

CHAPTER XX.

Proceedings on the death of queen Anne.—George I. proclaimed king.—His arrival in England.—Sophia, princess of Zell.—Ministerial arrangements.—Parliament.—Impeachments of queen Anne's late ministers.—Riots in England.—Insurrection in Scotland.—Insurrection in England.—The march to Preston.—Surrender of the rebels at Preston.—Battle of Sheriffmuir.—The Pretender in Scotland.—His flight to France.—Impeachments of the rebel lords.—Executions and escapes of leaders.—Fate of the humbler insurgents.

AT seven o'clock of the morning of the first of August, 1714, queen Anne died. The course of proceeding under this event had been determined by Statute in 1705. The Council was immediately to meet, and then to open three sealed packets, which contained the names of persons nominated by the Protestant successor to the throne, to act with seven great officers of state named in the statute, as Lord Justices. No contest, therefore, could arise about the temporary possession of authority. When the dying queen appointed Shrewsbury Lord High Treasurer, the hopes of the Jacobite party received a fatal blow. When the sealed packets were opened, and eighteen peers, the greater number of whom were Whigs, were nominated by the Elector of Hanover, the schemes for the restoration of the exiled family, which had been gradually maturing in the last four years of the reign of Anne, were more effectually crushed. The French agent wrote to Louis XIV. that Bolingbroke was grievously disappointed; for he had said, that in six weeks, if the queen's death had not occurred, matters would have been in such a state that there would have been nothing to fear for the future. "What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us," writes Bolingbroke to Swift. There was a bold accomplice in Bolingbroke's plots who was not inclined at first to grieve over the caprices of fortune. It is related upon the authority of Dr. Lockier, dean of Peterborough, that, upon the death of the queen, Atterbury urged the immediate proclamation of the Pretender, to which Ormond demurring, the bishop replied with an oath, "we have not a moment to lose." Lockier, who was a personal friend of George I., says, "such a bold step would have made people believe that they [the Jacobites] were stronger than they really were; and might have taken strangely. The late

king, I am persuaded, would not have stirred a foot, if there had been a strong opposition; indeed the family did not expect this crown; at least nobody in it, but the old princess Sophia." * Opposition there was none. The Lords Justices issued a proclamation, declaring that the high and mighty prince George, elector of Brunswick Lüneburg, had, by the death of queen Anne, become our rightful and liege lord, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. Multitudes crowded round the heralds as they proclaimed the stranger king. Not a voice of dissent was raised. The same afternoon the Parliament met, according to the provision of the Act of Regency. The Lords Justices entered upon their administrative functions. The Peers and the Commons sent congratulations to the new sovereign upon his happy and peaceable accession to the throne, and besought his majesty to give the kingdom the advantage of his royal presence as soon as possible. The Civil List was settled upon the same scale as had been granted to queen Anne. Throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, no popular discontent was manifested. The title of king George was recognized by France and the other European powers, whether Protestant or Catholic. There was partial dissatisfaction, no doubt, amongst some of that class of politicians whose loyalty was determined by the extent to which their personal interests were expected to be gratified. The name of Marlborough was not found in the list of those nominated to the Regency; and he retired to the country, after having made a sort of triumphal entry into London. Many a solicitation for place and preferment went over to Hanover. But the new king exhibited no eagerness to quit the quiet country where he was respected, and where he had no contests of Whig and Tory to disturb his peace. It was the 18th of September when George, accompanied by his eldest son, landed at Greenwich.

That the new king should have been received with acclamations when he set his foot on English soil was a matter of course. But his personal appearance and demeanour were not calculated to excite any fervid enthusiasm. He was fifty-four years of age. He was below the middle stature. He was shy and awkward. He could not speak English. His public virtues were probably little known to his new subjects. Possessing despotic power, he had governed his Hanoverians wisely and beneficently; and the people shed tears of real grief when he left them. He had no showy qualities. He was unfortunate in his marriage, and did not win popular respect by the exercise of the domestic virtues. Every

* Spence's "Anecdotes," p. 55.

