

tent, will naturally look out for redress from another quarter; and I think the events of that Session will naturally enough keep the people from ever expecting redress of their grievances in a parliamentary way, or from any change of a ministry, or indeed in any way, but by your majesty's restoration."\* These were the blind views of partizanship—views which the Stuarts, who knew little of the workings of representative government, and foreigners, who knew less of the anomalous conditions under which public liberty exists, were always prone to adopt. In a debate in the Commons, on the Bill to prevent correspondence with the Pretender's sons, it was justly said: "However much we here at home may distinguish between discontent and disaffection, it is not easy for foreigners to comprehend the distinction; therefore, when they hear of general discontents among the people, they are apt to conclude that the greatest part of the people are Jacobites, and that they may overthrow our established government by throwing in a handful of regular troops amongst us, to give countenance to a general insurrection."†

The popular temper of Scotland was essentially different from that of England. There was not only discontent; there was disaffection. In the Highlands there was a social organization peculiarly fitted to place a large military population under the absolute control of a few daring and ambitious chiefs. The feudal principle, that the will of the lord was the only law for his vassals, was eminently adapted to fit in with the principle of implicit obedience to the right divine of kings. The Highlanders had always despised the industry by which the Lowlanders were slowly advancing in wealth and civilization. The Lowlanders had always regarded with apprehension the bold and predatory habits of the Highlanders—dreaded them as thieves, and looked upon them with contempt as savages. But at the period of which we are speaking, "while the severance between the two races inhabiting Scotland was as distinct as ever—almost more distinct from Lowland progress in civilization—much of the hostile bitterness had passed away on both sides. The mountaineers were looked upon as kindly Scots, who were in some respects the main sufferers from common hardships."‡ It has been objected to Walpole, that, after the suppression of the rebellion in 1715, and during the long continuance of peace, he took no effectual means to make the Highlands a source of strength to the government,—to enlist the clans in the common service of the country, and to place confidence in their chiefs. Why should

\* Appendix to Lord Mahon's "History," vol. iii. p. 8.

† Mr. Legge. "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 866.

‡ Burton. "History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 366.

not Highlanders have formed then, as they have formed since, a powerful arm of the British military power? Mr. Burton has answered the question—"To have drafted so many of the clans, with their native hierarchy, into the British army, would have been, in many instances, embodying a force for the use of the exiled House."\* Duncan Forbes, in 1738, proposed that Highland regiments should be raised, to be commanded by an Englishman, but with Highland officers under him; and that these should be sent on foreign service. Chatham adopted this principle, after the last sparks of rebellion had been trodden out; but, in the meanwhile, the only native forces in the Highlands consisted of the independent companies, known as "the Black Watch,"—a sort of police, but wholly under the control of the chiefs of the clans from which they were taken. The Black Watch was abolished, and out of these companies was formed the famous Forty-Second. That regiment, when quartered in London in 1743, was exposed to the ignorant scoffs of a rude multitude, who laughed at their peculiar dress and their unintelligible language. "Proud as Spanish hidalgos," the whole body of rank and file marched off; and, having at length surrendered, some of the more mutinous were sent to the West Indies. The greater number, afterwards serving in Flanders, distinguished themselves for their steadiness and bravery. The Scottish Lowlanders at this period were far behind their English neighbours in agricultural and commercial industry. There was progress, but not rapid progress. Wherever there was poverty, it was attributed to the Union. The great support of the Stuarts was to be found in the Highlands; and that support almost wholly depended upon the absolute control of the chiefs over their clans. In the Lowlands, men judged for themselves; and weighed their real or imaginary grievances in one scale, and the danger of revolt in the other. But there was unquestionably a strong disposition to Jacobitism. There was irritation from fiscal exactions; there was irritation from the sensitiveness of national pride. But Jacobitism had also a strong hold upon the imaginative character of the Scottish people. Charles Edward, says Mr. Burton, "became a sort of idol of the imagination, with those whose politics and religion would have compelled them to vote against him, had the question of his succession to the crown been a matter of deliberative adjustment."

