

thick stubble rushed the Highlanders. The sun rose; the mist dispersed; the disciplined troops, horse and foot, stood before these wild and ill armed men, in their firm ranks; their arms glittering in the morning ray; their cannon threatening a swift destruction. Some of the rebel officers afterwards acknowledged that when they looked upon this array they expected the Highland army to be swept away in a moment.\* The Highlanders rushed on. They fired; cast away their muskets; and threw themselves on the astonished line, "with a swiftness not to be conceived," as one of the English colonels described in evidence. According to De Johnstone's account the Highlanders had been instructed to cut at the noses of the horses, and thus threw the cavalry into confusion. The cannon which Cope had landed was of little use, for he had only one artilleryman; and sailors who were placed to work the guns immediately abandoned them at the rush of the Highlanders. Neither horse or foot could stand up against these strange and terrible foes. "None of the soldiers," says Home, "attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood." Then commenced a slaughter of which modern warfare has few parallels. The road between the two enclosures was stopped up by the fugitives. "The strength of the enemy's camp," says De Johnstone, "became their destruction. . . . The field of battle presented a spectacle of horror, being covered with heads, legs and arms, and mutilated bodies; for the killed all fell by the sword." The king's officers, with one exception, seem to have abandoned their men to this terrible slaughter, with very feeble attempts to rally them—with no disposition, certainly, to die with them. The one signal exception to the shame of commanders who were the first to carry the news of their own defeat,† was colonel Gardiner. Dr. Doddridge has told how this brave and pious man fell, close to the door of his own mansion. He had been wounded in the breast and in the thigh. He had tried, in vain, to rally his panic-stricken troop, who at last made a precipitate flight. Deliberating what his duty next required of him, "he saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account from, 'These brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander,' or words to that effect; which, while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out, 'Fire on, my lads, and

\* Note to Home, vol. iii. p. 92.

† A just sarcasm to this effect was addressed by lord Mark Kerr to brigadier Waugh and colonel Lasselles; according to some accounts addressed to Cope himself.

fear nothing.' But just as the words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him so dreadful a wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander gave him a stroke either with a broad-sword or a Lochaber-axe (for my informant could not exactly distinguish) on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw further at this time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand and waved it as a signal for him to retreat, and added, what were the last words he ever heard him speak, 'Take care of yourself;' upon which the servant retired."

The prince, as related by Home, "remained on the field of battle till midnight, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both parties." We may add a characteristic passage from a Manuscript Journal of a Scottish chaplain in the Highland army: "Then I rode straight into the field of battle; and after meeting Invernahyle and his men in the pursuit, I made up to the prince, and wished him joy of the glorious victory! To which he was pleased to reply, with a smile, 'Sir, the Highlanders have done it all.' After the wounded of both sides and the prisoners were taken care of, there was a table spread for his Royal Highness on the field of battle, at Cope's cannons; and he did me the honour to bid me say grace, to which he rose, and stood very gravely."\* This triumph was called by the rebels the victory of Gladsmuir—a place about a mile from Preston-Pans—there being an old prediction "On Gladsmuir shall the battle be."

Charles Edward slept on the night of the battle at Pinkie House; and he returned to Edinburgh on the 22nd of September, with exulting followers but with a diminished army. The booty of the field of Preston was too great to allow the Highlanders to believe that there was any duty more urgent than to return to their homes in triumph with their spoil, provided they could escape from the control of their leaders. They found serviceable arms and good clothes; money, whose value they comprehended, and watches, whose use they could not readily understand. But the victory which had been gained inspired such confidence in waver-

\* This MS. Journal, in the possession of the author of the "Popular History," was contributed by him to the "London Magazine" of September, 1828. It appears incidentally in the narrative that the chaplain's name was Mac Lachlan, and that his home was at St. Cowan's.