one knew that twenty years before the Elector George Louis was called to the throne of England—that is, in 1694, when he was electoral heir apparent—some terrible tragedy had occurred in the palace of Hanover. Count Philip Königsmark suddenly disappeared. Princess Sophia Dorothea, the wife of the electoral prince, was divorced in a somewhat irregular way, by a court held at Hanover; and was now pining away her life in the castle of Aldhen, with no glimpse of the outer world but the dreary Heath of Lüneburg. “Old peasants, late in the next century, will remember that they used to see her sometimes driving on the Heath—beautiful lady, long black hair, and glitter of diamonds in it; sometimes the reins in her own hand, but always with a party of cavalry around her, and their swords drawn.”* Sophia, born princess of Zell, was the mother of George II., who constantly asserted her innocence. Of her imprudence there could be no doubt. Her sad story had furnished abundant matter of controversy. After the death of George I., under the floor of the princess’s dressing-room, a body was discovered, which was considered to be that of count Königsmark. Horace Walpole, who derived his information from his father sir Robert, assumes that the unfortunate victim of jealousy was there secretly strangled. Later accounts alleged that there was a scene of violence and loss of life, in which Königsmark had openly to encounter many persons. “It has at length,” says the historian of Frederick the Great, “become a certainty, a clear fact, to those who are curious about it . . . Crime enough is in it, sin and folly on both sides; there is killing too, but not assassination (as it turns out); on the whole there is nothing of atrocity, and nothing that was not accidental, unavoidable;—and there is a certain greatness of decorum on the part of those Hanover princes and official gentlemen, a depth of silence, of polite stoicism, which deserves more praise than it will get in our times.”†

The unostentatious sovereign, “all dressed in brown, even his stockings,” ‡ was not fitted by nature to form for himself a court-party, by which he might in some degree have neutralized the two great parliamentary parties. He had been accustomed to govern a small country through ministers to whom his will was law; and he did not understand the complications which made the king of England in many respects the possessor of a nominal power, whilst the real power was with those called his servants. The novelty of his position is well illustrated by his majesty’s account of one of his earliest impressions. He said, “This is a strange

* Carlyle, “Friedrich II. of Prussia,” vol. i. p. 34.

† *Ibid.*, p. 35.

‡ “Walpoliana.”

country. The first morning after my arrival at St. James’s, I looked out of the window, and saw a park, with canals, &c., which they told me were mine. The next day, lord Chetwynd, the ranger of *my* park sent me a fine brace of carp out of *my* canal; and I was told I must give five guineas to lord Chetwynd’s servant for bringing me *my own* carp out of *my own* canal in *my own* park.”* King George was inevitably and completely thrown into the hands of the great Whig party to whose firmness and decision he was indebted for his quiet accession to the throne. It was not a question, as in the early days of king William, whether the government could be best conducted by the union of party leaders, or by one dominant party. George had not the ability, or the ambition, to be in many respects his own minister, as William was. He had to rely upon the chiefs of the party who upheld his parliamentary title to the crown, in opposition to the party who would have clung to the hereditary title. The Chevalier St. George had issued from Lorraine, on the 29th of August, a manifesto, in which he asserted his right to the throne. He had been inactive, he said, “until the death of the princess, our sister, of whose good intention towards us we could not for some time past well doubt; and this was the reason we then sat still expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death.” Bolingbroke, the chief encourager of those good intentions, was removed from the office of Secretary of State; and the seals were taken from him with some impolitic want of respect. Lord Townshend was appointed in his place; and other great offices were filled up by leading Whigs. The doubts of Marlborough’s fidelity to the Hanoverian succession had been manifested by the omission of his name in the Council of Regency. He was, nevertheless, nominated to his former offices of Captain General and Master of the Ordnance. Trusted, however, he was not; and he justified the suspicious which attached to his proverbial faithlessness by sending, as a loan, a sum of money to the Pretender, just before the unsuccessful issue of the rising of 1715 furnished evidence that the Stuart cause had become in a great degree hopeless.