Whether Charles Edward understood, or not, the curious complication of motives upon which he was to depend for support in Scotland,—whether he correctly saw that in Scotland there were

\* Burton. "History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 383.

far stronger elements of success than in England,—he took the sound resolution of making a bold experiment for the restoration of his House, by throwing himself upon the loyalty of a people who would incur some peril to welcome a descendant of the Bruce. Since the failure of the expedition of 1744, the government of Louis XV. had manifested no inclination to render further assistance of men and money to a perilous enterprise. It has been pointed out “that several Protestant princes, the king of Prussia more especially, had remonstrated against the support which France was giving to the Roman Catholic party in Great Britain.\* Charles Edward was indignant at this lukewarmness. But he had made up his mind to a bold step; and he concealed his purpose with an adroitness which scarcely belonged to a young man of twenty-three, but with a sort of hereditary instinct. He writes to his father, in June, 1745, “If your majesty was in this country, I flatter myself you would be surprised to see with your own eyes how I blind several, and impose upon them, at the same time they think to do it to me.”† Five days afterwards, as he informs his father, Charles Edward has taken his final resolution: “I believe your majesty little expected a courier at this time, and much less from me, to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the crown, and them to their liberties. After such scandalous usage as I have received from the French court, had I not given my words to do so, or got so many encouragements from time to time as I have had, I should have been obliged in honour, and for my own reputation, to have flung myself into the arms of my friends, and die with them, rather than live longer in such a miserable way here, or be obliged to return to Rome, which would be just giving up all hopes. I cannot but mention a parable here, which is,—a horse that is to be sold, if spurred he does not skip, or show some sign of life, nobody would care to have him, even for nothing; just so my friends would care very little to have me, if, after such usage, which all the world is sensible of, I should not show that I have life in me. Your majesty cannot disapprove a son’s following the example of his father.”‡ He adds, in the same letter, “I have been obliged to steal off, without letting the king of France so much as suspect it.”

\* Mahon, upon the authority of “Mémoires de Noailles.”  
 † Appendix to Mahon, vol. iii. p. 13. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES

(Continued from Vol. V. p. 462.)

## NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.

THE following account of the Battle of Dettingen is extracted from an unpublished letter of the Hon. Henry Conway (afterwards Marshal Conway), addressed to his brother lord Conway, from the camp at Hainault, June 30, 1743, N. S. This letter forms part of a series in the possession of the author of ‘The Popular History of England.’ It is singular that Conway makes no allusion to the uncommon occurrence of a king of England being in the field.

“On Thursday last, the 26th, we marched at daybreak from our camp at Aschaffenburg, the Guards making the rear-guard of the army, which in a retreat is looked upon as the post of honour, but proved quite the contrary on this occasion by throwing us entirely out of the action; which happened thus:—Before we were marched much above a league from Aschaffenburg the enemy’s cannon began playing very briskly upon our vanguard from the other side of the river, and continued flanking us as we advanced towards a village called Detting upon the Maine; here the French to the number of forty thousand had passed the river upon two bridges of boats, and drew up as we advanced upon a plain before the village. Our army formed in two lines upon the plain, the first consisting of English, and the second of Austrians and Hanoverians. Our brigade, which I told you made the rear-guard with another of Hanoverians and a few horse, marched off to the right, to avoid being flanked by the French camp, and were posted upon a hill with a large wood between us and the rest of the army. This wood covered the right flank of our army, and the river was on the left. The attack was begun by the French horse, chiefly the Maison du Roi, upon our foot, who broke them entirely and repulsed them with great loss. Some of our horse and Dragoons suffered a good deal, particularly Bland’s Dragoons, of which but one squadron out of three remained fit for service, and very few of the officers escaped. Major Honeywood, who commanded them, received five wounds, and is thought in a dangerous way. They behaved with vast resolution, and broke five squadrons of the enemy. Ligonier’s Horse suffered a good deal, as did Pembroke’s (Honeywood’s now) from the cannon. The Blues suffered more in their reputation than otherwise; as did Honeywood’s at first, by doing what is vulgarly called running away—in the military phrase retreating with too much precipitation. The English foot, particularly Johnstoun’s, Onslow’s, and the old and new Buffs, behaved with astonishing bravery, and contributed greatly to our gaining what may be properly called a victory, as the enemy suffered a good deal in the flower of their troops, and left us master of the field, by retiring very precipitately over the Maine. As soon as the attack began, the Guards were missed, and sent for in great haste, but being ill-conducted by our guide, the enemy were retired before we came upon the plain, where we had the honour of sharing the victory by passing one of the wettest and coldest nights I ever felt upon the ground amongst the slain and wounded of both sides. Our loss is said at most not to exceed a thousand, and that of the French may, I believe, moderately be called four or five; some say seven or nine. What made it heavier to them was, that it fell amongst the best of their troops, as the Mousquetaires, of whom they say but fourscore remained out of 400. The Gendarmerie, Chevaux Legers, and Cuirassiers suffered vastly, as one might know from the vast number of breast-plates that were found on the field.”

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES.

(Continued from Vol. V., p. 265.)

