

which the nation enjoyed under the Act of Settlement, the fears of the Administration, and the traditional feelings of the people, too long endured in the penal laws against Roman Catholics. There was no attempt at their conciliation at the crisis of the Rebellion. At the beginning of December, 1745, a proclamation was issued, calling upon magistrates to discover and bring to justice all jesuits and popish priests; and offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of any such objects of the severity of the earlier statutes. This proclamation called forth a strong remonstrance from the resident ministers of various Catholic states, and especially on the arrest of a domestic of the Venetian ambassador. They contended that the law of nations had been violated; and that the Act of Anne, which forbade the arrest upon civil process, of the ministers of foreign powers, or of their servants, was infringed in these proceedings. The Secretary of State, in his reply, did not approve of the arrest of the Venetian ambassador's domestic; but he rested the justification of the government upon the plea that chapels, with an enormous number of priests, were maintained, wherein mass was celebrated, not for the use of the minister's family, but rather for the sake of allowing the king's converted subjects to be present at mass, contrary to law. "The number of national Roman Catholic priests, who swarm more than ever in this town, was found dangerous to the State, especially at a time of open rebellion in favour of a Pretender of the same religion."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Charles Edward retreats from Derby.—The retreating army pursued.—Skirmish of Clifton.—Bombardment and capitulation of Carlisle.—Charles Edward in Scotland.—General Hawley takes the command of the king's troops.—Battle of Falkirk.—Retreat of Hawley to Edinburgh.—Lord Lovat.—The duke of Cumberland in Scotland.—Flight of the Highland army from Stirling.

THE retreat from Derby, regarded as a military operation, was highly creditable to the officers by whom it was conducted, and especially to lord George Murray. He was foremost to advise that retreat; and to his prudence and watchfulness may be attributed, in great measure, that the depressed Highlanders marched back to their own mountains, without serious disorganization. "I offered," he says, "to make the retreat, and be always in the rear myself."* Before daybreak on the morning of the 6th of December, the little army left Derby. The men thought they were advancing to attack the duke of Cumberland. "As soon," says De Johnstone, "as the day allowed them to see the objects around them, and they found that we were retracing our steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the whole army but expressions of rage and lamentation."† The prince, as blindly confident as the brave and ignorant Highlanders who would have followed him to destruction, was no longer cheerful and alert. "In marching forwards he had always been the first up in the morning, and had the men in motion before break of day, and commonly marched himself a-foot; but in the retreat he was much longer of leaving his quarters; so that, though the rest of the army were all on their march, the rear could not move till he went, and then he rode straight on, and got to the quarters with the van." Such is the relation of lord George Murray. The partizans of this young prince have delighted to exhibit his condescending participation in the fatigue and privations of his followers, when leading them, as he and they thought, to the rewards of his bold enterprise. His moody displeasure and haughty indifference when his insane plans were opposed and rejected, show how truly he adhered to his family convictions, that the sovereign will should over-ride every other consideration; that, to use

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 55.

† "Memoirs," p. 72.

his own words, "he was accountable to no one but God." His physical courage has been doubted, probably with great injustice. But his conduct in this retreat exhibits none of those qualities which appear in heroic minds, when high hopes are suddenly destroyed and serious dangers are to be confronted. Charles Edward had been deceived into the belief that the friends of his house in England were numerous, powerful, and ready to crowd round his standard. Not one of the secret Jacobites or avowed Tories of great families in the north lifted up a voice for him. He expected a descent from France would have been made upon British shores. To make such an invasion in some degree palatable to Englishmen, he had said, in a proclamation of the 10th of October, that when he saw a foreign force brought by his enemies against him—when the elector of Hanover's allies were called over to protect his government against the subjects of the lawful sovereign—it was high time for the king, his father, to accept the assistance of those who had engaged to support him. That assistance did not come. There was a numerous and vigilant Channel fleet ready to resist every attempt at invasion. Not in the smoky hut at Eriska,—not when he was hiding after the fatal day of Culloden,—could the thoughts of Charles Edward have been more cheerless than on the retreat from Derby. His weakness of character displayed itself in a rash trust that his cause was so sacred that some miraculous success would ever attend it: "From the facility with which he had gained the victory at Gladsmuir he was always for fighting; and sometimes even reproached lord George for his unwillingness to incur the risk of an engagement, when no advantage could be derived from a victory, and for his having prevented him from fighting the duke of Cumberland at Derby."*

