

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.

The prince again and again sought the open air. The indignant host, unconscious of the rank of his visitor, at length exclaimed, "What a plague is the matter with that fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without door." *

From this rough retreat messengers were sent to various persons of consequence in those remote districts. With the exception of Tullibardine, who was attainted in 1715, there was no man of mark with the royal adventurer. His companions were chiefly Irishmen, "drawn into Scotland by the allurements which the enterprise held out to them of making their fortunes." † The first Scottish gentleman who came to Charles Edward, and saw him on board *La Doutelle*, was MacDonald of Boisdale, brother of the chief of Clanranald. This prudent adviser,—who was accused by the Jacobites of "playing the game of the government,"—earnestly discountenanced the attempt to raise an insurrection without better means than the prince could show. He exhorted him to return home. "I am come home, sir," replied the prince;—he would not go back: he relied on his faithful Highlanders. ‡

The little vessel now made sail for the mainland, and anchored in the Loch Na Nuagh, a small arm of the sea between the districts of Moidart and Arisaig. The Journal of a Highland officer § describes the appearance of the adventurer, as he presented himself on the deck of *La Doutelle*, where a tent had been erected. The prince, the young chief Clanranald, and MacDonald of Kinloch Moidart, had been for three hours in the cabin of Charles.—they arguing against his project, he resolutely combating all their objections. "Clanranald returned to us, and in about half-an-hour after, there entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt not very clean, and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle; a fair round wig out of the buckle; a plain hat, with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes." This is not the heroic costume in which imagination delights to dress up the adventurous prince. He was represented to be "ane English clergyman who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders." || The hesitation of the two chiefs was at length overcome by the enthusiasm of a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart. He had watched the eagerness of the tall youth, and the coldness of those whom he sought to convince. "When he gath-

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 11. This speech is doubtless a paraphrase of the Gaelic.

† "Memoirs of the Rebellion," by the Chevalier de Johnstone, p. 4.

‡ "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 12.

§ "Lockhart Papers," vol. ii, p. 479.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 480.

ered from their discourse that the stranger was the prince of Wales; when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms with their prince; his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place, and grasped his sword. Charles observed his demeanour, and turning briskly toward him, called out "Will not you assist me?" "I will, I will," said Ranald; "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you." Without further deliberation the two MacDonalds declared that they also would join." This is dramatic. The narrator of the scene is John Home, the author of "Douglas." * Gradually more offers of support came by messengers to the prince, who remained on ship-board till the 25th of July. On that day he landed at Borodale; and took up his quarters at a farmhouse belonging to Clanranald.

Charles Edward was not altogether unprepared to look to special quarters for assistance. He had combated the objections of MacDonald of Boisdale by the assurance that he could rely for aid upon MacDonald of Sleat, and the laird of MacLeod, two powerful chiefs who could each raise more than his thousand followers. Clanranald, after his adhesion, was sent to the Isle of Skye to secure these personages. On the 3rd of August MacLeod wrote from Dunvegan in Skye, to Duncan Forbes, the lord president, to give information that "the pretender Prince of Wales is come on the coast;" with the intention, with a few followers, "to raise all the Highlands." The chief adds, "sir Alexander MacDonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours to follow the same prudent method." In a postscript MacLeod says, "Young Clanranald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence." † Young Clanranald did not succeed in his mission to these cautious chiefs. Charles Edward was more successful with Cameron of Lochiel. He had determined to persuade the Prince to withdraw from his rash enterprise, although he had been one of the associates who was in correspondence with the Pretender before the expedition from Dunkirk in 1744. Charles Edward and Lochiel met at Borodale. Lochiel for some time steadily maintained his resolve, although his brother had said to him on his way, "If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases." ‡ Charles Edward at last declared that with the few friends he had he would raise the royal standard, win the crown of his ancestors, or perish in the attempt:

* Home's "Works," vol. ii, p. 427.

"Culloden Papers," p. 203.

‡ Home, vol. iii, p. 7.

“Lochiel, who my father often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince.” Lochiel then passionately declared he would share his prince’s fate. This is Home’s poetical relation. There is a more prosaic version of this interview, “on the result of which depended peace or war;” for “if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal, the other chiefs would not have joined.”* Bishop Forbes relates that young Glengarry assured him, upon information derived from Charles Edward himself, that Lochiel “had refused to raise a man, or make any appearance, till the prince should give him security for the full value of his estate, in the event of the attempt proving abortive.”† Cluny MacPherson “made the same agreement with the prince before he would join the attempt with his following.”

