

# SKETCHES OF HIGHLANDERS :

WITH

**AN ACCOUNT**

OF

**THEIR EARLY ARRIVAL IN NORTH AMERICA ;**

**THEIR ADVANCEMENT IN AGRICULTURE ;**

AND SOME OF THEIR

**DISTINGUISHED MILITARY SERVICES IN THE WAR OF 1812.**

&c. &c.

WITH

**LETTERS,**

CONTAINING

**USEFUL INFORMATION FOR EMIGRANTS**

FROM

**THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND**

TO THE

**BRITISH PROVINCES.**

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BY

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1843.

TO  
EMIGRANTS FROM SCOTLAND,  
AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN BRITISH AMERICA,  
AND TO SUCH PERSONS IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY AS DESIRE TO  
SETTLE IN THE BRITISH COLONIES,  
**THE FOLLOWING WORK**  
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED;  
WITH THE WRITER'S BEST WISHES FOR THEIR PROSPERITY  
AND HAPPINESS.

## TO THE READER.

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THE few following pages have been chiefly compiled from the best works and most authentic documents that relate to the history of Scottish Highlanders, and their emigration to America. One of the objects of the writer has been to make the descendants of the early Highland settlers in British America in some degree acquainted with the loyalty and bravery of their ancestors; and to excite them to emulate those virtues for which their forefathers have become proverbial all over the world. And to them it may well be a subject of deep interest and pleasure, that even now they live under the Sovereign protection of the lineal descendant of King Robert Bruce; Her Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, having sprung from the Royal Stuarts of Scotland, by Princess Sophia, Grand-daughter of James I. of England, who was married to Ernest Augustus, the Ninth Elector of Hanover.

Another motive for the following publication has arisen from a desire to afford, if possible, to those who enjoy "their native Highland Home," some account of their Countrymen in British America, and to throw out a few particulars to such as may feel disposed to emigrate to Nova-Scotia, Cape Breton, New-Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, where the writer was stationed for some time,

and had access to much information in relation to the Agricultural capabilities of the Country. The proceeds of this small work will be applied to the relief of distressed Emigrants.

As the writer has been unexpectedly deprived of the services of an individual who had been employed by him to aid in preparing the materials of this pamphlet, and its sole object being utility, he trusts that any errors, particularly in Gaelic words, that may occur in it, will be viewed with lenity, and he sincerely hopes that the following pages may prove useful and interesting to his countrymen, and every friend to the improvement of the British Provinces in North America.

**R. C. MACDONALD,**

*Saint John, New-Brunswick, }  
September 1st, 1843. }*

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## HISTORICAL EXTRACTS, &c.

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### CHAPTER I.

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WHILE Great Britain still held possession of that part of North America which now constitutes the Republic of the United States, the hope of improving their own condition, and of providing for their descendants, induced a large number of Highlanders, in the year 1772, to emigrate to South Carolina, from the estates of Lord MacDonal, in the Isle of Skye, and Lord Seaforth, from Kintail and Loughbroom. As both Clanronald and Lord MacDonal, upon the last of whom the honour of an Irish peerage was conferred for his having refused to espouse the cause of Prince Charles in 1745, claimed as a relative of their illustrious houses the celebrated and courageous Miss Flora MacDonal, who played so prominent a part after the battle of Culloden, and who adhered with such rigid fidelity to the Prince, in his misfortunes, wanderings, sufferings, and hairbreadth escapes, I will here give the following honourable notice of that illustrious and noble-minded heroine from Chambers' History of the "Rebellion" of 1745:—

The ship in which Miss Macdonal was imprisoned left Leith Road on the 7th of November, and carried her straightway to London, where she was detained in a not less honourable captivity in the house of a private family, till the passing of the act of indemnity in July, 1747, when she was discharged without being asked a single question. Her story had by this time excited not less interest in the metropolis than it had done in Scotland. Being received after her liberation into the house of the dowager Lady Primrose of Dunipace, she was there visited by crowds of the fashionable world, who paid her such homage as would have turned the heads of ninety-nine of a hundred women of any age, country or condition.—On her mind they produced no effect but that of surprise: she had only, she thought, performed an act of common humanity, and she had never thought of it in any other light till she found the world making so much ado about it.