It is one of the many instances of the want of correct intelligence at the head-quarters of the English generals, that the rebel army had been two days on its march back to Scotland before the duke of Cumberland became aware that they were not advancing towards London. He immediately despatched from his camp at Meriden, near Coventry, all his cavalry to pursue them; and the country people, as the infantry followed, furnished horses to mount foot-soldiers, draughted out of various regiments.† A thousand cavalry troops were thus extemporised. "Our foot-soldiers not being accustomed to riding, I thought," says Volunteer Ray, "they looked odd on horseback, with their muskets and knapsacks slung over their shoulders." Marshal Wade was at Wakefield, with his army, on the 10th, when he heard of the retreat; and he also des-

* "Memoirs," p. 84.

† Ray p. 187.

patched his cavalry, under general Oglethorpe, in pursuit of the rebels. The duke of Cumberland and Oglethorpe arrived at Preston on the 13th; and on the 17th they united their mounted forces at Kendal. They were now close upon the rear of the Highland army. The hurried march back of Charles Edward, over ground which he had so recently passed in some sort of triumph, was not accompanied by any encouraging popular demonstrations. At Manchester the Highlanders were now received with "visible marks of dislike." The peaceful and orderly disposition of these men in their advance was now with difficulty kept up. At Lancaster they plundered, and threw open the prisons. As they went onward, "few there were who would go on foot if they could ride; and mighty stealing, taking, and pressing of horses there was amongst us." The captain who thus records that the army "began to behave with less forbearance," adds, "diverting it was to see the Highlanders mounted, without either breeches, saddle, or anything else but the bare backs of the horses to ride on, and for their bridle only a straw rope."* Near Stockport the Highlanders set fire to a village, the peasants having shot at one of their comrades acting as a patrol. The retreat was now manifestly through a hostile district. The duke of Perth, having been detached with some horsemen to proceed to Scotland, was attacked by the country people after he had passed Kendal, and was compelled to return. He again rode with a large escort the next day to Penrith, when he was again driven back.

The retreating and pursuing forces were close together on the 18th of December. Lord George Murray had been detained at Shap on the 17th, from the difficulties of getting along the bad roads, and up the steep hills. The weather was wet and tempestuous. "I was stopped," says Lord George, "by what I always suspected—the waggons could not be carried through a water where there was a narrow turn and a steep ascent."† Horses and men could not overcome the difficulty until night-fall. The van and the rear were wildly separated, when Murray reached the village of Clifton, near Penrith, on the 18th. They were encountered by a party of volunteers, but the Highlanders soon dispersed these. A footman of the duke of Cumberland was taken prisoner, and he said the duke was very close at hand. Lord George had only about a thousand men. He was resolved to wait an attack, even without reinforcements, for which he had applied. He took up a position between the hedges of the village and the wall of lord

* "MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel," quoted by Lord Mahon, vol. iii. 418.

† "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 62.