ing chiefs and hesitating lairds, that, during the time of the prince's sojourn in Edinburgh, nearly six weeks, he was enabled, in spite of large desertions, to muster double the number of men that he had been able to oppose to general Cope. Duncan Forbes describes the effect produced by the possession of Edinburgh, and the battle of Preston: "All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked nothing but hereditary rights and victory. What was more grievous to men of gallantry, and if you will believe me much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner."\* From the 22nd of September to the 31st of October, Edinburgh was unwontedly gay in the sunshine of the young prince's successes. There was some terror when the governor of the castle, general Guest, threatened to bombard the city if the blockade which cut off the supplies of the garrison were not removed. Charles was indignant at what he called the barbarity of the governor; although he listened to the prayer of the magistrates that he would not persevere in exposing them to this peril. General Guest was also induced to suspend his resolve till orders had been received from London. There was a sort of armistice, which the Highlanders broke by firing upon men who were carrying provisions up the Castle-hill. The governor retaliated; and swept the streets with his artillery loaded with small shot. The prince then yielded to the terror of the citizens, and revoked the order "which made it death to carry provisions to the castle."

The intention of Charles Edward to cross the Border was formed immediately after the victory of the 21st of September. He gave authority to a person named Hickson to repair forthwith to England, to notify to his friends the great success he had met with; and "to let them know that it is my full intention in a few days, to move towards them." † Hickson was apprehended at Newcastle; and attempted to destroy himself.

We shall have to direct our view to the state of affairs in England,—to the movements of the administration, the opinions of the parliament, and the temper of the people,—under the extraordinary circumstances which had placed the capital of Scotland in the possession of the Jacobites, and which rendered an invasion of the south a very imminent danger. In the illusions of the romance of the Forty-five, or in sympathies with a faded Toryism, writers, otherwise judicious and impartial, have taken little trouble to ex-

\* "Culloden Papers," p. 250. Letter to Mitchell.

† *Ibid.*, p. 226.

amine the real difficulties of an attempt, in the middle of the eighteenth century, for the restoration of the Stuarts. In entering upon such an examination, we demur to the conclusion of one excellent historian, who expresses his belief, that if, after the battle of Preston Charles could have pushed on with two or three thousand men, "he might have reached the capital with but little opposition, and succeeded in at least a temporary restoration." \* He says "the spirit of the people in no degree responded to the efforts of the government; they remained cold lookers-on, not indeed apparently favouring the rebellion, but as little disposed to strive against it." † The popular feeling is described as, first apathy, and then terror. In our view, the public spirit of the people of England, in the crisis of 1745, is not to be estimated by the alarm of timid ministers, or the indifference of fashionable triflers. Pelham was not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as fearful of the inability or languidness of friends. Some politicians went further. England, Fox thought, would be for the first comer—the English and Dutch battalions from Flanders, or the French and Spaniards. Horace Walpole was alternating between selfish fears and affected nonchalance. On the 6th of September he looks upon Scotland as gone. On the 13th he does not despair, yet expects nothing but bad. On the 20th his apprehensions are not nearly so strong as they were. On the 27th, when the news of Preston battle has arrived, he has so trained himself to expect this ruin, that he sees it approach without any emotion. This is the ordinary mode in which the exclusive world looks at great public events that affect a nation. On the 4th of October the smart letter-writer discovers that there is a community, who are not about to be conquered by "banditti," as he had termed the Highlanders. "A wonderful spirit is arisen in all counties, and among all sorts of people." The merchants of London, he says, have undertaken to support public credit; noblemen are raising regiments; the archbishop of York has set an example that would rouse the most indifferent. He then, as was his wont, shuts up his hopes and his fears in matter for a laugh. "As an instance of more spirit and wit than there is in all Scotland," he quotes an address "To all jolly Butchers,—My bold hearts, the Papists eat no meat on Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, nor during Lent." ‡

\* Mahon, vol. iii. p. 368

† *Ibid.*, p. 364.

‡ Letters to Mann.

## NOTE ON THE HIGHLAND COSTUME.

Charles Edward adopted the Highland costume as one of the means of acquiring the affection of the mountaineers. In this costume we do not recognize the picturesque garb which is usually associated with the person of the Highlander; the garb which Scottish gentlemen delight to wear on their high festivals, and which the household-god of the snuff-shop once made familiar to the eyes of the Londoners. Prince Charles Edward is painted as wearing the *truis*, the breeches and stockings in one piece, or hose pantaloons; and not as wearing the *kilt* or *philibeg*, with the knee and part of the leg uncovered. Without entering into any examination of the disputed question of the high antiquity of the reputed Highland costume, it may be satisfactory to show what the ordinary costume really was, as described by a traveller in Scotland at a period between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745:—

"The Highland dress consists of a bonnet made of thrum without a brim, a short coat, a waistcoat longer by five or six inches, short stockings, and *brogues* or pumps without heels. By the way, they cut holes in their *brogues*, though new made, to let out the water when they have far to go and rivers to pass; and this they do to preserve their feet from galling.

