded that the garrison of the castle was in want of provisions, and that the General found himself under the necessity of keeping the communication open in the manner he did. It was not so; the castle was well provided, and General Guest meant to engage the Highlanders in a siege; and prevent them from marching into England. With this view, in the beginning of the week after the battle of Preston, he wrote four or five letters, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, acquainting his Grace, that there was but a very small stock of provisions in the castle of Edinburgh; that he would be obliged to surrender, if he was not relieved immediately; and he gave his advice, that the troops to relieve him should be sent by sea to Berwick or Newcastle, as the quickest conveyance. These letters were sent out from the castle, that they might fall into the hands of the rebels; but lest any of them should make its way through the Highlanders, and reach London, General Guest wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, that contained an account of the real state of the garrison, and of the deception which he intended to practise on the rebels. This letter was sent to Captain Beaver of the Fox man-of-war, lying in the Road of Leith, by the Corsar, a writing-master in Edinburgh,
who desired Captain Beaver to send his long-boat to Berwick with the general's letter, and put it into the post-house there, that it might be safely conveyed to London. During this contest with General Guest, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 6th of October, very few people in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood joined the rebel army; and no man of quality but Lord Kilmarnock, and Arthur Elphinstone, who soon afterwards, by his brother's death, became Lord Balmerino. About this time several bodies of men came up from the Low Country of the North, raised by some of the nobility and gentry in that part of Scotland which lies nearest the Highlands. The first person that came to Edinburgh was Lord Ogilvie, (eldest son of the Earl of Airly,) who arrived in town on the 3d of October, and brought with him a regiment of 600 men; a good many of the officers were of his family or name.

On the 4th of October, Gordon of Glenbucket arrived at Edinburgh with a body of men. Glenbucket, in the year 1715, had been a Major-General in the Pretender's army, commanded by the Earl of Marr. Some time after that he sold his paternal estate, and with the reversion, which was considerable, wadsetted* from the Duke of Gordon

* A wadset is a security or pledge of land for debt. The borrower of the money who gives the pledge is called the re-
a great tract of land in Strathavon, Strathdon, Glenlivet, and Auchindown. The inhabitants of these lands which lie near the line of partition that separates the Highlands from the Lowlands, partaking of the character of their neighbours, were among the first that took arms. Glenbucket brought with him a regiment of 400 men, he himself was colonel, his eldest son lieutenant-colonel, several of his sons were captains, and most of the officers were his relations or allies. On the 9th of October, Lord Pitsligo arrived in the camp at Duddingston;* he was attended by a great many gentlemen from the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, who, with their servants well armed and mounted, formed a body of cavalry that served under his command: he also brought with him a small body of infantry (consisting of six companies,) which was called Lord Pitsligo's foot. This peer,

* After the battle of Preston the tents of Sir John Cope's army were pitched at Duddingston: as it was very fine weather, the Highlanders could scarcely be prevailed upon to make use of them. Charles came very often to the camp, dined in his tent, and sometimes slept there.
who drew after him such a number of gentlemen, had only a moderate fortune; but he was much beloved and greatly esteemed by his neighbours, who looked upon him as a man of excellent judgment, and of a wary and cautious temper; so that when he, who was deemed so wise and prudent, declared his purpose of joining Charles, most of the gentlemen in that part of the country where he lived, who favoured the Pretender's cause, put themselves under his command, thinking they could not follow a better or a safer guide than Lord Pitsligo. About this time, that is, in the beginning of October, several ships from France arrived at Montrose, Stonehaven, and other sea-ports in the north of Scotland, with arms and ammunition. One of these ships, the first that came, besides arms and ammunition, brought over a small sum of money, together with Boyer Marques d'Equillez, who went on to Holyrood House, where he was called the French Ambassador. Another vessel, besides the same sort of cargo with the first, had some French Irish officers on board. A third ship landed part of a company of artillerymen, with six field-pieces. Meanwhile, several gentlemen from the North, and some petty chiefs from the Highlands and Islands, came to Edinburgh with companies of men, and joined the rebels; but the augmentation of their army by reinforcements from the Highlands did not proceed as Charles and his adherents expected
it would have done after the battle of Preston, when the victory they had obtained gave them (as they said) so fair a prospect of success. At this part of the story it seems proper to give an account of the correspondence which Charles had after the battle of Preston with those Highland Chiefs who had refused to join him when he landed, and also of the correspondence and engagements which those Chiefs had with one another while Charles remained at Edinburgh.

On the 24th of September, the third day after the battle of Preston, Charles sent a messenger, whose name was Alexander Macleod,* to the Isle of Skye, to assure Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Macleod of Macleod, that he did not impute their not joining him when he landed, to any failure of loyalty or zeal for his Majesty's cause, and to acquaint them, that notwithstanding the delay they had made, he was willing to receive them as the most favoured of his Majesty's loyal subjects.

* This messenger carried with him a paper of instructions, containing not only what he should say to the Chiefs of Skye, but how he should treat with several other people according to circumstances. This paper has been preserved; it is entitled, "Instructions for Alexander Macleod, Advocate, given at our Palace of Holyrood House, 24th September, 1745, by his Highness's command."

(Signed) J. Murray."

See Appendix, No. 28.
From Skye, Alexander Macleod went to Castle Downie, and remained there some time with Lord Lovat, who, as soon as the news of the battle of Preston came to the Highlands, said it was a victory not to be paralleled in history; and that as sure as God was in Heaven,* his right master would prevail. Elated with the first glimpse of success, Lord Lovat began to assemble his men, and prepare to act that part which he had long intended, for he had been engaged in every design and conspiracy against government from the year 1719: he had accepted of several commissions† from the Pretender, and obtained a patent to be Duke of Fraser.

Engaged so deeply, he applied to those Chiefs, who, in his opinion, favoured the Pretender's cause, (though like him they had refused to join Charles when he landed,) assuring them, that now the time was come to shew what the Highlanders could do; and urging them to raise all the men they could, that they might join the Frasers, and march together to Edinburgh.

Opposed to Lord Lovat, stood the President of the Court of Session, who addressed himself to the

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* Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 38.
† One commission to be a general officer, dated in Queen Anne's time; another to be lord-lieutenant of all the counties north of the river Spey, dated in the year 1743.
Highland Chiefs, with most of whom he was intimately acquainted, exhorting those who he knew were well effected, to exert themselves on this occasion; and conjuring those who he believed favoured the Pretender, not to ruin themselves and their families, by engaging in so criminal and desperate an enterprize. Solicited on every side, several of the Chiefs were perplexed to such a degree, that, according to a vulgar but significant expression, they knew not what hand to turn themselves to; and to say the truth, it appears that some of them turned themselves to both hands, and changed their mind more than once before the Highland army left Edinburgh; for on the 9th of October, Fraser of Foyers, one of the Chieftains of the Clan Fraser, wrote* to the Marquis of Tullibardine, (called Duke of Athol in the rebel army,) acquainting him that the Macdonalds, and the Macleods of Skye, the Macintoshes, and the Mackenzies, were to march and join the Frasers near Corryarrak. “All the certainty I have of this,” says Foyers, “is, that I was present at Beaufort† on Saturday last,

* Foyer's letter to the Duke of Athol was found among the Marquis of Tullibardine's papers, when he was taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden. The original is now in Mr Home's possession, and a copy of it is to be found in the Appendix, No. 29.