Lonsdale's park. The night was cloudy, with a feeble moonlight. Creeping along amongst the inclosures the dismounted dragoons of the royal army were advancing upon the Highlanders. Their main body was on horseback at some distance. Murray's own narrative of this skirmish is clear and spirited: "The dismounted dragoons had not only lined the bottom inclosures, but several of them had come up to two hedges that lay south and north; the others where we were, and the dragoons at the bottom, lay east and west. The Appin battalion were next the lane upon that side, and Cluny's farther to their left. We advanced, and had a good deal of fire on both sides. After the Highlanders on that side had given most of their fire, they lay close at an open hedge, which was the second in these fields. We then received the whole fire of the dragoons that were at the bottom, upon which Cluny said, 'What the devil is this?' Indeed, the bullets were going thick enough. I told him we had nothing for it but going down upon them, sword in hand, before they had time to charge again. I immediately drew my sword, and cried, 'Claymore!' Cluny did the same, and we ran down to the bottom ditch, clearing the diagonal hedges as we went. There was a good many of the enemy killed at the bottom ditch, and the rest took to their heels, but received the fire of the Glengarry regiment."* There was no more firing. Murray had secured by his courageous stand a safer continuance of their retreat for the van. Half-an-hour after the skirmish he also ordered a retreat. "We travelled all night," says the chaplain MacLachlan, "though the moon set at twelve o'clock, and arrived at Carlisle early next day." The van had reached that city the same morning.

On the 20th of December, before break of day, the rebel army, with the exception of a portion of the English regiment raised at Manchester and some Scottish companies, quitted Carlisle. "I could never comprehend the reason," says De Johnstone, "for sacrificing these unfortunate victims." The duke of Perth was unwilling, naturally enough, to leave any of his men. Murray told him, in the presence of Charles, that if the prince would order him, he would stay with the Athol brigade, though he knew his fate: for as soon as cannon could be brought up from Whitehaven, the place would not be tenable. The works might have been blown up, Murray held. At any rate, if the Scottish army returned, Carlisle could not harm them. "I was little at the prince's quarters that day," says Murray, "but I found he was determined on the thing. It was very late next day before we marched. The

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 70.

prince had some difficulty about those who were to stay at Carlisle, who were very unwilling." Dr. King, who was in correspondence with Charles Edward for some years after these events, says, "I never heard him discover any sorrow or compassion for the misfortune of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause."* Their sufferings, in his view, were nothing but the just tribute of loyalty to their rightful master. Upon the same principle he had no remorse in determining, against all remonstrance, to sacrifice a band of brave men to "that egotistic fanaticism, which made every calamity endured by his followers in the cause of his house, a simple incident in their line of duty."† The callous obduracy with which Charles Edward resolved to leave this unhappy garrison to the first vengeance of the English, by military slaughter or civil proceedings against traitors, is, in our view as odious as the barbarities which procured William of Cumberland the title of "the Butcher." The duke came up to Carlisle on the 21st. He invested the place, which resisted with its small means of defence; but there was no artillery to compel an immediate surrender. Large guns, as Murray had expected, were brought up from Whitehaven. Ray records his own share in procuring these means of attack: "I was sent to Whitehaven, to order the battering cannon from thence. The people rose in a body, and got horses and carriages with all expedition. They were ten pieces of eighteen pounders, of which four were drawn by forty horses of sir James Lowther, which went along pretty briskly; but I saw sixteen or eighteen of the country horses to a gun, and often set the roads being very soft."‡ When Ray returned on the 22nd he found Carlisle invested on all sides. "A great many people," he says, "came out of the country to assist the duke's army, with clubs and staves, and such other weapons as they had; the game-laws forbidding the use of fire-arms. The countrymen being most of them no use, and their number being about ten thousand, his royal highness ordered them all to return home, except a few who were employed in cutting fascines for the batteries. The duke's regular forces at this time were about four thousand." The bombardment of Carlisle began on the 28th. "The rebel garrison," continues the volunteer, "were as much surprised as if they had felt the shock of an earthquake, wondering from whence these roaring guns came." It has been alleged as an excuse for the sacrifice of this garrison by Charles Edward, that he believed the duke "had no battering artillery at his disposal." On the 30th a white flag

* "Anecdotes of his own Times," p. 201. † Burton, vol. ii. p. 497. ‡ P. 201.