On the 19th of August, the prince proceeded to a general gathering of the friendly clans at Glenfinnan, a valley on the border of Loch Shiel. A day or two before, the first blood had been spilt in a skirmish between the Keppoch Macdonalds and a party of the Scots Royals, proceeding to Fort William. The advantage was on the side of the daring band of Highlanders. When Charles Edward and his friends, arrived at Glenfinnan the valley bore its usual aspect of a few poor inhabitants. But before noon the bagpipe was heard from the hills; and before evening fifteen hundred Highlanders were assembled. Tullibardine then raised a banner of red silk, with a white space in the centre. “The appearance of the standard was hailed by a storm of pipe-music, a cloud of skimming bonnets, and a loud and enduring shout.”‡ The attainted heir of the dukedom of Athol then read the declaration in the name of James VIII., dated from Rome in 1743, and the commission to his eldest son as Prince Regent. The “loud huzzas and skimming of bonnets up into the air, appearing like a cloud,”§ which followed the rearing of the standard, was the tribute of simple men who obeyed the command of their chief, little heeding the arguments of the Stuart declaration, even if they understood its language. That declaration, promising redress of grievances under a lawful king, was to have its effect upon the general discontent of Scotland, in its denunciation of the Union and of the fiscal exactions which the Union was held to have entailed. The government of an usurper was pronounced to be the cause of national miseries which a free parliament was to redress. The re-

* Home, vol. iii. p. 7.

† Robert Chambers. “History of the Rebellion of 1745-6”—a work of the highest value in which the author’s nationality does not betray him into any partisanship incompatible with a conscientious desire for historical truth.

‡ “Culloden Papers,” p. 387. Letter of Ter. Mulloy, an eye-witness.

ligious institutions of the country were to be respected. The Regent promised indemnity for past treasons to all who should now take arms in his cause. Such arguments and promises were judicious. Nevertheless, “if the phraseology of these documents is examined, it is found that the royal prerogative, as the embodiment of legislative power, is carefully though not offensively or conspicuously reserved.”* Few of the discontented in Scotland would carefully examine the phraseology of these documents. The rebellion was begun. Its first success would make the timid bold, and the prudent rash. But in England, every man not ignorant of the history of his country in the past century, could scarcely fail to see that the real question at issue was, whether the whole course of government since the expulsion of James II. had been a series of unlawful usurpations; or whether the national will was not something higher than the principle of divine right, asserted by the descendants of a bigoted tyrant. These declarations treated the whole contest for the throne of England as a personal question between the elector, of Hanover and the son of James II. Officers and soldiers were called upon to desert their colours, and violate their oaths, “since they cannot but be sensible that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper can dispense with the allegiance they owe to their natural sovereign.” The British Parliament rightly designated these proclamations as seditious and presumptuous declarations against the Constitution of the United Kingdom.

When Charles Edward landed in Scotland, George II. was in Germany, and the government of Great Britain was directed by a Regency. The administration regarded, as most official persons are inclined to regard, only the material means which the adventurer had at his command. They despised the chances of that popular enthusiasm for the exiled family, which the apparent hopelessness of the young prince’s cause carried forward into a personal admiration for his daring confidence. Had the descendant of their ancient kings landed in Scotland with ten thousand Frenchmen, he would have been eventually less powerful to overthrow the established government than when he set foot on Eriska with his seven followers. The sagacity and experience of the Lord President could not see the effect which such undoubting trust has ever produced in converting cold friends into zealous partizans. Forbes wrote to the marquis of Tweeddale, the Scotch Secretary of State in London: “I am confident that young man cannot expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands. Some loose

* Burton. “History of Scotland,” vol. ii. p. 439.