† Lord Lovat's house was sometimes called Beaufort, and sometimes Castle Downie.
when Macleod of Macleod was dispatched express to Skye, and is engaged in honour to be at Corryarrak with his men on Tuesday next, where the Frasers will join them."

This meeting of the clans at Corryarrak never took place; for some time after the date of Foyer's letter, Lord Lovat sent his secretary, Hugh Fraser, to Holyrood-house, to acquaint Charles that he had once expected to have assembled a body of four or five thousand men, at whose head he intended to march to Edinburgh, but as some people* had not acted up to their engagements, he could not assemble so great a body of men, and he, who was old and infirm, had resolved to stay at home, and send the Clan Fraser to join him, under the command of his eldest son, which was a stronger proof of his affection and attachment, than if he had come himself. When Hugh Fraser de-

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* Hugh Fraser does not name the people who had not acted up to their engagements; but Lord Lovat, in his letter to Lochiel (which was produced and read as evidence at Lovat's trial) says, that Macleod, before he set out from Castle Downie to Skye, swore in the most solemn manner that he would bring up his men, and join the Frasers near Corryarrak; but very soon afterwards wrote him a letter from Skye, that after deliberating with his neighbour Sir Alexander, and weighing the arguments on both sides, he and his neighbour had resolved to stay at home, and not to trouble the government.—*Lovat's* Trial, p. 138.
livered this message from Lord Lovat, Charles said it was very well, and dismissed him; but a few days after, Secretary Murray sent for Hugh Fraser to Holyrood House, where, in presence of some of the Highland Chiefs, he examined him, and insisted that he should go back immediately to the north, and carry with him a letter to Lord Lovat. The letter bore, that he (Secretary Murray) was extremely glad of the accounts he had received of his lordship's intentions; that he hoped he would persevere in them, and that he earnestly desired the Frasers would march forthwith. This desire of Secretary Murray's Lord Lovat did not comply with; for, before Hugh Fraser came back to Castle Downie, Lord Loudon had arrived at Inverness, and was in such force that Lord Lovat did not think it safe for him to send his clan to join the rebel army, but had recourse to his usual arts, and wrote a letter to the President,* ac-

* The President was not left to depend entirely upon the force of his arguments; for twenty blank commissions of independent companies (100 men in each company) had been sent down to him from the War-Office, to be filled up as he thought proper; and he who knew the Highlands, had disposed of these commissions to persons who raised the men immediately, and brought them to Inverness; so that the forces under Lord Loudon's command, which consisted of his own regiment, and the independent companies, were much superior to the forces Lord Lovat commanded.
quainting him that his son was so undutiful and obstinate as to raise the men against his will, and enter into the rebellion. This letter Hugh Fraser carried to the President, who told him, that if the Frasers marched, Lord Lovat would be seized, and his conduct inquired into. The President also gave him an answer in writing to Lord Lovat’s letter, repeating what he had said by word of mouth; and Hugh Fraser returned with an answer to the same purpose from Lord Loudon, whom he had seen at Inverness. To conclude this account of the transactions in the north of Scotland; the Frasers did not march from Castle Downie till some time after the Highland army had left Edinburgh, and they got no farther than Perth, where they remained till the month of January.

The message from Lord Lovat by his secretary had exceedingly embarrassed Charles and his council. During their stay at Edinburgh, almost all the British troops had been brought over from Flanders, and 6000 men of the Dutch army (the quota of troops with which the States of Holland were bound by treaty to assist Britain in case of an invasion or rebellion) had arrived in England. Besides these veteran troops, thirteen regiments of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, raised and commanded by the nobility of England, were ready to take the field; so that the whole English
nation seemed to be unanimous and zealous to support the established government.

On the side of the rebels, every thing was dark and gloomy. The army of Lovat, which he called 4000 or 5000 men, and sometimes 6000, had burst like a bubble. Some reinforcements were still expected from the north, and several bodies of men were actually on their way; but what was to be done? what could they hope to do with the handful of men they had? After long and anxious deliberation, Charles and his council resolved to march into England, and push the enterprise to the utmost. Hopes were still entertained of an invasion from France, of an insurrection in England, and some, the bravest and most determined, trusted in themselves; for, after the battle of Preston, the generality of the rebels entertained a wonderful opinion of the Highlanders, and held the King's troops in great contempt. Orders were given in the end of October, to call in all their parties, to collect their whole force, and prepare for their march to England. Lord Strathallan was appointed to command in Scotland, when the army should leave Edinburgh, and to remain at Perth with some gentlemen in that neighbourhood who had joined the standard, and with a few French Irish officers, and their men, to receive the succours that were expected from France, from the Highlands, and from the Low Country
of the North, where many people were known to be well inclined to the cause, and were beginning in several places to take arms. On the last day of October, Charles, with his guards, and some of the clan regiments, left Edinburgh, and took up his quarters at Pinkie; next day he went to Dalkeith-house, where he was joined by the Clan Macpherson, under the command of their Chief, Macpherson* of Cluny, by Menzies of Shien and his

* Cluny, Chief of the Clan Macpherson, and many other disaffected Chiefs, were ready in the year 1744 to take arms and join the French army, under the command of Marshal Saxe, which was preparing to embark at Dunkirk and invade Britain; but when that design of invasion was frustrated, as has been mentioned, Cluny, who had a small estate, and thought there was no likelihood of another invasion from France, accepted a captain's commission in Lord Loudon's Highland regiment. Cluny was raising his men when Charles landed in the Highlands, and wrote him a letter, signed by his own hand, dated Boradale, August 6th, acquainting him that the standard was to be erected in Glenfinnin on the 19th, where his appearance would be very useful there, or as soon as he could thereafter. Notwithstanding this letter, Cluny waited on Sir John Cope, and went with him to Ruthven, where he was allowed by Sir John Cope and Lord Loudon to return home, and ordered, as soon as he assembled his men, to march them to Inverness. Cluny went to his own house, and that night about ten o'clock a party of 100 men from the rebel army seized him, and carried him prisoner to Dalwhinnie, where he was urged to join the standard; which he refused, and persisted in his refusal till the Duke of Perth, with Lord George Murray, joined Charles at Perth, and Cluny followed their example.
men, with some other Highlanders, amounting in all to 900 or 1000 men. This was the last reinforcement that arrived before Charles marched to England.

At this part of the story, it seems proper to mention the number of the rebel army, with some other particulars in which this Highland army differed from all other armies. When the rebels began their march to the southward, they were not 6000 men complete; they exceeded 5500, of whom 400 or 500 were cavalry; and of the whole number, not quite 4000 were real Highlanders, who formed the clan regiments, and were indeed the strength of the rebel army.* All the regiments of foot wore the Highland garb; they were thirteen in number, many of them very small. Besides the two troops of horse-guards, there were Lord Pitsligo's and Strathallan's horse, Lord Kilmarnock's horse-grenadiers, and a troop of light horse, or hussars, to scour the country and procure intelligence. The pay of a captain in this army was half-a-crown a-day; the pay of a lieutenant, two shillings; the pay of an ensign, one shilling and sixpence; and every private man received sixpence a-day, without deduction. In the clan regiments, every com-

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* See an account of the number of the Highland army, at several different times, by Patullo, muster-master of the rebel army. Appendix, No. 30.
pany had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. The front rank of each regiment consisted of persons who called themselves gentlemen, and were paid one shilling a-day; these gentlemen were better armed than the men in the ranks behind them, and had all of them targets, which many of the others had not.