was hung out from the walls. The firing ceased. John Hamilton, the governor, asked to know what terms would be given upon the surrender of the city and castle of Carlisle. The stern answer was, "All the terms his royal highness will, or can, grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle, are that they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure." The garrison capitulated. The number of prisoners was a hundred and fourteen English, two hundred and seventy-four Scotsmen, and eight Frenchmen. This enumeration, made by Ray, sufficiently confutes the calumnious charge that the abandonment of this garrison by Charles Edward, "originated in a spirit of vengeance against the English nation, as no one of all the persons of distinction in England, who invited the prince to make a descent in Great Britain, had declared themselves openly in his favour, by attaching their fortunes to his, as the Scots had done."*

The duke of Cumberland, after the surrender of Carlisle, was summoned to London to take the command of the forces that were assembled to guard the south coast against a threatened French invasion. A portion of the army of the duke was left under the command of general Hawley, to advance into Scotland. Marshal Wade's troops were to return to their post at Newcastle. On the 20th of December the Highland army quitted England. This day was the anniversary of the prince's birth. When the impulsive race whom he had led to a promised conquest—those who had gloomily turned back from the rich prize which they fancied within their reach—had crossed the border-river Esk, wading up to their arm-pits, "the bag-pipers having commenced playing, the Highlanders began all to dance, expressing the utmost joy at seeing their country again." They forgot the chagrin "which they had continually nourished ever since their departure from Derby." † Passing through Dumfries,—a town described by De Johnstone as full of fanatical Calvinists, who had seized some ammunition waggons, and who now were punished by a considerable fine,—they reached Glasgow on the 24th. When the Highland army was in the neighbourhood of that city in September, a demand of fifteen thousand pounds was made under the sign-manual of the prince, as the price the citizens were to pay to save themselves from confiscations enforced by Highlanders in arms, who had long been their terror. They compromised the matter by a payment to the amount of five thousand five hundred pounds, part in money and goods, and part in bills. Their enemies had now come to make heavier demands, in the shape of thousands of Highland coats, shirts, shoes, tartan

* De Johnstone, p. 201.

† *Ibid.*, p. 100.

hose, bonnets, and money. There was no escaping. They were told that they were rebels. Parliament afterwards voted ten thousand pounds as a compensation to the loyal traders.

After remaining a week at Glasgow, the Highland army marched to Stirling. They were sturdily opposed by the people; but they got possession of the town. General Blakeney, the governor of the castle, met them with defiance. The prince had now been joined by large numbers of Highlanders from Perth, under the command of lord Strathallan; and by refugees who had been landed from France. His army now reached nine thousand men. He was turned aside from the siege of Stirling by the intelligence that general Hawley had marched from Edinburgh, through Linlithgow, and had reached the neighbourhood of Falkirk. Hawley, who had fought under Argyle at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and had served in Flanders in the army of the duke of Cumberland, was appointed,—perhaps more on account of his repute for ferocity than for his military talents—to the most important command at this juncture. "He is called Lord Chief Justice," says Horace Walpole; "frequent and sudden executions are his passion. He is very brave and able; with no small bias to the brutal."* His ability was tested in the field of Falkirk. He set out to meet the Highland army with a presumptuous contempt for what he called "undisciplined rabbles." He must have recollected something of the mode in which Highlanders fought, and of the extreme caution with which it was necessary to guard against their rapid surprises of an enemy. He was satisfied that with his disciplined troops he could easily destroy the insurgents. De Johnstone truly observes, that the Highlanders "proved that bravery may supply the place of discipline at times, as discipline supplies the place of bravery;" and that the Highland mode of attack "is so terrible, that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it." † Hawley took no care to enable his men steadily to bear the first shock. He neglected the ordinary prudence of so disposing his troops that the Highlanders should not have that advantage of situation which they always sought for, and that no sudden attack by his enemy should produce a panic equivalent to a victory.

John Home, who joined general Hawley's army as a lieutenant in the Glasgow volunteers, has described the battle of Falkirk with care and impartiality. On the morning of the 17th of January, Hawley's army had been joined by a regiment of dragoons, and by a thousand Highlanders under the command of colonel Campbell, afterwards duke of Argyle. When they encamped near Falkirk,

* Letter to Mann, January 17, 1746.