The coronation of the king took place on the 20th of October. The peers of both parties attended the ceremony. In January the Parliament was dissolved, and the writs for a new election were sent out. When the two Houses met on the 17th of March, the preponderance of the Whigs was decidedly manifested. The king opened the Parliament in person; but his speech was read by the lord chancellor. Its tone was moderate and conciliatory. “Let

* H. Walpole. “Reminiscences of the Court of George I. and II.”

no unhappy divisions of parties here at home divert you from pursuing the common interest of your country." The Address of the Peers contained a passage which excited an animated debate, in which Bolingbroke spoke for the last time. "To recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts" was held to be injurious to the memory of the late queen. The offensive sentence was carried by a large majority. The Address of the Commons was still more pointed against the latter advisers of queen Anne. The Pretender's hopes, it was said, "were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment." It was clear that the new possessors of power would not attempt to win over their enemies by conciliation. Oxford, who was probably not so deeply committed as some of his colleagues, patiently awaited the approaching storm. Ormond braved its utmost fury and openly associated with the most suspected Jacobites. Bolingbroke appeared at Drury-lane Theatre; bespoke a play for the ensuing night's performance; and then fled to France. He soon after became secretary of state to the prince who asserted his right to the crown of England as James III., and to the crown of Scotland as James VIII. On the 9th of April, the Secretary of State, Stanhope, laid a mass of papers on the table of the Commons, which had reference to the peace of Utrecht and the cessation of arms which preceded it. These were referred to a secret committee. On the 9th of June their Report was presented; and then Walpole rose and impeached Bolingbroke of high treason. The resolution of impeachment was passed without a division. Lord Coningsby then impeached Robert, earl of Oxford, of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanours. This resolution was also carried without a division. On the 21st of June, a similar impeachment of Ormond was decided by a majority of forty-seven. Ormond followed Bolingbroke in his flight to France. Acts of Attainder were immediately passed against both these fugitives. Oxford was impeached at the bar of the Lords, and was committed to the Tower.

During the autumn of 1714 it became manifest that the old High Church spirit was again stirring up the bitterest party strife. There were riots at Bristol on the night of the king's coronation, when the cry was, "Down with the Roundheads! God bless Doctor Sacheverel!" At Birmingham, Norwich, Reading, and other towns, there were similar disturbances. The elections of the spring of 1715 were conducted with more violent excitement than at any pre-

vious period. Mob intimidation was held to be more effective even than bribery. The impeachments of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond were followed by riots of a really serious character. At Manchester, in June, the meeting-houses of Dissenters were destroyed by a triumphant mob; the prisons were thrown open; the health of king James was openly drunk. In July, tumults of an alarming nature occurred in the Midland counties, especially in Staffordshire, where the dissenters were the universal objects of outrage. The powers of the justice of peace and the constable were quite unequal to cope with these manifestations of the blind fury of the populace. These disturbances gave occasion to the Riot Act, which, with some modifications, continues to be the law of the land.

On the 21st of September the Parliament was adjourned. The royal speech alluded to an event of momentous importance, "the open and declared rebellion which is now actually begun in Scotland." Since the abortive attempt of Prince James Edward to invade Scotland with a French army in 1708, there had been outward tranquillity; but there was considerable dissatisfaction amongst the Scottish adherents to the national independence, which they held was imperilled by the Union. There had been serious differences, also, between the Presbyterians and the tolerated Episcopalians. The Hanoverian king had been proclaimed at Edinburgh without any manifestations opposed to the triumphant attitude of the Whigs. The Jacobites "were so confounded at this surprising turn of Providence, that they durst not move a tongue against it in public." * Yet the numerical strength of the scattered supporters of the old dynasty in Scotland was probably greater than that of the sober and industrious inhabitants of towns, who had a natural horror of political convulsions. The Lowland Lairds, a jovial and thoughtless race, having little acquaintance with the real business of life, and very slight participation in the conduct of public affairs, were ready enough to hiccup out sedition as they drained their punch-bowls to the health of king James. They could enforce military service upon the theory of feudal obedience; but they had lost the power of practically organizing those tenants who were once content to be accounted vassals. On the contrary, in the Highlands there was still in vigour the old clannish spirit, which could readily convert the mountaineers into a formidable army. If the Chiefs of clans could again agree to take part in a general insurrection, they might co-operate with the discontented Lowlanders; and with the aid of the Roman Catholic gentry of the English border counties, the Hanoverian succession might be overthrown by one vigor-

* Rae, quoted in Burton, vol. ii. p. 87.

ous blow. Such was the belief that produced the Rebellion of 1715.