Every clan regiment was commanded by the Chief, or his son, or his brother (the nearest of kin, whoever he was), according to the custom of clanship. In the day of battle, each company of a Highland regiment furnished two of their best men as a guard to the Chief. In the choice of this guard, consanguinity was considered; and the Chief (whose post was the centre of the regiment, by the colours) stood between two brothers, or two cousins german. The train of artillery which belonged to this army of invaders consisted of General Cope's field-pieces, taken at the battle of Preston, and of some pieces of a larger calibre, brought over in the ships from France, amounting in all to 13 pieces of cannon.

As Charles returned to Edinburgh the day after the battle of Preston, and lived at Holyroodhouse from the 22d of September to the 31st of October, some persons who read this history may wish to know in what manner he lived, what company he saw, and how he received them. Of these matters nothing has been said hitherto, nor can the author say any thing from his own knowledge, for he did
not come to Edinburgh till some time after Charles left it. The following short account is extracted from the Memoirs of an officer in his army, who saw him every day:—

The Prince Regent in the morning before the council met, had a levee of his officers, and other people who favoured his cause. When the council rose, which often sat very long, (for his counsellors frequently differed in opinion with one another, and sometimes with him,) Charles dined in public with his principal officers. After dinner he rode out with his life guards, and usually went to Duddingston, where his army lay. In the evening he returned to Holyroodhouse, and received the ladies who came to his drawing-room: he then supped in public, and generally there was music at supper, and a ball afterwards.
CHAPTER VII.

March of the Rebels towards Carlisle.—Carlisle invested.—General Wade at Newcastle.—Charles marches to Brampton.—The Duke of Perth sent back to besiege Carlisle.—The Mayor capitulates.—The Rebels take possession of the City—Dissension in their Army—Cause of Dissension—The Cause removed.—A Council of War.—Order sent to Lord Strathallan.—March of the Rebels from Carlisle—They arrive at Derby.—Council held at Derby.—Resolution of the Council to march back.—The Retreat begins.—The Duke of Cumberland pursues.—Skirmish at Clifton.—The Rebels continue their march—Cross the Esk, and return to Scotland.

When Charles left Edinburgh, it was not known by what road he purposed to enter England. Part of his army moving in different divisions by Peebles and Moffat, pointed towards the west; but one division, consisting of several Highland regiments and the horse-guards, commanded by Charles himself, marched to Kelso, which is the road either to Newcastle or Carlisle. At Kelso they halted one day, and nobody knew what was to be their route, till Charles with his division took
the Jedburgh road, which leads to Carlisle, and shewed that he intended to advance by the west of England.

On the 8th of November, the van of the Highland army crossed the river Esk, and was quartered that night at a place in Cumberland called Reddings. Next day all the divisions of the army joined and invested the city of Carlisle, which in former times had been a place of some strength; but the fortifications had been long neglected: there were no regular troops in the city, and only one company of invalids in the castle. The garrison consisted of those inhabitants who had taken arms, and some country people whom the gentlemen in the neighbourhood had sent to help the inhabitants to defend their walls.

Before the rebel army broke ground, intelligence came that General Wade with his army had marched from Newcastle to raise the siege.

Charles and his officers immediately resolved to advance with the best part of their army to Brampton, and watch General Wade's motions, that if he should advance towards Carlisle, they might give him battle upon the hilly ground between Newcastle and Carlisle. Charles leaving one or two Low-country regiments before Carlisle, marched his troops to Brampton, and kept them there for several days; but being informed that General Wade had not moved from Newcastle, he sent the Duke
of Perth with several regiments of foot, and some troops of horse, to besiege Carlisle. On the 13th, the Duke of Perth, with the forces under his command, arrived at Carlisle, and the trenches were opened that night between the English and Scots gate. The besieged kept a constant fire both of cannon and small arms, but at five o'clock in the evening of the 14th, they hung out a white flag, and desired to capitulate for the city; but the Duke of Perth, who was in the trenches, refused, unless the castle of Carlisle was included in the capitulation. The Mayor then requested a cessation of arms till next day, which was granted, and the city and castle of Carlisle surrendered on the 15th of November.

That very day General Wade, with his army, left Newcastle, and had got as far as Hexham in his way to Carlisle on the 17th, when he received certain information that the city had surrendered to the rebels, upon which he marched his troops back to Newcastle.

The rebel army, after the surrender of Carlisle, remained there several days, and dissension prevailed amongst them. The Duke of Perth, who was a Roman Catholic, as eldest lieutenant-general, had commanded the army during the siege of Carlisle, and signed the capitulation. The army murmured at this; and Lord George Murray re-
signed his commission as lieutenant-general, acquainting Charles that he would serve as a volunteer.

The Duke of Perth, informed of the state of affairs, waited upon Charles and resigned his commission of lieutenant-general, assuring him, at the same time, that he would serve at the head of the regiment which he himself had raised. Lord George Murray resumed his commission, and henceforth, as the only lieutenant-general, commanded the army. A day or two after this transaction, a council of war was called, in which various proposals were made and taken under consideration. It was proposed to march to Newcastle, and bring General Wade's army to an action: it was proposed to march directly to London by the Lancashire road: it was proposed to do quite the contrary, and return to Scotland, as there was not the least appearance of an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England. Charles declared his adherence to the resolution taken at Edinburgh, of marching directly to London at all hazards, and desired Lord George Murray to give his opinion of the different proposals.

Lord George Murray spoke at some length, compared the advantages and disadvantages of each of the proposals, and concluded, that if his Royal Highness chose to make a trial of what
could be done by marching to the southward, he was persuaded that his army, small as it was, would follow him: Charles said he would venture it. It was a venture.

Before Charles set his foot on English ground, all the infantry of the British troops in Flanders had arrived in England, two battalions* excepted; and these troops, with the Dutch auxiliaries, and the new raised regiments, formed three armies, each of them superior in number to the rebel army.

One army, commanded by General Wade, covered Newcastle. Another army advancing towards Lancashire, was commanded at first by General Ligonier, and afterwards by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. Besides these two armies, a number of old regiments, both horse and foot, that had served abroad,† were quartered at Finchley, Enfield, and other villages near London, ready, in case of need, to form a third army, which was to have been commanded by the King and the Earl of Stair.

According to the resolution of the Council of

* The last embarkation, consisting of seven battalions of foot, arrived in the river on the 4th of November. The rebel army entered England on the 8th of November.