† "Memoirs," p. 114.

some Highland horse and foot were seen moving about, with their colours displayed, upon the high-road from Stirling to Falkirk, through the middle of the Torwood. The parade thus made was a stratagem to divert attention from the principal attack, which had been skilfully planned. About one o'clock two English officers climbed a tree; and saw the main body of the Highlanders marching towards them, by the south side of the Torwood. Hawley was spending a pleasant morning at Callander House, and being apprised of this movement of the enemy, he said the men might put on their accoutrements, but there was no necessity for them to be under arms. The report of the officers who had climbed the tree was confirmed by horsemen well-mounted, who came in upon the spur. The troops became alarmed. The officers were heard to exclaim, again and again, where is the General? In his continued absence, they formed their regiments in front of the camp. The general at last came; and ordered three regiments of dragoons to march to the moor, and take possession of the high ground between them and the advancing enemy. The infantry were commanded to follow. "At the very instant," says Home, "the regiments of foot began to march, the day was overcast; and by-and-by a storm of wind and rain beat directly in the face of the soldiers, who were marching up the hill with their bayonets fixed, and could not secure their pieces from the rain. The cavalry was a good way before the infantry, and for some time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill." The rebel army was marching in two columns. Three Macdonald regiments, who were at the head of the columns to the north, got to the top of the hill before the dragoons, and, taking ground where they had a morass on their right flank, turned their backs to the storm. This struggle for the advantage of position determined the course of this sudden contest. The Highland columns were formed in two lines, with a reserve in the rear, amongst which the prince was stationed. The royal army was also formed in two lines, with a reserve. The hurry in which the troops on both sides were formed; the inequality of the ground; and the darkness of the storm, produced a scene of confusion which could scarcely be called a battle. It was, says Sir Walter Scott, "as confused an affair as can well be imagined."* Before the infantry of Hawley's army were completely formed, he sent an order for the cavalry, in number about seven or eight hundred, to attack the two lines of eight thousand Highlanders. The bold general had seen at the battle of Sheriffmuir, the discomfiture

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xxxvi. p. 179.

of the flank of the rebel army by a charge through a morass. He repeated the movement of Falkirk. There was a slight difference of circumstances. At Sheriffmuir a severe frost had rendered the morass passable. At Falkirk, the dragoons plunged into a bog; "where," says Scott, "the Highlanders cut them to pieces with so little trouble, that, as one of the performers assured us, the feat was as easy as slicing *baacon*."* It was then nearly four o'clock. The storm continued. The darkness rendered the movements of either army scarcely perceptible. But the Highlanders, pursuing the discomfited dragoons, received the fire of the English infantry, which they returned, and then, throwing away their muskets, attacked after their fashion with broadsword and dirk. "It seemed a total rout," says Home, "and for some time general Hawley did not know that any one regiment of his army was standing." But one regiment remained steady; and being joined by other infantry, drove back the pursuers. The Highlanders now, in turn, fancied themselves defeated. "Part of the king's army, much the greater part, was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward." Hawley, before it became quite dark, tried to set fire to his tents, but they would not burn; and he retreated to Linlithgow, through Falkirk, leaving his baggage and his guns. The next day he marched to Edinburgh with an army not greatly reduced in numbers, but sadly degraded in the senseless conduct of this battle of half an hour. The leaders of the rebel army scarcely exulted in their victory. They blamed each other for its incompleteness. Hawley took no blame to himself, but caused several officers and soldiers to be tried by court-martial, of whom two soldiers were condemned to be shot, and more than one officer was cashiered. In a letter from general Wightman to Duncan Forbes, he says, "everything would have gone to wreck, in a worse manner than at Preston, if general Huske had not acted with judgment and courage, and appeared everywhere. Hawley seems to be sensible of his misconduct; for when I was with him on Saturday morning at Linlithgow, he looked most wretchedly; even worse than Cope did a few hours after his scuffle, when I saw him at Fala."† The writer of this letter says, "This is an odd scene of things, and altogether an unexpected occurrence; and will doubtless shock the king and the ministry, as well as the whole English nation." The king and the ministry sent off the duke of Cumberland to Scotland, in the confidence that he would retrieve this disaster. The English nation was not greatly shocked, if we may accept an interesting passage in a letter

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xxxvi. p. 179.