"Few besides gentlemen wear the *trousse* [*truis*], that is, the breeches and stockings all of one piece and drawn on together; over this habit they wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breaths wide, and the whole garb is made of chequered tartan or plaiding; this, with the sword and pistol, is called a full dress, and to a well-proportioned man with any tolerable air, it makes an agreeable figure; but this you have seen in London, and it is chiefly their mode of dressing when they are in the Lowlands, or when they make a neighbouring visit, or go anywhere on horseback; but when those among them who travel on foot, and have not attendants to carry them over the water, they vary it with the *quelt* [*kilt*], which is a manner I am about to describe.

"The common habit of the ordinary Highlanders is far from being acceptable to the eye; with them a small part of the plaid, which is not so large as the former, is set in folds and girt round the waist to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half-way down the thigh, and the rest is brought over the shoulders, and then fastened before, below the neck, often with a fork, and sometimes with a bodkin, or sharpened piece of stick, so that they make pretty near the appearance of the poor women in London when they bring their gowns over their heads to shelter them from the rain. In this way of wearing the plaid, they have sometimes nothing else to cover them, and are often barefoot; but some I have seen shod with a kind of pumps made out of a raw cow-hide with the hair turned outward, which being ill-made, the wearer's feet looked something like those of a rough-footed hen or pigeon: these are called *quarrants*, and are not only offensive to the sight but intolerable to the smell of those who are near them. The stocking rises no higher than the thick of the calf, and from the middle of the thigh to the middle of the leg is a naked space, which being exposed to all weathers, becomes tanned and freckled. This dress is called the *quelt*."

The kilt,—as a part of the dress separate from the plaid, "set in folds and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half-way down the thigh,"—is held to have been an innovation occurring between the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. It is ascribed to the genius of an army tailor attached to the troops of General Wade, who saw the inconvenience of the old cumbersome arrangement. Thus the Highland costume, "in its more complete shape, has every appearance of being essentially modern." † "The dif-

\* "Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his friend in London," 1754, vol. ii. p. 188. These letters, written from 1726 to 1732, by an engineer of the name of ——— Burt, are commonly quoted as "Burt's Letters."

† Burton, vol. ii. p. 382.

ference of colours in the Tartan, as distinguishing various clans, is also held to be comparatively modern origin.

"Various reasons," says the author of the "Letters," are given both for and against the Highland dress. It is urged against it, that it distinguishes the natives as a body of people distinct and separate from the rest of the subjects of Great Britain, and thereby is one cause of their narrow adherence among themselves to the exclusion of all the rest of the kingdom; but the part of the habit chiefly objected to is the plaid (or mantle), which, they say, is calculated for the encouragement of an idle life in lying about upon the heath in the day-time, instead of following some lawful employment; that it serves to cover them in the night when they lie in wait among the mountains to commit their robberies and other depredations, and is composed of such colours as altogether in the mass so nearly resemble the heath on which they lie, that it is hardly to be distinguished from it till one is so near them as to be within their power, if they have any evil intention.

"On the other hand it is alleged; the dress is most convenient to those who, with no ill design, are obliged to travel from one part to another upon their lawful occasions, viz.: That they would not be so free to skip over the rocks and bogs with breeches, as they are in the short petticoat. That it would be greatly inconvenient, to those who are frequently to wade through waters, to wear breeches, which must be taken off upon every such occurrence, or would not only gall the wearer, but render it very unhealthful and dangerous to their limbs to be constantly wet in that part of the body, especially in winter-time, when they might be frozen. And with respect to the plaid, in particular, the distance between one place of shelter and another are often too great to be reached before night comes on, and being intercepted by sudden floods, or hindered by other impediments, they are frequently obliged to lie all night in the hills, in which case they must perish were it not for the covering they carry with them."