† Some horse and dragoons had landed at the same time with the foot: the last embarkation of cavalry arrived on the 1st of December, so that only two battalions of British infantry, and four regiments of cavalry, remained in Flanders.
War, the rebel army* began their march to the southward, leaving 150 men of the Lowcountry regiments to garrison the castle of Carlisle. The rebels marched in two divisions. The first division, consisting of six regiments of foot, and the first troop of horse-guards, was commanded by Lord George Murray, and marched to Penrith on the 21st of November. The second division, which was called the main body, consisting of the Highland regiments, followed them next day, under the command of Charles; and coming to Penrith, occupied the quarters which the van had left. In the rear of this division were the cannon, guarded by the Duke of Perth’s regiment: the second troop of horse-guards, with the rest of the horse, marched, some of them in the front, and some of them in the rear of the main body. In this manner they advanced by Penrith, Shap, Kendal, Lancaster, and Garstang, to Preston, where the whole army joined on the 27th. Next day they marched to Wigan, and quartered there and in the neighbouring villages. On the 29th, they marched on to Manchester, where they halted till the 31st. At Manchester several gentlemen, and about 200 or

* Before they left Carlisle, Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan was dispatched to Scotland, with an order to Lord Strathallan, commander-in-chief, to march immediately with all the forces under his command, and follow the army into England.
300 of the common people, joined the rebel army: * these were the only Englishmen (a few individuals excepted) who joined Charles in his march through the country of England: they were not attached to any of the Scots regiments, though some of the Lowcountry regiments needed recruits † very much, but formed a separate body, which was called the Manchester regiment, and commanded by Colonel Francis Townley, a gentleman of a good family in Lancashire, and a Roman Catholic.

From Manchester the rebel army marched on to Macclesfield: from Macclesfield the two divisions advanced by different roads, the one by Congleton, the other straight on to Leek, and from Leek by Ashburn to Derby, ‡ where both divisions arrived on the 4th of December.

* When the rebels marched from Carlisle to the southward, the people of England, in most of the towns through which they passed, shewed the greatest aversion to their cause. Some Memoirs written by the rebel officers mention that Charles ordered his father to be proclaimed King in all the towns through which they passed; and that no acclamations or ringing of bells were heard, but at Preston and Manchester.

† A good many men had deserted from the Lowcountry regiments in the march from Edinburgh to Carlisle. *

‡ In the march from Carlisle to Derby, notice came to Charles that Lord John Drummond, the Duke of Perth's brother, had arrived at Montrose with his own regiment of foot, which he called the Royal Scots, with Fitzjames's regiment of horse, and the piquets of six Irish regiments in the service of France.
When Charles and his army were at Derby, they were rather nearer London than the Duke of Cumberland's army, divisions of which lay at Lichfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Line. It seemed to be the intention of the rebels to avoid an action with the Duke's army, and push on to London; but they took another course; for after halting a day or two at Derby, where it is said that more than one Council of War was held, they resolved, after much debate and contention, to return to Ashburn and march northward, till they should meet the other army coming from Scotland, which was supposed to be not inferior to the army at Derby. The person who proposed a retreat was Lord George Murray, who said they had advanced so far expecting an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England, neither of which had happened, that it would be an excess of temerity to advance any further against three armies collected to oppose them, each of which was greatly superior in number to the Highland army. When Lord George argued in this manner, he offered that, in case the retreat was agreed to, he would command the rear-guard. Another, and a very different account of this matter, is to be found in the Appendix. Both accounts agree in one circumstance, which is, that Charles was ex-

* Appendix, Nos. 32 and 33.
tremely averse to the retreat, and so much offended when it was resolved to return to Ashburn, that he behaved for some time as if he no longer thought himself commander of the army. In the march forward he had always been first up in the morning, had the men in motion before break of day, and usually marched on foot with them: but in the retreat, though the rest of the army were on their march, and the rear could not move without him, he made them wait a long time; and when he came out, mounted his horse, rode straight on, and got to his quarters with the van.

As soon as the Duke of Cumberland was certainly informed that the rebels had begun their retreat, (for at first the rumours were various and uncertain,) he pursued them, on the 8th of December, with all his cavalry and some infantry mounted on horses which the country furnished. But the Highlanders, having marched for Ashburn on the 6th, had got two days' march before the King's troops, and were not overtaken till the evening of the 18th of December, when a skirmish happened at Clifton, a village near Penrith, between the rear-guard of the rebel army and the pursuers. The main body of the rebel army had got to Penrith on the evening of the 17th; but Lord George Murray, who always commanded the rear guard, was left a good way behind, with the Glengary regiment which guarded the baggage, for the roads among the hills
of Westmoreland were so bad that the carts and carriages were continually breaking down; and Lord George, with his men, was obliged to take up his quarters at Shap, where he found Colonel Roy Stuart with his small regiment of 200 men.

Next day Lord George Murray marched with both regiments very early in the morning. When it was good day-light, some bodies of horse appeared on the heights behind him, of which Lord George sent notice to the army at Penrith. When he came near Clifton, he saw 200 or 300 horse drawn up between him and the village; these were not regular troops, but Cumberland people, and other volunteers, mounted to harass the rebels in their retreat. Lord George Murray ordered the Glengary regiment to attack them; the Highlanders threw off their plaids, and ran on to attack the horsemen, who immediately gallopped off.

The Highlanders marched on to Clifton, and Lord George, imagining that the horse he had seen would probably be about Lowther (the seat of Lord Lonsdale, who was Lord Lieutenant of the county,) went with the Glengary regiment to Lowther. In his way he made some prisoners, one of whom was a footman of the Duke of Cumberland.

The prisoners told Lord George, that the Duke of Cumberland, with 4000 horse, was about a mile behind him. Lord George immediately returned to Clifton, where he found two Highland regiments
come from Penrith to support the rear-guard; these were Cluny’s regiment, commanded by himself, and the Appin regiment under the command of Ardsheil. Lord George Murray chafed that the dragoons had come so near him by his own fault, resolved to maintain his post, and give a check to the pursuers. He thought of doing something more, and dispatched Colonel Roy Stuart to the army at Penrith, requesting that 1000 men might be sent him. He intended, if his request had been complied with, to have marched a part of his forces by Lord Lonsdale’s inclosures on his right, and to have gained the flank of the dragoons upon the moor, so that they might attack the main body of the Duke’s cavalry, at the same time that any detachment from them should attack his men at Clifton. Colonel Roy Stuart returned, and brought an order from Charles, that the rear guard should retire to Penrith. Lord George Murray desired Colonel Stuart not to mention this order to any other person. The sun was set, and it was beginning to grow dark. The Duke’s cavalry was formed in two lines upon Clifton Moor, half a mile or more from the village of that name. On one side of the high road from the moor to the village of Clifton, were Lord Lonsdale’s inclosures of great extent. On the other side were the Clifton inclosures, which did not extend very far. In the high road Lord George Murray placed the Glengary
regiment; and on their right Colonel John Roy Stuart's regiment, lining the wall of one of Lord Lonsdale's inclosures. On the left of the Glengary regiment, and within the Clifton inclosures, he placed the Appin regiment, and on their left the Macpherson regiment. Lord George Murray went backwards and forwards, speaking to every commanding officer, and giving him particular directions what to do, for his situation was critical.* He then placed himself at the head of the Macpherson regiment, with Cluny by his side. Daylight was gone; the night being dark and cloudy, the moon sometimes was overcast, and at other times shone bright. By her light Lord George Murray saw a body of men (who were dismounted dragoons) coming from the moor, and advancing towards the Clifton inclosures, where he was standing with his two regiments, which had a hedge in their front very near them; and at some distance another hedge with a deep ditch, which terminated the Clifton inclosures. Lord George Murray ordered the two regiments to advance to the second hedge: in advancing, Cluny's regiment, which was