Amongst the Scottish nobles who had advocated the Union none had been more zealous than John Erskine, earl of Mar, who came to Edinburgh as Secretary of State in 1706, under the Whigs, and continued to be Secretary under the Tories. His happy art of accommodating himself to circumstances procured him the name of "Bobbing John." In the interval between the death of queen Anne and the arrival of king George in England, the earl of Mar addressed a letter to his new sovereign, in which, as one of his Secretaries of State, he congratulated him upon his happy accession; set forth that his own sincerity and faithfulness were out of dispute, seeing the part he acted "in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the Crown of Scotland was settled in your majesty's family;" and protested that "your majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of my family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late mistress the queen." The advisers of George had small confidence in these protestations; and upon the changes which ensued after the arrival of the king, the earl of Mar was removed from his important office, and the duke of Montrose was appointed in his stead. He came to London; married a daughter of the duke of Kingston, one of the great Whig party; attended the royal levee on the 1st of August; and on the 2nd was on his way to Scotland to organize an insurrection. In one of the most curious Memoirs of that period, the Master of Sinclair, who took an important part in the great rising of 1715, directs against Mar the extremest force of "the peculiar tone of asperity" which caused his narrative to be so long withheld from the public eye.* In his view the mind of Mar was as deformed as his body. The motives of Mar in raising the standard of revolt are thus described by this bitter censor: "Having no other game to play, knowing that the mobs and broils in England had roused the Scots Tories, who were very attentive to all that passed there, which, according to their laudable custom, they magnified to cheat themselves, he did not know how far, with his management, and making use of so favourable a conjuncture, he might work them up before things turned stale, and while their spirits were in a ferment. If, by the force of lying, and making them believe he was trusted by the English Jacobites and the king [James], he should succeed in raising them, no matter what came

* Preface to "Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715. By John Master of Sinclair. From the original manuscript in the possession of the earl of Rosslyn. With notes by Sir Walter Scott, Bart." Printed for the Abbotsford Club, 1853.

of it, he could lose nothing, not even a reputation."* Even sir Walter Scott gives Mar credit for no higher principles of action, than "disappointed ambition and mortified pride."† Disguised as a working man, the earl, with two friends and two servants, sailed from London to Newcastle in a collier; and there hiring a vessel, went up the Frith of Forth, and landed at Elie, a village in Fifeshire. In his way to his castle of Kildrummie, he issued invitations for a great hunting-party in the forest of Mar. On the 26th of August, several noblemen, and gentlemen of "interest in the Highlands," were assembled round Mar's castle, with a following of about eight hundred men. On the 3rd of September a meeting of a more select number was held at Aboyne, a castle of the Gordon family; when Mar, "telling them of his design, he showed them the king's picture, which was all the credentials he had."‡ This portrait he repeatedly kissed. He subsequently issued a manifesto announcing his appointment to command the forces, which appointment the Master of Sinclair holds to have been forged. On the 6th of September, the earl of Mar, in his capacity of General, raised the royal standard in Braemar, and proclaimed James VIII. king of Scotland, and James III. king of England. The Highlanders beheld with dismay the fearful omen of the gilt ball on the top of the flagstaff being carried away by a gust of wind. The chiefs separated, to send the fiery cross through their districts, at whose sight their vassals were expected to prepare to appear in arms at a general rendezvous. Mar accompanied the signal by a gentle enforcement of his commands, addressed to his baillie of the lordship of Kildrummie: "Let my own tenants in Kildrummie know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this only a threat,—but by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I expect them in their best accoutrements on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your king and country."§

The tenants upon whom Mar desired to enforce this obedience to his arbitrary will, were not under the absolute command of a chief as were the Highland clans. They are described as people of a Lowland origin, who spoke the English language with the

* Memoirs, p. 67.

† Introductory Notice, p. xv.

‡ Memoirs, p. 20.

§ Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather."

northern accent.* A more unlimited authority was exercised over their Highlanders by the marquis of Tullibardine, the eldest son of the duke of Athol; by the marquis of Huntly, the eldest son of the duke of Gordon; by the earl of Panmure; by the earl of Southesk; and by many lesser chieftains, under whose command the white cockade was speedily worn by their devoted vassals. The great soldier and statesman, John, duke of Argyle—the Mac Cullum Mhor, under whose command thousands of Celtic followers would fight either for king James or king George—was the staunch supporter of the Hanoverian succession, and to him was confided the command of the government forces in Scotland. The general body of Presbyterians soon saw that, although they might clamour against the Union and the Whig ministers, there was no alliance for them with the Roman Catholic and the Episcopalian supporters of king James. There was many a discontented laird like the Master of Sinclair, who “had an innate zeal and affection for all the remains of the old royal family of Scotland;” and had a great contempt for the “wretches of a mushroom growth,” who had been thriving upon the improving industry of the country, “and thereby put themselves upon a level with those whose vassals they were not long before.” † The people, properly so called, had no participation in the rising of 1715. Wherever there was wealth, the fruit of industrious labour—as in the country south of the Forth and the Clyde—Jacobitism had no strong hold. From the Highlands, with the exception of a few districts, the discontented chieftains could carry a large following to the field. In the northern counties of England, there were so many Jacobites and Papists; but the rebel leaders of Scotland were wofully deceived in the expectation from them of any important aid. According to sir Walter Scott “the handful of Northumberland fox-hunters seem never to have had any serious thoughts of fighting, and soon sickened of it.” ‡

At the moment when Mar raised the standard of revolt in Scotland, the news arrived of the death of Louis XIV. The great monarch died on the 1st of September. Bolingbroke, who as long as the king lived was sanguine of engaging the aid of France in the restoration of the Stuart family, wrote to his friend sir William Wyndham, “my hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired.” The Scottish Jacobites affected to make light of the loss of this consistent supporter of their cause. One of them said to the Master of Sinclair, “a young prince, such as the Regent, would push our affair with more vigour than the old king, who was

* Burton, “History of Scotland,” vol. ii. p. 108.

† Memoirs, p. 2.

‡ Introductory Notice to the Memoirs of the Master of Sinclair, p. xvi.

half-doated.” The Regent duke of Orleans was more politic than to quarrel with the English government, and he not only rendered no assistance, but intercepted the military stores provided for the insurgents at the expense of the Chevalier St. George. The “honest men,” as the Jacobites named their party, were left to their own resources. Some of their first movements were successful. Others as signally failed. They were defeated in a bold attempt to seize the castle of Edinburgh, on the 9th of September. Lord Drummond had concerted this enterprise with ninety gentlemen, according to one authority;* with fifty young apprentices, advocates’ servants, writers, and some servants of the governments, according to the Master of Sinclair. They had corrupted a serjeant, a corporal, and two sentinels of the garrison. The sentinel on duty was to draw up a scaling-ladder; and the operation was being performed, when the ladder was found too short. In this dilemma, they lingered and hesitated till the patrol approached to relieve the sentinel; when he threw down the grappling-iron, fired his piece, and shouted “enemy.” The conspirators escaped as well as they could; but four or five were secured by the civil authorities, as they leapt down from the lower shelf of the rock. The Master of Sinclair, who had joined the insurgents in spite of his doubts of their prudence and his contempt of their leader, set out from the camp at Perth at the head of four hundred horsemen, each with a trooper behind him; and having marched through Fife with great expedition, succeeded in boarding a government vessel laden with arms that was at anchor near Burntisland. They thus obtained the means of arming four hundred rebels, and returned unmolested to the head-quarters at Perth, where Mar had now about twelve thousand men under his command. As usual with the Highland chieftains, some were quarrelling about the post of honour, and all were waiting the opportunity for some lucky undertaking, and neglecting the means of their own safety. The Master of Sinclair says, “Mar, after coming into Perth, did nothing all this while but write; and, as if all had depended on his writing, nobody moved in any one thing. There was not a word spoke of fortifying the town, nor the least care taken of sending for powder to any place. We did not want gunsmiths; and yet none of them were employed in mending our old arms. Whoever spoke of these things, which I did often, was giving himself airs; for we lived very well; and as long as meat, drink, and money was not wanting, what was the need of any more?” † The leaders in this strange insurrection seemed to believe that the mere announcement of their intentions

* Patten.

† Memoirs, p. 92.

to place James on the throne, coupled with their impolitic reliance on Mar's assurance that their king was coming with irresistible aid from France, would suffice for their triumph in Scotland, whilst the advance of some of their forces into England would at once drive the elector of Hanover from his usurped power.