The preceding is an intelligible description, which may enable us to form a truer conception of the Highland army than we may derive from romances or melodramas. In the Act of Parliament of 1747, by which, "the clothes commonly called Highland clothes," are forbidden to be worn except by officers and soldiers; these clothes are described as "the plaid, philibeg or little kilt, trouze, shoulder-belts;" and it is enacted, "that no tartan or parti-coloured plaid should be used for great coats or upper coats." In the "Humphrey Clinker" of Smollett, which embodies his remarks on his native country in 1766, we may trace the operation of this statute, which had for its object the amalgamation of Highlanders and Lowlanders: "It must be observed that the poor Highlanders are now seen to disadvantage. They have been not only disarmed by Act of Parliament, but also deprived of their ancient garb, which was both graceful and convenient; and, what is a greater hardship still, they are compelled to wear breeches—a restraint which they cannot bear with any degree of patience; indeed, the majority wear them, not in their proper place, but on poles or long staves over their shoulders; they are even debarred the use of their striped stuff, called Tartan, which was their own manufacture, prized by them above all the velvet, brocades, and tissues of Europe and Asia. The now lounge along in loose great coats of coarse russet, equally mean and cumbersome, and betray manifest marks of dejection. Certain it is, the government could not have taken a more effectual method to break their national spirit." These "breeches" were certainly not the "trouze" of the Highland gentlemen. "The 'breeks' attempted to be forced upon the nether limbs of the brawny Highlanders were the Lowland and English knee-breeches of George the Second's reign, with all the buttons and buckles thereunto belonging."\* The author of the interesting Letters which we have quoted gives an example to show that the whole people were "fond and tenacious of their Highland clothing" before the eventful period which was to produce such changes in this matter, as well as in greater affairs: "Being, in a wet season, upon one of my peregrinations, accompanied by a Highland gentleman, who was one of the clan through which I was passing, I observed the women to be in great anger with him about something that I did not understand. At length, I asked him wherein he had offended them? Upon this question he laughed, and told me his great coat was the cause of their wrath, and that their reproach was, that he could not be contented with the garb of his ancestors, but was degenerated into a Lowlander, and condescended to follow their unmanly fashions."†

\* Planché. "British Costume," p. 485.

† Burt's "Letters," vol. ii. p. 191.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

Meeting of the British Parliament.—New regiments to be raised by Peers.—Divided counsels in the Cabinet and in Parliament.—The insurgent army crosses the Border.—Siege of Carlisle.—State of Public Intelligence.—The continued march into England.—Manchester recruits.—Roman Catholic families in Manchester.—The rebel army reaches Derby.—The duke of Cumberland's army close at hand. The retreat of the rebels resolved upon.—Public feeling in London.—The populace.—The commercial and moneyed classes.—Suspensions attached to Scotsmen in London.—Andrew Drummond, the banker.—Proceedings against Popish priests.

THE king returned from Hanover on the 31st of August. The Parliament was summoned to meet on the 17th of October. On the 9th of October, "Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland," issued his proclamation from his palace of Holyrood House, warning all his subjects, peers or commoners, to pay no obedience to this summons of the Elector of Hanover, and threatening that if any peers or commoners of Scotland should presume to sit or vote in such Parliament, they should be proceeded against as rebels and traitors. Nevertheless, in spite of this doughty manifesto, the Parliament did meet at Westminster on the 17th of October, although some few Scottish peers did keep away. The king expressed his surprise that any of his Protestant subjects should have been concerned in this rebellion; for throughout the whole course of his reign he had made the laws of the land the rule of his government and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the rights of his people, the main end and aim of all his actions. Whatever had been the defects of the government of the two Georges, the laws of the land had not been violated; the constitution under which they reigned had been upheld. The freedom of speech which was heard in both Houses, at this crisis of danger, is the best proof that no arbitrary power had deadened the old spirit which ejected the Stuarts; that the corruption, by which sir Robert Walpole had believed that the intrigues of the Jacobites could only be effectually resisted, had not created a Parliament of slaves and sycophants. In the Lords the earl of Westmoreland proclaimed that "the people suspect that both Houses are under a corrupt