* At this time Major-General Gordon of Glenbucket came up and spoke with Lord George, regretting that he was not able to go on with his lordship, and begging him to be very cautious for if any mischance should happen, he would be blamed.
nearer the second hedge than the other regiment, received a fire* from the dragoons, which they returned; and Lord George ordering them to attack sword in hand, before the dragoons could load again, they drew their swords, ran on, and attacked the dragoons, whom they drove from their ground; and forced them to retreat to their main body upon the moor. As soon as the dragoons gave way, the Macphersons shouted, to let their friends know they had repulsed them, and returned immediately to the post whence they came. During this conflict, which lasted but a few minutes, another body of dismounted dragoons advancing upon the high road, were repulsed by the Glengary regiment, and Colonel Roy Stuart's.† In this manner the skirmish ended, and Lord George Murray, without farther molestation, marched his four regiments to

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* When the dragoons gave their fire, Cluny said, What the devil is this? Lord George told him that they had nothing for it, but to go down sword in hand, and immediately drew his sword, and called Claymore.

† Such is the account of the skirmish at Clifton, given by Lord George Murray, who, in his Memoirs, says that he has been more particular in his account of this little skirmish, because he observed that it was differently related in the English newspapers, as if the Highlanders had been driven from their posts at Clifton, which they remained there half an hour after they had to their main body upon the moor.
In the castle of Carlisle 150 men had been left when the Highland army marched to the southward. It was now thought proper to strengthen the garrison; and a good deal of time was spent in finding people who would stay at Carlisle for they knew their fate. The number, however, was made up at last to about 300 men, consisting partly of Englishmen (the Manchester regiment) of Scotsmen belonging to the Lowcountry regiments, and a few Frenchmen and Irishmen. After halting twenty-four hours at Carlisle, the Highland army left that place on the 20th, crossed the river Esk, and, marching in two divisions, arrived at Annan and Ecclesthan the same day.

As there were no troops in that part of the country where the rebels entered Scotland, and the Duke of Cumberland pursued them no farther,*

* On the 31st of December the Duke of Cumberland marched his army from Penrith to Carlisle and immediately invested the place; but being under a necessity of sending to Whitehaven for heavy cannon, the batteries were not erected till the
they marched in two divisions by Dumfries to Moffat to Glasgow, where they arrived on the 23rd and 26th of December.

The people of Glasgow were not a little troubled at this visit from Charles and his army, who were likely to help themselves (as they did) with what they wanted in the most opulent commercial city in Scotland, which had always been remarkably zealous for the government, both in church and state, as it was settled at the Revolution; and upon the present occasion had distinguished itself more than ever; as may be seen in the following chapter.

28th, and on the 30th the garrison surrendered at discretion. In this manner ended the winter campaign of the rebels in England.

* Charles required the Magistrates of Glasgow to furnish his army with 1200 shirts, 6000 short coats, 6000 pair of shoes, 6000 bonnets, 6000 pairs of stockings; the value of which, added to the 5500L paid on the 27th of September, amounted to 10,000L.* and by an extract from the records of the town of Glasgow, signed by James Wilson, Town Clerk, it appears, that Parliament, in the year 1723, granted to His Majesty ten thousand pounds, to be paid to the Magistrates of Glasgow, to reimburse them for the expense they had incurred by their distinguished loyalty.
CHAPTER VIII.

State of Scotland while the Rebel Army was in England—Preparations for War.—Head-Quarters of both Armies—Skirmish at Inverary.—Number of the Rebels.—Contention and Animosity amongst them.—Charles marches to Stirling.—The Town surrenders.—The Rebels besiege the Castle.—General Hawley marches to raise the Siege.—The two Armies meet at Falkirk.—The King's Army defeated.—The Rebels take Possession of Falkirk.—Turmoil and Mutiny in their Army.—The Duke of Cumberland arrives at Edinburgh.—Marches to attack the Rebels.—They retreat to the Highlands.—Escape from the Castle of Downe of the Volunteers taken Prisoners after the Battle of Falkirk.

WHilst Charles with his army remained at Edinburgh, everybody in the south of Scotland submitted to a force which they could not resist; and Charles was truly Prince Regent, governing a country in which there were no magistrates, no judges, and very few men in arms, but those who were under his command.

Soon after the rebel army entered England, Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, with several other Judges of the Court of Session, attended by the She-
rills of East Lothian and the Merse, with a good number of the gentlemen of these two counties, entered Edinburgh in procession; they were saluted by a general discharge of the cannon of the castle.

Next day two regiments of foot (Price’s and Ligonier’s) with Hamilton’s and Gardiner’s dragoons, arrived at Edinburgh from Berwick.* It was intended that these regiments should march to Stirling, and guard the passages of the river Forth against the rebels at Perth, who were daily increasing in number.

The magistrates of Glasgow, encouraged by the return of the Judges, and the appearance of troops, offered to raise a body of men, and send them to Stirling to assist the King’s troops in confining the rebels to the north. In their correspondence with Lord Milton upon this occasion, they required that government should furnish their men with arms, and allow pay to such of them as were not able to maintain themselves.

The number of men in different parts of the country, that were willing to serve government upon these conditions, Lord Milton, in his letter

* The Highland army crossed the river Esk on the 8th and 9th of November. The Judges entered Edinburgh on the 13th, and the troops from Berwick on the 14th.
to the Duke of Newcastle,* computes at 8000, of whom, he says, not above one half required to be paid.

The account of the arms delivered from the Castle of Edinburgh (with the dates of the delivery) which is still preserved, mentions the names of the different parishes, most of which are in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh † and Glasgow.

The King's troops began their march towards Stirling on the 7th of December, and the Glasgow regiment, of 600 men, commanded by the Earl of Home, joined them at Stirling on the 12th.

Several more companies were preparing to follow, but General Blakeney, thinking the body of men he had sufficient to guard the passages of the Forth, desired Lord Home to let the Magistrates

* See the Duke of Newcastle's Answer to Lord Milton's Letter. Appendix, No. 36.
† Amongst those who took arms for government about this time were some young men at Edinburgh, who formed themselves into a company, and chose for officers two of their own number, who had been privates in the College Company of Edinburgh Volunteers raised to defend the city; and upon that occasion had agreed to join the dragoons, and give battle to the rebels. When the company had chosen their officers, they applied to Lord Milton, and obtained an order from him to the store-master of the castle to deliver them arms. They had also places assigned them for exercise, under cover, or without cover, as the weather served, for it was then about the middle of November.
of Glasgow know, that it was not necessary to send any more men to Stirling.