At the beginning of October, the duke of Argyle was at Stirling, with about fifteen hundred regular troops. Small as this army was, the position of Argyle was such that Mar could not venture an attempt to force a passage, if he desired to move southward to assist a rising on the English border. Nor could he venture with his main body to cross the Frith of Forth, for a large naval force was cruising on that coast. Moreover, Mar, if these impediments could have been overcome, could not safely move his whole army; for he had received letters from Bolingbroke stating "that in all probability the king would land very quickly in the north of Scotland." It was therefore determined to send a large detachment of the rebel force to the aid of the southern insurgents; whilst the main army remained at Perth to await their expected royal leader. This determination was executed with skill and boldness. Two thousand five hundred men marched under the command of brigadier Mac Intosh, an experienced soldier, towards the coast of Fife, where a number of boats had been collected in various small harbours. To divert the English cruisers, an appearance of bustle in preparing craft was made in the neighbourhood of Burntisland; whilst an embarkation of troops took place at Craile, Anstruther, and other small places, where the estuary was broadest, and a passage in open boats would be considered hazardous. On the night of the 2nd of October sixteen hundred men were thus carried across to landing-places on the southern coast of the Forth, near North Berwick. Another detachment, which sailed later, was not so successful; for the government vessels were then on the alert, and a portion of the troops had to return to the Fife coast, whilst three hundred landed on the Isle of May, having been chased thither by ships of war. These men, under the leadership of lord William Murray, sustained great privations, having been blockaded on the island by the government vessels. The Master of Sinclair, who seldom indulges in panegyric, pays a tribute to the heroism of this fourth son of the duke of Athol,—“the school-boy” who kept his men together, and refused himself to leave the island, till he brought them all safely off. Mac Intosh and his little army were tempted to depart from the instructions of Mar to go “on south, to meet our friends who are in arms there,” so as to be out of Argyle's reach before he could come up with them. They

resolved, on the contrary, to attack Edinburgh before Argyle could be there to defend it. But the delay of a day in their western march afforded time to the civic authorities to summon the duke from Stirling; and he was at Edinburgh with five hundred horse, as the foot soldiers of Mac Intosh arrived. They found no supporters waiting for them in arms; and they marched to Leith, which town they entered without resistance; and then posted themselves in the remains of the citadel, built by Cromwell, but demolished at the Restoration. Here, having seized some cannon and ammunition from vessels in the harbour, they were enabled to show so firm an attitude, that Argyle, having no artillery, thought it imprudent to attack them. After having held Leith for two days, the insurgents, on the night of the 15th, marched at the lowest ebb of the tide, along the sands beyond Musselburgh; and they reached Seton House, the castellated mansion of the earl of Winton, early in the morning of the 16th. Here they remained safely till the 19th; for Argyle had hurried back to Stirling, on receiving intelligence that Mar's army was moving southward. The movement of Mar was a judicious feint to avert the attack that would probably have been fatal to the band of Mac Intosh.

The march of these Highlanders to the south of Scotland, and onward to Preston, has been minutely described by one who deserted their cause and gave testimony against his confederates, but whose narrative is full of those curious details which personal observation can alone supply.* On the first day of their march they reached Longformachus. On the 2nd day, at Dunse, they proclaimed king James, the Highlanders being drawn up in order of battle. On arriving at Kelso, on the 22nd, they were met, according to appointment, by a body of horsemen from the south of Scotland, and of Northumbrians. The Scots were under the command of lord Kenmure; the English under that of Mr. Forster. These leaders were chosen as being Protestants, to counteract the prevailing opinion that this was a Roman Catholic insurrection. The number of the English did not exceed three hundred. Having crossed the deep and rapid Tweed, they entered the town; and the Highlanders soon joined them from the Scottish side, “with their bag-pipes playing, led by old Mac Intosh; but they made a very indifferent figure; for the rain and their long marches had extremely fatigued them, though their old brigadier, who marched at the head of them, appeared very well.”† Amongst the English was

* “The History of the late Rebellion, &c. By the Rev. Mr. Robert Patten, formerly chaplain to Mr. Forster.” 2d edit., 1717.