† "Culloden Papers," p. 267.

of Gray to Walpole, as an evidence of the general feeling: "Our defeat, to be sure, is a rueful affair for the honour of our troops; but the duke is gone, it seems, with the rapidity of a cannon-bullet to undefeat us again. The common people in town at least know how to be afraid: but we are such uncommon people here * as to have no more sense of danger than if the battle had been fought when and where the battle of Cannæ was. The perception of these calamities, and their consequences, that we are supposed to get from books, is so faintly impressed, that we talk of war, famine, and pestilence, with no more apprehension than of a broken head, or of a coach overturned between York and Edinburgh."

In the accounts of the battle of Falkirk, we find mention of lord Lovat's regiment, as one of those which repulsed the dragoons. Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, was not with his clan, but his son was with them. The chief of the clan, who had exhibited the passions of an untamed savage in his youth; who, in his maturer age, pursued the same system of barbarian violence in his transactions with his neighbours; now, in his extreme old age, covered his actions with what he considered an impenetrable shield of craft. It was still the cunning of the uncivilized man, rather than the honourable reserve of a gentleman engaged in high and dangerous political enterprises. There are no more curious exhibitions of human character than the letters of this remarkable person, at the crisis of 1745. After the landing of Charles Edward, Lovat wrote to the lord advocate, that he was ready to serve the king and the government as in 1715, when he did more in suppressing that rebellion than any other man of his rank. But he begged to have a thousand stand of arms delivered to him and his clan at Inverness.† To Lochiel he wrote at the same time:—"My service to the prince. I will aid you what I can; but my prayers are all I can give at present." In a letter of the same period to the lord president, he calls the landing of Charles "a mad enterprise:" and weeps to think that "this desperate prince" would be the cause of much bloodshed. When Cope was beaten at Preston-Pans, lord Lovat thought the Stuart cause would prosper; and he compelled his son, by threats and entreaties, to join the insurgents. The Master of Lovat, as he was styled, was too late to join the march into England. He remained with other clans, at Perth. Meanwhile the old man, still doubtful which might be the winning side, poured forth his protestations to Duncan Forbes that he himself was entirely innocent of his son's proceedings: "I do solemnly declare

* This letter is dated from Cambridge, February, 3, 1746.

† "Culloden Papers," p. 210.

to your lordship that nothing ever vexed my soul so much as my son's resolution to go and join the prince." * In another letter he says, "Since my son was determined on that mad foolish project, I never spoke to him about it but he always flew in my face like a wild cat." † We may thus explain how lord Lovat's regiment was at the battle of Falkirk, when the old man had himself been playing fast and loose. After the retreat from Derby he tried to make his son faithless to the cause he had himself driven him to adopt. The honour of the son, in clinging to the side on which he was fighting, is a pleasing contrast to the habitual perfidy of the father.

The duke of Cumberland, travelling post night and day, arrived at Edinburgh on the 30th of January. All London was in anxious expectation to hear news of another battle. "Nothing," says Walpole, "was talked of but the expectation of the courier." The duke set out on his march on the 31st to raise the siege of Stirling. That siege had been very inefficiently conducted. There was little hope that the French engineers would be able to silence the fire of the castle by their ill-constructed batteries. The prince, with his own immediate advisers, was for protracting the siege, and remaining to fight the duke of Cumberland. More prudent counsel enforced the necessity of a retreat. A paper was addressed to him on the 29th of January, signed by lord George Murray, Lochiel, and six other chiefs, pointing out that the army had been much reduced by desertions; and that if the enemy should march before the reduction of Stirling, they anticipated a speedy destruction through the inequality of their numbers. John Hay, who was officially employed by the prince, says that Charles being in bed, he went into his room with this dispatch; and that when the prince read the paper "he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against lord George Murray. His words were, 'Good God! have I lived to see this!'" Hay adds, that the number of men said to be absent was greatly exaggerated. The chaplain MacLachlan has recorded that, on the night of the battle of Falkirk, some of the men went off in the hurry; that three of the prince's aides-de-camp entreated him to rally them, because he could speak Erse to them; that he succeeded with many; and that he then rode off to the duke of Perth, to entreat him to place a strong guard at the Fords of Frewe to intercept these deserters. ‡ The amount of desertion was increased by a circumstance peculiarly characteristic of Highland clan-jealousies.