Another small army had been assembling for some time in the north of Scotland, under the command of Lord Loudon, who, on the 14th of October, had arrived at Inverness, in the Saltash sloop of war, with some arms, ammunition, and money. Soon after his arrival he was joined by the officers and men of his own regiment, who, with the Independent Companies formerly mentioned, amounted, about the middle of November, to more than 2000 men. The sum of money brought by Lord Loudon was not sufficient to subsist the troops under his command, but the credit and influence of the President supplied what was wanting, and the town of Inverness became the headquarters for those who took arms for government in the north of Scotland.

Meanwhile several gentlemen of Aberdeenshire, Angus, the Mearns, and other places in the low country of the north, were raising men for the service of Charles.

Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, raised a regiment of two battalions, one of which was commanded by Gordon of Abarach, and the other by Moir of Stonywood.

Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, had arrived at Montrose, as has been formerly mentioned, with a body of troops in the ser-
vice of France, consisting of his own regiment, the Royal Scots, of the piquets of six Irish regiments, with Fitzjames's regiment of horse (so called from the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James the Second, who had been their colonel.) But Lord John Drummond's account of the forces with which he landed, contained in a letter of his to Lord Fortrose,* which has been preserved, is certainly exaggerated; for though Fitzjames's regiment of horse embarked with him, so many transports of this embarkation were taken by the English cruisers in their way to Scotland, or obliged to return to Dunkirk whence they came, that the regiment of horse landed very incomplete, and never showed more than two troops, 50 men each troop.

Soon after Lord John Drummond landed in Scotland, he sent General Stapleton with the Irish piquets and part of his own regiment, to join Lord Strathallan at Perth; the other part of his regiment he sent to join Lord Lewis Gordon, who had fixed his head-quarters at Aberdeen; and kept parties moving about in the adjacent country to raise men and collect money, according to a rate or tax which he had imposed upon the proprietors of land to furnish him with one able-bodied man,
or five pounds Sterling for every 100 pounds Scots of valued rent.

To protect the funds of government, and prevent the levy of this arbitrary imposition, Lord Loudon sent Macleod of Macléod from Inverness with 450 of his own men (whom he had brought from the Isle of Skye,) and 200 of Monroe's, commanded by Munro of Culcairn, to Inverary, which is only twelve computed miles from Aberdeen.

Lord Lewis Gordon, informed that MacLeod was so near him, with a force inferior to his, marched his own regiment, and all the men he had of Lord John Drummond's regiment, with a battalion of 300 Farquharsons, commanded by Farquharson of Monlithry, to attack Macleod at Inverary.

It was late before Lord Lewis reached the place; but Macleod's men, though they did not expect the attack, and were partly surprised, had time to put themselves in order to receive the enemy. It was moon-light when the action began, and the firing continued for some time on both sides; but when Lord John Drummond's soldiers and the Farquharsons advanced to close with their enemies, Macleod's men did not stand the charge, but left the field, and escaped as they could.

In this conflict not many men on either side were killed, but 41 of Macleod's party were taken prisoners, among whom were several Lowcountry
gentlemen of consideration who had joined Macleod.

Soon after the skirmish at Inverury, which happened on the 23d of December, Lord Lewis Gordon marched his men to join the forces at Perth, which was the place of general rendezvous.

The number of troops there was continually fluctuating, but at last amounted to 4000 men.

They consisted of the clans that had come to Perth after Charles had left Edinburgh, that is, of the Macintosches, the Frazers, the Mackenzies, (that part of them who were attached to Charles) and the Farquharsons: of the recruits sent from the Highlands to the clan regiments that had marched to England with Charles: of the regiments and companies raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, Sir James Kinloch, and others in the Low-country of the north: of the piquets of the Irish regiments in the service of France, commanded by General Stapleton; and of the royal Scots, whose colonel, Lord John Drummond, called himself Commander-in-chief of his most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland.

This heterogeneous army of Highlanders and Lowlanders, of Irish, Scotch, and French, had quarrelled about an order sent from Carlisle by Charles to Lord Strathallan at Perth, to march with all his forces, and follow the army into England.
This order Lord Str Athallan's council of officers judged it was not expedient to obey.

Maclellan of Maclellan, who brought the order, and all the Highland officers, were provoked at this act of disobedience. They caballed together, and resolved to follow their Prince and their countrymen. But it was not easy for them to execute this resolution, as Lord Str Athallan was in possession of the money, arms, ammunition, and stores.

The Highlanders had no money, and some of them who came last from the Highlands wanted arms.

The Commander-in-chief, Lord Str Athallan, was supported by all the Lowcountry men; and the French and Irish.

The Highlanders persisted in their resolution; and formed several projects of getting at the money. Both parties were sufficiently violent, and had no reason either of them to think the other very scrupulous. They were ready to proceed to the last extremities, and a battle seemed inevitable, when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth, with an order from Charles (dated Dumfries) to Lord Str Athallan, to hold himself and his forces in readiness to join the army, which was now marching to Glasgow, from whence he should receive further orders.

This order removed the cause of quarrel, and put an end to the difference.
There was nothing to prevent or obstruct the junction of the two armies; for as soon as it was certainly known that the Highland army had crossed the river Esk, and was marching towards Glasgow, the King's troops left Stirling, and marched to Edinburgh, where they were joined by the Glasgow regiment next day, which was the 24th of December.

From the time that the Highlanders crossed the river Esk, in their retreat from England, the King's servants at Edinburgh, both civil and military, not knowing what course the rebels intended to take, were extremely perplexed; and, forming hypothetical resolutions, gave out what was most encouraging.

On the 29th of December a paper was read in the churches, to acquaint the people of Edinburgh, that it had been resolved, in a Council of War, to defend the city against the rebels.

Next day a great number of able-bodied men were brought in from the neighbouring parishes, and paraded in arms upon the High Street. Every parish marched by itself, and a good many of the parishes had their minister marching along with them.

As the Glasgow and Edinburgh regiments were not much better trained than the Militia (so they were called) of the country parishes, notwithstanding the paper read from the pulpit, the generality
of people believed, that if the Highland army approached Edinburgh, the King's troops would leave the town and retreat to Berwick.