lawless men, of desperate fortunes, may indeed resort to him; but I am persuaded that none of the Highland gentlemen who have ought to lose will, after the experience with which the year 1715 furnished them, think proper to risk their fortunes in an attempt which to them must appear desperate.* Tweeddale wrote to Forbes in reply, dating from Whitehall:—"I own I have never been alarmed with the reports of the Pretender's son landing in Scotland. I consider it as a rash and desperate attempt, that can have no other consequence than the ruin of those concerned in it."† This indifference was the narrow view of a professional statesman Charles Edward knew his own power, when he wrote to his father that he was joined by brave people, of whose numbers he could not judge, as he had not yet set up his standard; but manfully adding, "The worst that can happen to me, if France does not succour me, is to die at the head of such brave people as I find here, if I should not be able to make my way; and that I have promised to them."‡ The enterprise was not altogether so rash and desperate as the members of the government chose to think. The attempt was made when there were few troops in England and Scotland; when the British army in the Low Countries had been seriously crippled in the battle of Fontenoy; when no statesman who possessed the prudence of Walpole, or the energy of Pitt, was at the head of the British councils. In Scotland, in the August of 1745, there were less than three thousand troops, of which number only fourteen hundred were available to oppose the hostile clans. The commander-in-chief in Scotland was sir John Cope, an officer of the routine school, scarcely able of himself to deal with a great emergency. Tweeddale expresses his hope that if sir John Cope should speedily obey the orders he had received, there would be an end of the affair.§ These orders were to attack the rebels in the mountains; and they assumed that the general would receive important aid from the well-affected clans. Cope marched from Stirling on the 20th of August towards Fort Augustus; and soon in his progress northward he discovered that he could rely little upon Highland auxiliaries. He heard of the successful gathering of the clans round the standard of the Stuarts; of the rapid increase of their forces as they marched onwards. On the 28th Charles Edward was at the foot of Corriaraic, near Fort Augustus. Cope prudently declined to encounter him in the mountain-passes, which the traditional victories of Highlanders over disciplined troops made well-trained veterans regard with something like apprehen-

* "Culloden Papers," p. 204.

† "Stuart Papers," in Mahon, vol. iii. Appendix, p. xxii.

‡ "Culloden Papers," p. 209.

† *Ibid.*, p. 209.

sion. Cope resolved to march to Inverness—an extraordinary resolution, by which he left the Lowlands open to the advance of the rebels. The prince was urged to follow him. One account says, "I am assured that their young forward leader called for his Highland clothes; and that, at tying the lachets of his shoes, he solemnly declared that he would be up with Mr. Cope before they were unloosed."* A wiser resolution was taken. The Highland army crossed the Grampians; and by the road of Blair Athol and Dunkeld, reached Perth on the 4th of September. Blair castle was left by the duke of Athol free to its ancient possessor; and Tullibardine became the host of his prince, and summoned the tenantry, not without threats of vengeance for disobedience, to repair to the Stuart banner.

On the 4th of September, the prince made his public entry into Perth. A fair was proceeding in the city, which brought traders from the West of Scotland, and from England. He gave passports to the travelling merchants, and told a London linendraper to inform his fellow-citizens that in two months he should see them at St. James's. There was little at Perth to excite these sanguine hopes. There were remembrances of 1716, when the father of the young man who now commanded the popular applause had fled from his camp, after issuing proclamations, and fixing the date of his coronation. The grandson of James II. had a far less formidable array of adherents than were in arms for the same cause within the memory of living witnesses of his father's regal pomp, and his unheroic retreat. But the bold bearing, the cordial trust, of this young man, won him some supporters; yet not enough to make him feel that the enthusiasm of the Highlands would attend him in the Lowlands. Still he went on. The road was open before him. Two important men joined him—James Drummond, styled duke of Perth,† and lord George Murray. Lord George had seen something of war, and was a man of ability. He had been opposed in 1719 to the Hanoverian dynasty, but had made his peace, though he was not trusted or employed. When he joined Charles Edward his qualifications gave him a high place in council, and in military arrangements; but he did not speak the language which hereditary right claims as its absolute due. When the prince used the antiquated tone of the Stuarts of the seventeenth century, lord George Murray pointed out its unsuitableness to a people who had forgotten to recognize such high pretensions; and he was coldly

* "Culloden Papers," p. 216.

† The title of Duke was conferred by James II., after his abdication, upon the earl of Perth, who had been Lord Chancellor of Scotland. (See vol. v. p. 87.)

looked upon. Suspicion and jealousy soon divided the rebel camp into factions. But whatever were the dissensions, the great prize of the capital of Scotland was to be attempted to be won. It was won without much difficulty.