Soon after returning to her own country, she was married (November 6, 1750) to Mr. Alexander Macdonal, younger of Kingsburgh, to whom she bore a large family of sons and daughters. When Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswell visited Skye, they were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Macdonal at Kingsburgh. Johnson, in his "Journey to the Western Islands," introduces her well-known maiden name, which he says is one "that will be mentioned in history, and, if courage and

fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour." He adds, "She is a woman of middle stature, soft features, gentle manners, and elegant presence." Soon after this period, under the influence of the passion for emigration which was then raging in the Highlands, Kingsburgh and his lady went to North Carolina, where they purchased and settled upon an estate. As mentioned in the text, she bore with her across the Atlantic the Prince's sheet, that it might serve as her shroud, wherever it should be her fate to lay down her bones. Mr. Macdonald had scarcely been settled on his property, when the unfortunate contest between the colonists and the mother country involved him in trouble. Like most of his countrymen in America, he sided with the British government, and the consequence was, that he was imprisoned as a dangerous person. On being liberated, he took arms against the colonists, as captain in a regiment called the North Carolina Highlanders, and he and his wife met with many strange adventures in the course of the contest. At the conclusion of the war, they found it necessary to leave the country of their adoption, and return to Skye. In the voyage homeward, the vessel encountered a French ship of war, and an action ensued. While the other ladies were confined below, Flora insisted upon remaining on deck, where she endeavoured, by her voice and example, to animate the sailors. She was unfortunately thrown down in the bustle, and broke her arm, which caused her afterwards to observe that she had now perilled her life for the house of Stewart and the house of Brunswick.

She spent the remainder of her life at Skye, and at her death, which took place March 5th, 1790, when she had attained the age of seventy, was actually buried in the shroud which she had so strangely selected for that purpose in her youth, and carried with her through so many adventures and migrations. She retained to the last that vivacity and vigour of character which has procured her so much historical distinction. Her husband, who survived her a few years, died on the half-pay list as a British officer; and no fewer than five of her sons served their king in a military capacity. Charles, the eldest son, was a captain in the Queen's Rangers. He was a most accomplished man: the late Lord Macdonald, on seeing him lowered into the grave, said, "There lies the most finished gentleman of my family and name." Alexander, the second son, was also an officer: he was lost at sea. The third son, Ranald, was a captain of marines, of high professional character, and remarkable for the elegance of his appearance. James, the fourth son, served in Tarlton's British legion, and was a brave and experienced officer. Lieutenant-colonel John Macdonald, of Exeter, is, I believe, the only surviving son. There were, moreover, two daughters, one of whom, Mrs. Major Macleod, of Lochbay, in the Isle of Skye, died within the last few years.

In the war, between Great Britain and France, which preceded the peace of 1763, His Majesty's Island of Prince Edward, then called the Island of Saint John's, had been dismantled of all its stock, property, and inhabitants, excepting three or four hundred, who had concealed themselves in the woods when the rest were shipped off. These and their progeny are now called the French Acadians, and, being destitute of all other means of industry, they supported a precarious and miserable existence by their dexterity in taking wild game and fish, until they found better employment after the settlement of the Island had commenced subsequent to the year 1770. At the time this was the local state of that Island, John MacDONALD, Esquire, Chieftain of Glenaladale, impressed by the exaggerated reports current in Europe of the superior qualities of Prince Edward Island, purchased an extensive allotment of land in it, conceived the idea of an extensive plan of emigration to that Colony, and sent his brother with an overseer and labourers, provided with every requisite for raising crops to support some hundreds of settlers in the following year. His emi-

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grants were from his own estates of Glenaladale and Glenfinnen, and also from the estates of his cousin and chief, Clanronald, in Moydart, and from the Island of Uist. It was to relieve his distressed countrymen that Glenaladale had determined to dispose of his two estates, which had been in his family for upwards of five hundred years. The extent of this sacrifice of property and personal ease and comfort, is a convincing proof of the paternal regard he had for his countrymen, the remembrance of which is cherished by their descendants, because he befriended and protected their fathers in the hour of need, which friendship and protection involved many and serious sacrifices on his part.

To give a more distinct idea of the clans and character of the Highlanders who had emigrated with Glenaladale, I have extracted rather freely from Chambers' History, which bears honourable testimony to the very conspicuous part which the father of this Glenaladale took in the endeavour to establish the claims of Charles Stuart to the throne of England; exhibiting his magnanimity, his fervent devotion to the fortunes of the unhappy Prince, and to the admirable and unparalleled fidelity of the brave, enduring, and lion-hearted Highlanders, who sacrificed their homes, their little patrimony, and their lives, for the descendant of a race of Kings, whose right to the crown they believed was just, although not *indisputable*.

The people amidst whom Charles Stuart had cast his fate, were then regarded as the rudest and least civilised portion of the nation which he conceived himself designed to govern. Occupying the most remote and mountainous section of Britain, and holding little intercourse with the rest of the community, they were distinguished by peculiar language, dress, and manners; had as yet yielded an imperfect obedience to government, and formed a society not only distinct from their immediate neighbours, but which had probably no exact parallel in Europe.

The country possessed by this people, forming the north-west portion of Scotland, comprehends a large surface, but being of a mountainous and rugged character, it has never maintained a large population. In numbers the Highlanders did not now exceed 100,000, or a twelfth of the whole population of Scotland.—The community was divided into about forty different tribes, denominated *clans*, each of which dwelt upon its own portion of the territory.