- 1732 October 7 : peace between Sweden and Poland.
- 1733 October 10 : war declared by the king of France against the emperor, on account of the latter combining with the Russians to drive Stanislaus, father-in-law of the French king, from the throne of Poland, to which he had been elected on the death of Augustus II.
- 1735 October 3 : preliminaries of peace signed at Vienna, between France and the emperor. Spain acceded April 15, 1736.
- 1736 April 23 : war commenced between Russia and Turkey.
- 1737 May 4 : war declared against the Turks by the emperor.
- 1738 November 18 : *the definitive peace of Vienna*, between the emperor and the king of France, the latter power agreeing to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. Lorraine ceded to France.
- 1739 September 18 : *peace of Belgrade* between the emperor and the Turks, the emperor giving up Belgrade and Servia; this was speedily followed by a peace between Russia and Turkey, Russia surrendering Azoph and all her conquests on the Black Sea.
- 1739 October 23 : war declared by England against Spain.
- 1740 August : a subsidy treaty concluded between Great Britain and Hesse.
- 1740 October 20 : Charles VI., emperor of Germany, died, and was succeeded by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, which being opposed by the kings of Spain and Poland, who supported the right of the elector of Bavaria, founded on the will of Ferdinand I., gave rise to a war, in which most of the powers of Europe were engaged.
- 1741 Alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Holland, with the queen of Hungary (the empress Maria Theresa), for the purpose of supporting the interests of the house of Austria; France, Spain, and Sardinia uniting about the same time in the interest of the elector of Bavaria.
- 1742 June 28 : *peace of Berlin*, between the king of Prussia and the queen of Hungary. Silesia given up to Prussia.
- 1742 November 18 : a treaty for mutual defence and guarantee signed at Whitehall, between Great Britain and Prussia.
- 1743 June 24 : a defensive treaty concluded between Great Britain and Russia for fifteen years.
- 1743 August 7 : *Peace of Abo*, between Russia and Sweden.
- 1744 March 14 : war declared formally by Louis XV. against Great Britain, France having been previously engaged merely as ally of the elector of Bavaria.
- 1744 April 27 : war declared between the queen of Hungary and king of France.
- 1745 April 23 : *Peace of Fuessen*, between the queen of Hungary and elector of Bavaria.
- 1745 December 25 : *Peace of Dresden*, between Saxony, Prussia, and the queen of Hungary, confirming the treaties of Berlin and Breslau.
- 1748 April 30 : preliminary articles for the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle* signed by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Holland, to which the queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, and the duke of Modena, shortly after acceded, and Spain and Genoa before the end of June; in September and October the definitive treaty was concluded and signed by the respective powers. By this peace the treaties of Westphalia in 1648, of Nimeguen in 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick in 1697, of Utrecht in 1713, of Baden in 1714, of the Triple Alliance in 1717, of the Quadruple Alliance in 1718, and of Vienna in 1738, were renewed and confirmed.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Prince Charles Edward arrives at Eriska.—Lands at Borodale.—His interviews with chiefs of clans.—The gathering at Glenfinnan.—Military resources of the government.—Sir John Cope.—Highland army marches to Perth.—Preparations for defence at Edinburgh.—Charles Edward at Holyrood-house.—Cope's army lands at Dunbar.—Battle of Preston-Pans.—Charles Edward's sojourn at Edinburgh.—Siege of the Castle.—English opinions of the Rebellion.—Note on the Highland Costume.

On the 23rd of July, 1745, a French vessel, carrying sixteen guns, is lying off Eriska, one of the small Western isles between Barra and South Uist. An eagle is hovering over the ship, as if watching the unwonted disturbance of this solitude of these dreary regions; and the presence of the king of birds is hailed as a welcome to a royal stranger who is on board.\* Prince Charles Edward is on board, with seven friends, or attendants, one of whom is the marquis of Tullibardine, called by the Jacobites, duke of Athol. The prince has been eighteen days at sea, in *La Dountelle*, the little vessel which he has hired to make a descent upon the kingdom which he deems his patrimony; proposing, with a few hundred muskets and broad-swords, and with four thousand louis-d'ors, to overthrow an usurping government, which kept his father and himself from the enjoyment of their hereditary rights. The prince has had some perilous incidents in his voyage from Belleisle. A large French ship-of-war, which was his convoy, has been disabled in an engagement with an English man-of-war; and *La Dountelle* has been chased by other hostile cruisers. The arms, ammunition, and money are at last put on shore at Eriska; and the prince and his followers land on the dreary island. The night is wet and stormy. They find shelter in the house of Angus MacDonald, the tacksman; but this house, the best of the district, belonging to the principal proprietor, was unprovided with any other vent for the peat smoke than the accustomed hole in the roof. Charles Edward, reared in Italian palaces—he who had lately parted with the luxurious accommodations of the Château de Navarre, the seat of the duke de Bouillon, at Evreux.—was choked with the cloud that arose from the fire in the centre of the room. To the inhabitants of the hovel that smoke was pleasurable warmth.

\* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 9.