On the 11th of September the little army marched southward. They crossed the Forth at the fords of Frew, about eight miles westward of Stirling. The passage was not disputed by Colonel Gardiner's dragoons, who retired before them. At Callender House, near Falkirk, Charles Edward received the adhesion of lord Kilmarnock, the first Lowland man of rank who joined his banner. He went on to Corstorphine, within four miles of Edinburgh, without opposition. There was division in the municipal councils of the Scottish capital. Provost Stewart acted in a spirit of corporate rivalry against an able and zealous loyalist, George Drummond, who was for organizing a vigorous resistance. Even if the civic authorities had agreed amongst themselves, they had to defend old walls which could be easily clambered over or broken down; and all the force which could be mustered was not more than eleven hundred men, not a third of whom were disciplined soldiers. The greater number were rapidly embodied volunteers. On Sunday, the 15th, the citizens were called to arms by the alarming toll of the great fire-bell. The volunteers mustered; but there was no one to command them. They manned the town walls on that night. On the Monday, the dragoons, who, with the town guard, were very near the advancing rebels at Colt Bridge, were seized with a sudden panic as their pickets fled before some mounted Highlanders. The dragoons disgracefully galloped away in a body; and the Edinburgh loyalists were left to their own wretched means of defence. A message was brought to the city that resistance to the prince would be followed by military execution. The magistrates called a meeting; when a formal summons to surrender, containing a similar threat, was read. A deputation was now sent to the rebel camp to offer terms of capitulation. A messenger had meanwhile arrived with the news that general Cope, who had embarked his troops at Aberdeen, was in sight of Dunbar, and would speedily land for the relief of Edinburgh. The deputation returned to say that an unconditional surrender was demanded. A second deputation was sent in the night to entreat for delay. As might have been expected, they obtained no hearing. These baffled negotiators returned to the city before day-break on the morning of the 17th. The Canongate having been opened to allow the hackney carriages which had brought back the deputation to go out to the suburbs, a party of Highlanders, who had waited in am-

bush, rushed in. The volunteers had dispersed when they saw the disposition of the authorities to surrender, and had delivered up their arms, which were sent to the castle. There were none to dispute the possession of the city with the alert mountaineers. The other gates were soon opened. "The Parliament Close," says an eye-witness, "was filled with rebels before five in the morning. They were very naked, and several wanted arms, especially firelocks. Their weapons, which were unfit for use, were rubbed up by the armourers, who at this time got constant employment. They set about providing clothes, shoes, and linen, of which they were in great want, the most part having nothing but a short old coat of coarse tartan, a pair of hose much worn, coming scarce up to their knees; their plaids and bonnets in the same condition."* Moving by the south of the city, far out of the reach of the guns of the castle, Charles Edward entered the Palace of Holyrood; and, amidst the antique pomp of heralds and pursuivants, king James VIII. was proclaimed at the High Cross of Edinburgh.