At the period of this history, the Highlanders displayed, in a state almost entire, what has been called the patriarchal form of society. This extreme corner of Europe had the singular fortune of sheltering the last vestiges of the Celts, that early race of people, whom the dawn of history shows placed upon the centre of the ancient continent, but who were gradually dispelled to the extremities, by others which we are now accustomed to call ancient. As they retained their primitive manners with almost unmixed purity, there was to be seen in the Highlanders of Scotland nearly a distinct picture of those early shepherd days, which are still so endearingly remembered in the traditions and poetry of the refined world, and of which we obtain so many beautiful and affecting memorials in Scripture.

Owing to the circumstances of their country, the Highlanders were, however, by no means, that simple and quiescent people who are described as content to dwell each under his own vine and fig-tree, any more than their land was one flowing with milk and honey. A perpetual state of war with the neighbours who had driven them to their northern fastnesses, and their disinclination to submit to the laws of the country in which they nominally lived, caused them, on the contrary, to make arms a sort of profession, and even to despise, in some measure,

all peaceful modes of acquiring a subsistence." Entertaining, moreover, a notion that the Lowlands had been originally their birthright, many of them, even at the recent period we speak of, practised a regular system of reprisal upon the frontier of that civilised region, for which, of course, the use of arms was indispensably necessary. What still more tended to induce military habits, many of the tribes maintained a sort of hereditary enmity against each other, and therefore required to be in perpetual readiness, either to seize or repel opportunities of vengeance.

The Highlanders, in the earlier periods of history, appear to have possessed no superiority over the Lowlanders in the use of arms. At the battle of the Harlaw, in 1410 (till which period they had been quite independent of the kings of Scotland), the largest army that ever left the Highlands was checked by an inferior number of Lowlanders. Coming into the field, sixty-eight years after, at the fight of Sauchieburn, where they espoused the cause of James III. against his rebellious nobles, "their tumultuous ranks," says Sir Walter Scott, in the Introduction to his *Border Minstrelsy*, "were ill able to endure the steady and rapid charge of the men of Annandale and Liddesdale, who bore spears two ells longer than were used by the rest of their countrymen." They proved not more invincible at the battles of Corrichie, Glenlivet, and others, fought during the sixteenth century.

But the lapse of half a century after this last period, during which the border spear had been converted into a shepherd's crook, and the patriot steel of Lothian and Clydesdale into penknives and weavers' shears, permitted the mountaineers at length to assert a decided superiority in arms. When they were called into action, therefore, by Montrose, they proved invariably victorious in that short but brilliant campaign, which almost retrieved a kingdom for their unfortunate monarch. Amidst the exploits of that time, the victory of Kilsyth (1645) was attended with some circumstances displaying their superiority in a remarkable degree. The army arrayed against them, almost doubling their's in number, consisted chiefly of the townsmen of Fife, which county has been described, in a publication of the time, as remarkable for the enthusiasm of its inhabitants in regard to the cause of this quarrel, the National Covenant. Religious fervour proved nothing in this case, when opposed to the more exalted enthusiasm of "loyalty unlearned," and the hardihood of an education among the hills. The Whig militia scarcely stood a minute before the impetuous charge of the Highlanders, but running off in a shameful rout, were killed in great numbers by their pursuers.†

Though the Highlanders were nominally subjugated by Cromwell, they regained at the restoration their former privileges and vigour. They were kept in arms, during the reigns of the two last Stuarts, by their occasional employment as a militia for the harassment of the west country opponents to the Royal family. At the revolution, therefore, when roused by the voice of Dundee, they were equally ready to take the field in behalf of King James, as they had been fifty years before to rise up for his father. The patriarchal system of laws, upon which Highland

\* The contempt in which they held at least the *humbler trades*, was strikingly indicated by the circumlocutory phrases they invariably used when speaking of the professors of those arts; as, for instance, "by your leave, a tailor;"—"a weaver, and save your presence," &c. &c.—*Information by the late Mr. H. R. Duff, of Muirtown.*

† A Highlander, who was in that fight, was heard, many years after, when an old man, boasting of the glories of the day: "at every stroke of my sword," said he with savage glee, "I cut an ell o' brecks."‡ So great a loathing for the military life was inspired on this occasion into the people of Fife, that only one man had ever been prevailed upon to enlist out of the populous town of Anstruther, during a period of twenty-one years towards the end of the last century.§

§ "Many of the honest burghesses," says a contemporary historian, "burst in the flight, and so died without stroke of sword."—*Baillie's Letters*, ii. 92.