* "Culloden Papers," p. 234.

† *Ibid.*, p. 236. It is satisfactory to know that the younger Fraser, thus destined to be the scape-goat of an unnatural father, was pardoned for his share in the rebellion, and became a distinguished officer in the British army.

‡ MS. Journal.

One of the clan Clanranald accidentally shot a younger son of Glengarry. It was not sufficient to appease the anger of the Glengarry tribe that the poor fellow who fired a musket, without knowing that it was loaded, was condemned and shot. They went off in a body to their mountains. The prince had no choice but to yield to the advice of the chiefs who had counselled an immediate retreat. But he is held to have shown his anger, like a petted child, by deranging all the precautions that had been taken for an orderly march. In their hurry to destroy their magazine of powder, the rebels blew up a church in which it had been deposited. MacLachlan says this was the act of a rash young fellow who, without any orders, fired a pistol at the powder, by which folly he killed himself, and killed and wounded others. Murray records that, at a council of war held at Crieff, he "complained much of the flight, and entreated to know who had advised it. The prince did not incline to lay the blame on any body, but said he took it on himself."* When the news arrived in London that "the moment the rebel army saw the duke's, they turned back, with the utmost precipitation," it was concluded that this flight, as Murray termed the retreat, "looked exceedingly like the conclusion of this business."† Unhappily, there is more of this business to be related; and much of it of a painful nature, from which we would gladly turn our view.

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 100.

† Walpole to Mann, Feb. 7.

CHAPTER XXX.

Charles Edward at Inverness.—The duke of Cumberland at Aberdeen.—The passage of the Spey.—The duke at Nairn.—The prince at Culloden.—Projected night attack on the king's camp.—The victory of Culloden.—Barbarities after Culloden.—Impolicy of the treatment of the rebels.—Trials and executions.—Trials of the rebel lords.—Their demeanour.—Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Lovat.—Hidings of Charles Edward.—His return to France.

THE Highland army, marching rapidly in two divisions—one by Blair Athol, and one by the coast—reached Inverness on the 18th of February. The duke of Cumberland, moving much more slowly, took up his head-quarters at Aberdeen. Five thousand Hessian troops had arrived to strengthen the forces of the British government. Whilst Cumberland remained inactive at Aberdeen, Charles had taken the citadel of Inverness; and Fort Augustus had been destroyed by one of the Highland parties. Fort William and Blair Castle held out against him. The interval which elapsed between the prince's arrival at Inverness, and the duke's advance to attack him, was unfavourable to the success of the insurrection. The insurgents were cut off from the abundant supplies of the Lowlands. The king's ships intercepted the provisions and the gold which were occasionally dispatched from France. The active and hardy mountaineers engaged in various expeditions; but the advantages which they gained were of little importance in the great issue which was approaching. Time was working to their destruction. The Highland army was without pay; and they sold their allowances of oatmeal "for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly."* They were certainly not in the best fighting condition, when, on the 8th of April, the duke of Cumberland commenced his march from Aberdeen. As he advanced along the coast, his army of about nine thousand men were abundantly provided from the transports, which "moved along shore with a gentle breeze and a fair wind."† On the 11th the army reached the Spey. As the duke approached, lord John Drummond, who was posted to guard the passage of the deep and rapid river, fell back. The Highland officer says in his journal, "to guard the Spey was an easy matter." Volunteer Ray con-

* "Lockhart Papers," vol. ii. p. 508.

† Ray, p. 312.