About this time notice came to the King's servants at Edinburgh, that all the regiments of British infantry in that army, commanded by General Wade, (which had been marching backwards and forwards by the cast road, while the rebels were advancing and retreating by the west road) were put under the command of General Hawley, and ordered to march from Newcastle to Edinburgh, where they were to be joined by part of that army which had been commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. As the Highlanders remained seven or eight days at Glasgow, the apprehension of a visit from them abated, but did not cease altogether till the 2d of January, when the first division of the King's troops, consisting of two regiments of foot, arrived at Edinburgh. This division was followed, day after day, by several divisions of the same strength. On the day that the first division arrived, the rebels left Glasgow, and began their march towards Stirling in two divisions: one division, led by Charles, marched by Kilsyth, where they stayed the first night; the other division, under the command of Lord George Murray, went by Cumbernauld. Next day their army marched on towards Stirling. When they came near the town, Charles took up his quarters in the house of Ban-
nockburn, and his men were cantoned in the neigh-
bouring villages. Lord George Murray, with the
division under his command, in which were most
of the clan regiments, occupied the town of Fal-
kirk, as the advanced post of their army. In a day
or two the rebels invested the town of Stirling,
and erecting a battery of cannon within musket
shot, summoned the Magistrates to surrender. As
the town of Stirling was not fortified, and had not
a garrison of regular troops, the Magistrates capi-
tculated, and opened their gates. During this siege,
if it may be called so, Lord Strathallan and Lord
John Drummond marched with all their forces
from Perth, and joined the army at Stirling, which,
after the junction was made, amounted to some-
what more than 9000 men, the greatest number
that Charles ever had under his command. Some
battering cannon from France having arrived at
Montrœse in the winter, had been sent to Perth,
and were now brought over the Forth, not without
great difficulty, part of them at the Ford of the
Frew, and part at Alloa. It was then resolved to
undertake the siege of the Castle of Stirling, which
was defended by General Blakeney and a good
garrison. On the 10th of January the rebels broke
ground before the Castle of Stirling, and that day
Burrell's and Pultney's regiments arrived at Edin-
burgh, which made the number of twelve regiments
of foot, most of which had served abroad. Several
other regiments were on their way to Scotland, but General Hawley* (who had come to Edinburgh on the 6th) thought the troops he had were sufficient to beat the rebels. Besides the twelve old regiments of foot, Gardner's and Hamilton's regiments of dragoons, with the Glasgow regiment of foot, were quartered in the neighbourhood of Edin-

* Soon after General Hawley came to town, the lieutenant of the Edinburgh Company of Volunteers (author of this History) waited on General Hawley, and asked his permission for the volunteers to march with the King's army, which the General very readily granted; but next morning a message came from General Hawley, to desire that the same officer would call at the Abbey next day before twelve o'clock. When that officer came, General Hawley told him that he designed to employ the company of volunteers in a piece of service which he thought very essential. The officer asked if it was a piece of service where action might be expected. The General said, that there might be action, or there might not. The officer begged that the General would allow him to consult his friends, which he did, and returning to the General, told him that the volunteers, who had taken arms with a view to serve in the field, could not possibly undertake any other service, and hoped that General Hawley would not recall the permission he had given them to march with the army. "Certainly not," said the General, "and you may tell them so."

This piece of service in which General Hawley intended to employ the company of volunteers, was to send them to Glanis and other places in the north, that they might bring away the officers who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Preston, and sent to several places upon their parole.
burgh. On the 13th of January, six regiments of foot, together with the Glasgow regiment, and Gardner's and Hamilton's regiments of dragoons, marched towards Stirling, by Linlithgow and Borrowstounness, under the command of General Huske. Next day the other six regiments followed. Upon the 16th General Hawley left Edinburgh to join the army, and with all his troops collected, encamped in a field at the west end of Falkirk, which is only nine miles from Bannockburn, where Charles had fixed his head quarters, having all his troops about him, except 1000 men of the Lowcountry regiments, who were left at Stirling to carry on the siege of the castle, under the command of Gordon of Glenbucket. In the morning of the 17th, Cobham's regiment of dragoons, and 1000 Argyllshire Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell (now Duke of Argyll,) joined the King's army. When these troops joined General Hawley, the two armies were but some miles distant from one another, for the Highland army was drawn up on Plean Muir, which is two miles to the east of Bannockburn. The Torwood, once a great wood, but now much decayed, lay between the two armies. The high road from Stirling to Falkirk by Bannockburn, passes through what was once the middle of the Torwood: upon that high road which is to the north of the greater part of the wood, as it now stands, a body of the rebels, both horse and
foot, made their appearance about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and moved about with standards and colours displayed. The parade they made was plainly seen from General Hawley's camp, and every body looked at them, expecting the enemy from that quarter. A little before one o'clock* two officers of the third regiment of foot climbed a tree near the camp, and fixed a telescope, with which they saw the Highland army marching towards Falkirk, by the south side of the Torwood. They immediately informed Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, their commanding officer, of what they had seen, who went to Callender House, where General Hawley was, and told him that the rebels were marching towards the King's army. The General said, that the men might put on their accoutrements, but there was no necessity for them to be under arms. Between one and two o'clock, some people who attended the army well mounted, and rode about to procure intelligence, came in upon the spur, and reported, that the rebel army was advancing by the south side of the Torwood; that they had seen them on the other side of the river Carron, which they were going to cross at Dunipace.†

* One of the officers is now Colonel Teesdale.
† Dunipace is about three miles and a half from Falkirk.
The Highlanders coming by Dunipace were evidently pointing towards Falkirk Moor, and the high ground on the left of the King's army. General Hawley not being come from Callender, this piece of intelligence alarmed the troops: one might hear the officers saying to one another, Where is the General? what shall be done? we have no orders. The commanding officers, in the meantime, formed their regiments upon the ground in the front of the camp. When General Hawley came, he ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march to the Moor, and take possession of the high ground between them and the rebels: he ordered the infantry to follow. At the very instant the regiments of foot began to march, the day was overcast; and by and by a storm of wind and rain beat directly in the face of the soldiers, who were marching up the hill with their bayonets fixed, and could not secure their pieces from the rain. The cavalry was a good way before the infantry, and for some time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill. The rebel army was marching in two columns about 200 paces asunder. The column which was to the south-west, and marched on the right of the other, consisted of all the Lowcountry regiments, of the Maclachlans, with the Athol brigade, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. The column to the north-
east consisted of the clan regiments which had been in England, and of the recruits sent up to them from the Highlands, with those clans formerly mentioned, who had been at Perth great part of the winter. The three Macdonald regiments, who were at the head of this column to the north, got first to the top of the hill, and, taking their ground where they had a morass upon their right flank, turned their back to the storm. The dragoons, who had not been able to prevent the Highlanders from gaining the high ground, halted at some distance from the Macdonalds, who were standing still to give time to those regiments that made part of the column with them, to form on their left; and to the south-west column to form the second line. In a short time their columns were reduced into two lines: the first line consisted altogether of Highlanders. The three Macdonald regiments, Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengary, had the right, standing in the order they are mentioned: next to the Macdonalds of Glengary stood a small battalion of Farquharsons.* On the left of

* The Farquharsons had two regiments in the rebel army; for, like the Macdonalds, they had more than one chief, Farquharson of Invercauld. One of their chiefs was a Captain of foot in the King's army, but his clan, commanded by Farquhar-
the Farquharsons were the Mackenzies, the Macintoshes, the Macphersons, the Frazers, the Campbells, and the Stuarts. The second line consisted of the Athol brigade, which had the right; of Lord Ogilvie’s regiment and Lord Lewis Gordon’s (each of them two battalions;) of the Maclachlans, and Lord John Drummond’s regiment.

Charles placed himself in the rear of the second line with the Irish piquets, and some horse,* as a body of reserve.

son of Monaltry, one of the chieftains, made part of the rebel army. Farquharson of Bumarrel, with his men, was in the first line at the battle of Falkirk. Monaltry, with his regiment of Farquharsons, escorted the cannon of the rebel army, and was not in the action.