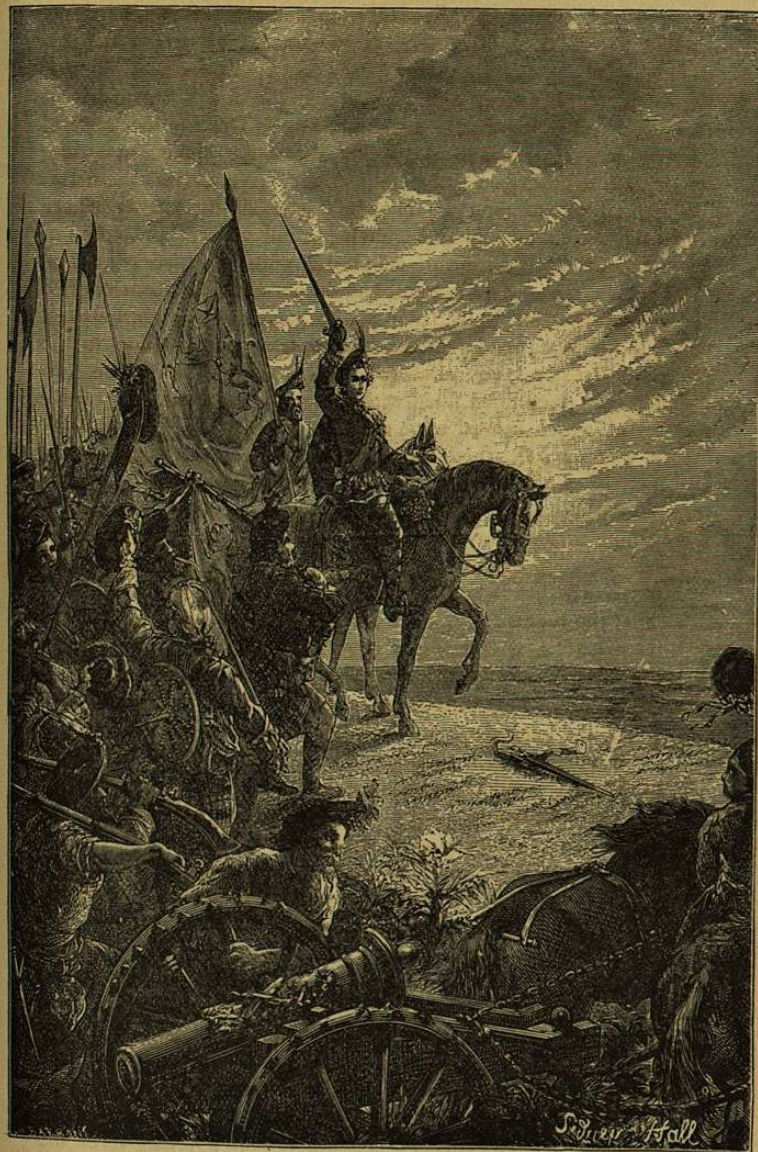
Whilst a large number of the populace of Edinburgh huzzaed as prince Charles rode into Holyrood, and the declarations were read at the High Cross; "whilst a number of ladies in the windows strained their voices with acclamation, and their arms with waving white handkerchiefs;"† Cope was landing at Dunbar. On the 18th he had completed the debarkation of his troops artillery and stores; and he had been joined by the panic-stricken dragoons, who had run away at Colt's Bridge. On the 19th Cope marched towards Edinburgh. "This little army," says Home, "made a great show, the cavalry, the infantry, the cannon, with a long train of baggage-carts, extended for several miles along the road." Home was himself with that army, being, most probably, the volunteer whom he describes as giving information to the English general of the numbers and condition of the Highland forces, as he had observed them before he quitted Edinburgh. He estimated them at about two thousand men. They had no artillery, except "one small iron gun which he had seen, without a carriage, laying upon a cart drawn by a little Highland horse." About fifteen hundred were armed with firelocks and swords; and a hundred or so had each a scythe fastened to the shaft of a pitchfork. The volunteer probably underrated the number of the rebel forces; as Cope and other officers overrated them. In the same way Cope's forces were overrated by those opposed to

* Andrew Henderson. "History of the Rebellion, 1745."

† Home, vol. iii. p. 73.

them. The most trustworthy accounts make the Highlanders amount to less than three thousand men, and the royal troops to somewhat above two thousand.* On the 20th Cope had reached the village of Preston; and he there learnt that the prince had marched from Edinburgh to encounter him. The English general resolved to rest here, and wait to be attacked. He had a strong position, thus described by De Johnstone: "We arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon within musket-shot of the enemy, where we halted behind an eminence, having a full view of the camp of general Cope, the position of which was chosen with a good deal of skill. . . . The general had on his right two enclosures, surrounded by stone-walls, from six to seven feet high, between which there was a road of about twenty feet broad, leading to the village of Preston-Pans. Before him was another enclosure, surrounded by a deep ditch filled with water, and from ten to twelve feet broad, which served as a ditch to the marshy ground. On his left was a marsh, which terminated in a deep pond; and behind him was the sea." The Highlanders saw the difficulty of getting through the morass, so as to attack their enemy in front. During the evening various movements were made in each army, but Cope clung to the supposed advantage of his position; although doubts had arisen whether it was prudent for his troops thus to be shut up, whilst the rebels could move freely about, watching for any opportune advantage. The night came on, dark and cold. Pickets of the royal army kept guard along the morass. Fires were lighted. The baggage was sent to the rear. All seemed safe against a surprise. It had been determined by Charles, with the advice of a council of war, to attack at break of day, from a ground below the east of Tranent; and his little army had been moved into this position. The Highlanders were sleeping, wrapped in their plaids. The prince, lord George Murray, and other chiefs were lying down in a field of peas. A proprietor, named Anderson, was brought to lord George Murray, to tell him that he knew a far more practicable way through the morass than their present position offered. He had often crossed it when hunting, and he would himself lead the way. Another council was held; and Anderson's plan was adopted. In the silence of the dark morning the Highlanders began to move. As the day broke a frosty mist concealed their advance. The morass was successfully crossed, though some men sank deep in the boggy ground. The column marched northward towards the sea; and then formed in a line. Between the two armies was a broad corn-field, the harvest having just been got in. Over the

* See Note to Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 39.



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