† Patten, p. 39.

lord Derwentwater, who, with many friends, and all his servants, "mounted, some upon his coach-horses, and others upon very good useful horses, and all very well armed," had united his fortunes, and given the countenance of his excellent character, to this feeble attempt to overthrow a strong government. On Sunday, the 23rd, the reverend Mr. Patten was directed to preach "at the great kirk of Kelso,"—the grand old Norman abbey church. Protestants and Papists both attended the service; and the chaplain pays his tribute of admiration to the decency and reverence with which the common Highlanders behaved. A Presbyterian clergyman preached in the afternoon. On the Monday, king James was proclaimed, "with colours flying, drums beating, and bag-pipes playing;" and a long document was read, entitled "Manifesto by the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted right of their lawful sovereign, James VIII., by the grace of God king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., and for relieving this, his ancient kingdom, from the oppressions and grievances it lies under." The evils of the Union were dwelt upon in this manifesto. It talked about the preservation of laws, liberties, and property, with freedom from foreign domination; and it inferred that the restoration of the Stuarts would be the best security for the Protestant religion. Never were words more unmeaningly used, to cover the one design which was clearly enough expressed in the text which Mr. Patten chose for his sermon: "The right of the first-born is his." And so the borderers who stood armed in the market-place at Kelso shouted "No Union! No malt-tax! No salt-tax!" and the poor Highlanders probably wondered how nobly the English gentlemen who were assembled with their fiery racers and hunters, and were surrounded by their liveried servants, would be able to reward them for having left their native hills to engage in a cause of which nothing was said that they could comprehend. The insurgents lingered at Kelso for five days; and the little army of about fourteen hundred men moved forward. They at last moved, after much debate whether they should march to the west of Scotland, and attack Dumfries and Glasgow; or return northward, and give battle to general Carpenter, who was following them, as they knew; or go boldly into England, where they were assured twenty thousand men of Lancashire would join them. This plan was at last resolved upon; and the march was commenced to Jedburgh, and thence to Hawick. Here the Highlanders resisted the decision to cross the Border. They separated themselves, and went to the top of a rising ground; there resting their arms, and declaring that

"they would fight if they would lead them on to the enemy, but they would not go to England." Lord Winton had told them, that if they went to England, they would be all cut in pieces, or sold for slaves. They, however, agreed to keep together as long as they stayed in Scotland. As the little army advanced in a westerly direction along the border, their discontent became more manifest. They were threatened by their southern allies, whom they appeared more ready to fight than to obey. They were tempted by the offer of sixpence a day—a promise to them of fabulous wealth. But five hundred of the obstinate mountaineers went off, and dispersed themselves in the hills and moors, in the hope to reach sooner or later, their distant homes. On the 31st of October, the diminished forces had reached Longtown. When they were on English ground, the command of the whole band was assumed by Mr. Forster, who held his commission from the earl of Mar.

The insurgent force, although under imperfect discipline, and irregularly armed, was so formidable in its appearance, that fifteen thousand of the *posse comitatus*, called out to oppose them, fled in terror at their approach to Penrith. Of this valiant body lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle were the chief leaders. Patten, with a covert sarcasm, says that many blamed lord Lonsdale for his retreat; but those who knew how unprepared with arms and stores the multitude was, justly commended his wise conduct. At Penrith king James was proclaimed; and the Highlanders had the comfort of finding abundant good cheer which had been prepared for the English whom they had scared away. They conducted themselves with civility towards the inhabitants, who gazed with wonder, not unmixed with fear, upon the brigadier, who "looked with a grim countenance" as he rode at the head of his strangely accoutred men. Reaching Lancaster on the 7th of November, they were welcomed by Roman Catholic families; and it is recorded that "the gentlemen soldiers dressed and trimmed themselves up in their best clothes, for to drink a dish of tea with the ladies of this town."* Lancaster, with its castle, offered a strong position for defence; but, says Patten, "our infatuations were not yet over." Having halted for two days, they marched on to Preston, through roads which long after were described as the worst in England. This town obtained its name of "proud Preston," as being a favourite residence of the rich Catholic families. Two troops of dragoons quartered here moved off on the approach of the rebels. It seemed to them as if England could offer no resistance to their march. At Preston they were joined by many of the

* "Lancashire Memorials," quoted in Burton.