* As to the position of their cavalry, the rebel officers gave different accounts of it. Some of them said, that the two troops of horse-guards, and Pistligo’s horse, were posted between the first and second line. Other officers said, that most of the horse were on the flanks of their second line, or rather behind it. Lord George Murray, in his account of the battle of Falkirk, says, that Lord Elcho, with his troop of horse-guards, and some other horse, were drawn up behind the Athol brigade, which, having a morass on its right, there was not room for the horse to form between the brigade and the morass. Lord John Drummond, who commanded the body of troops that made the feint, remained with them upon the high road till the Highlanders passed the Carron; he then crossed over, followed the army, and joined Charles, who was with the reserve.
The infantry of the King's army was also formed in two lines, with a body of reserve. The first line consisted of a battalion of the Royal, of the regiments of Wolfe, Cholmondeley, Pultney, Price, and Ligonier. The Royal had the right of the first line, and Wolfe's regiment the left. The second line consisted of Burrell's regiment, Blakeney's, Munro's, Battereau's, and Fleming's: Burrell's regiment had the right of this line, and Blakeney's the left. Howard's regiment formed a body of reserve. The dragoons that were advanced before the infantry, and a good way to their left, having large intervals between their squadrons, extended so far that they covered a great part of the first line of the rebel army, for the left of the dragoons was opposite to Keppoch's regiment, and their right to the centre of Lord Lovat's, which was the third regiment from the left of the rebels. Behind the greater part of this body of cavalry there was no infantry but the Glasgow regiment, which, being newly levied, was not allowed to have a place either in the first or second line, but stood by itself near some cottages behind the left of the dragoons. Most of the regiments of foot in the King's army were standing on the declivity of the hill. More than one regiment both of the first and second line stood higher up, and on ground somewhat more plain and level. The Highlanders towards the left of their first line saw the foot of the
King's army; the Highlanders on the right of the first line saw no foot at all; for besides the great inequality of the ground, the storm of wind and rain continued, and the darkness increased so much, that nobody could see very far. To conclude this account of the field of battle, and the position of the regiments, there was a ravine or gully which separated the right of the King's army from the left of the rebels. This ravine began on the declivity of the hill, directly opposite to the centre of Lord Lovat's regiment, and went down due north, still deeper and wider, to the plain. The right of the King's army, standing on the east side of this ravine, outlined the left of the rebels by two regiments, and the right of the rebels outlined the left of the King's infantry much more. Neither army had any cannon with them; for the Highlanders had marched so fast, to get to the high ground before the dragoons, that they had left their field-pieces about a mile behind them. General Hawley's cannon were stuck fast at the bottom of the hill. The infantry of the King's army not being completely formed, (for several companies of Fleming's regiment were only coming up to take their place in the centre of the second line,) when General Hawley sent an order to Colonel Ligonier, who commanded the cavalry, to attack the rebels; Colonel Ligonier, with the three regiments of dragoons, advanced against the High-
landers, who at that very instant began to move towards the dragoons. Lord George Murray* was marching at the head of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, with his drawn sword in his hand, and his target on his arm. He let the dragoons come within ten or twelve paces of him, and then gave orders to fire. The Macdonalds of Keppoch began the fire, which ran down the line from them to Lord Lovat's regiment. This heavy fire repulsed the dragoons. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments wheeled about, and fled directly back: Cobham's regiment wheeled to the right, and went off between the two armies, receiving a good deal of fire as they passed the left of the rebels. When the dragoons were gone, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch to keep their ranks, and stand firm. The same order was sent to the other two Macdonald regiments, but a great part of the men in these two regiments, with all the regiments to their left, (whose fire had repulsed

* Lord George Murray, from the place where he stood on the right of the first line, saw none of the infantry of the King's army; and he ordered Colonel Roy Stuart and Anderson (the guide at the battle of Preston) who were both on horseback, to go as near the dragoons as they could, and see if there was any foot behind them; they went very near the dragoons, and returning to Lord George Murray, told him they had not seen any infantry. Lord George immediately ordered his men to march and attack the dragoons.
the dragoons) immediately pursued. When they came near the foot of the King's army, some regiments of the first line gave them a fire: the rebels returned the fire, and throwing down their muskets, drew their swords and attacked the regiments in the left of the King's army, both in front and flank: all the regiments in the first line of the King's army gave way, as did most of the regiments of the second line. It seemed a total rout; and for some time General Hawley did not know that any one regiment of his army was standing;*

*General Hawley, when he sent the order to Colonel Ligonier to attack the rebels, was standing a little behind the three regiments of dragoons. When the dragoons were repulsed by the fire of the rebels; and most of the regiments of foot, attacked in front and flank, gave way, General Hawley, involved in a crowd of horse and foot, came to the Edinburgh company of volunteers, which, having marched up the hill in the rear of Fleming's regiment, was standing by itself, and had not begun to fly. The company was commanded by their lieutenant; for the captain, William Macghie, when the alarm came that the rebels were marching towards the King's army, had gone in quest of General Hawley, to know if he pleased to assign the company of volunteers any post, which they would do their utmost to maintain. The lieutenant knew General Hawley very well, having waited on him several times at Holyrood house, and asked if there were any regiments standing; where they were. The General made no answer to his questions, but pointing to a fold for cattle which was close by, called to him to get in there with his men. The disorder and confusion increased, and General Hawley rode down the hill.
but Burrel's regiment stood, and joined by part of
two regiments of the first line (Price's and Ligo-
nier's) moved to their left, till they came directly
opposite to the Camerons and Stuarts, and began
to fire upon them across the ravine. The High-
landers returned the fire, but the fire of the King's
troops was so much superior, that the rebels, after
losing a good many men, fell back a little, still
keeping the high ground on their side of the ra-
vine. The stand which these regiments made put
a stop to the pursuit, and recalled the pursuers;
who, when they heard so much fire behind them,
turned back, and made what haste they could to
the ground where they stood before the battle be-
gan, expecting to find their second line; but when
they came there, the second line was not to be
found. Most of the men in those regiments
which stood behind the clans of the first line that
attacked the foot of the King's army, seeing the
wonderful success of that attack, crowded in after
the pursuers, and followed the chase; but many
of the men belonging to the regiments that were
thinned in this manner, hearing the repeated fires
given by the King's troops across the ravine,
thought it was most likely that the Highland
army would be defeated; and that the best thing
they could do was to save themselves by leaving
the field when they might: accordingly they did
so, and went off to the westward. At this moment
the field of battle presented a spectacle seldom seen in war, whose great events Fortune is said to rule.* Part of the King's army, much the greater part, was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward. Not one regiment of the second line of the rebels remained in its place; for the Athol brigade, being left almost alone on the right, marched up to the first line, and joined Lord George Murray where he stood with the Macdonalds of Keppoch. Between this body of men on the right of the first line, and the Camerons and Stuarts on the left (who had retreated a little from the fire of the troops across the ravine), there was a considerable space altogether void and empty, those men excepted who had returned from the chase, and were straggling about in great disorder and confusion, with nothing in their hands but their swords. By and by Lord George Murray with his men joined them, and Charles with the Irish piquets, and some other troops of the reserve, came up from the rear. The presence of Charles encouraged the Highlanders: he commended their valour; made them take up the muskets which lay thick upon the ground; and ordering them to follow him, led them to the brow of the hill. At the approach of so consider-

* In rebus bellicis maxime dominatur Fortuna.  
Tacitus.