‡ Reported to me by a bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Communion, who learned the anecdote from Sir John Sinclair, of Longformacus, who had heard the old Highlander use the expression, when a very aged man, upwards of a century ago (1827).

§ "There are few old inhabitants of the parish, who do not talk of some relations that went to the battle of Kilsyth, in 1645, and who were never afterwards heard of.—Ever since then the people have had a strong aversion to a military life. In the course of twenty-one years, there is only a single instance of a person enlisting, and it was into the train of artillery."—*Statistical account of Scotland (art. Anstruther)*, xii. 86, 87.

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society was constituted, disposed them to look upon these unfortunate princes as the general fathers or *chiefs* of the nation, whose natural and unquestionable power had been rebelliously disputed by their children; and there can be little doubt that, both on these occasions and the subsequent attempts in behalf of the Stuart family, they fought with precisely the same ardour which would induce a man of humanity to ward off the blow which an unnatural son had aimed at a parent.— On the field of Killiecrankie, where they were chiefly opposed by regular, and even veteran troops, they fought with signal bravery.\* Their victory was, however, unavailing, owing to the death of their favourite leader, *Ian Dhu nan Cath*, as they descriptively termed him—Dark John of the Battles—without whose commanding genius their energies could not be directed, nor even their bands kept together.

The submission which was nominally paid throughout Britain to the “parliamentary” sovereigns, William and Anne, was in no degree participated by the children of the mountains, whose simple ideas of government did not comprehend either a second or a third estate, and who could perceive no reasons for preferring a sovereign on account of any peculiarity in his religion. In the meantime, moreover, the progress of civilisation, encouraged in the low countries by the union, affected but slightly the warlike habits of the clans. Their military ardour is said to have been, if possible, increased during this period, by the injudicious policy of King William, who, in distributing £20,000 amongst them to bribe their forbearance, only inspired an idea that arms were their best means of acquiring wealth and importance. The call, therefore, which was made upon them by the exiled prince, in 1715, found them as willing and ready as ever to commence a civil war.

The accession of the house of Hanover was at this period so recent, and the rival candidate shared so largely in the affections of the people, that very little was wanting, in 1715, to achieve the restoration of the house of Stuart. That little *was* wanting—a general of military talent, with some degree of resolution on the part of the candidate. The expedition was commanded in Scotland by the Earl of Marr, who had signalised himself by some dexterity in the slippery politics of the time, but possessed no other abilities to fit him for the important station he held.— In England the reigning sovereign had even less to dread, in the ill-concerted proceedings of a band of debauched young noblemen, who displayed this remarkable difference from the Scottish insurgents—that they could not fight at all. Marr permitted himself to be cooped up on the north of the Forth, with an army of 8900 or 9000 men, by the Duke of Argyle, who occupied Stirling with a force not half so numerous. An action at length took place on Sheriffmuir, in which it is impossible to say whether the bravery of the Highlanders, the pusillanimity of their leader, or the military genius of Argyle, was most signally distinguished.

The Duke of Argyle, whom the Highlanders remember by the epithet *Ian Roy nan Cath*,—Red John of the Battles,—learning, on Friday the 11th of November, 1715, that Marr had at length formed the resolution to fight him, and was marching for that purpose from Perth, set forward from Stirling; and next day the armies came within sight of each other upon the plain of Sheriffmuir, a mile north-east from Dunblane. They both lay upon their arms all night; and a stone is still shown upon the site of the Highlanders’ bivouack, indented all round with marks occasioned by the broadswords of those warriors, who here sharpened their weapons for the next day’s conflict. The battle commenced on Sunday morning, when Argyle himself, leading his dragoons over a morass which had frozen during the night, and which the insurgents expected to protect them, almost immediately routed their whole left wing, consisting of the Lowland cavaliers, and drove them to the river Allan, two or three miles from the field. His left wing, which was

\* The battle of Killiecrankie was fought upon a field immediately beyond a narrow and difficult pass into the Highlands. The royal troops, under General Mackay, on emerging from this pass, found Dundee’s army, which was not half so numerous, posted in columns or clusters upon the face of an opposite hill. Both lay upon their arms, looking at each other, till sunset, when the Highland troops came down with their customary impetuosity, and, charging through Mackay’s lines, soon put them to the rout. Mackay retreated in the utmost disorder, and reached Stirling next day with only two hundred men. His whole army must have been cut to pieces in retreating through the pass, but for the death of Dundee, and the greater eagerness of the Highlanders to secure the baggage, than to pursue their enemies.

beyond the scope of his command, did not meet the same success against the right of the insurgents, which consisted entirely of Highlanders.

Those warriors had come down from their fastnesses, with a resolution to fight as their ancestors had fought at Kilsyth and Killiecrankie. They appeared before the Lowlanders of Perthshire, who had not seen them since the days of Montrose, in the wild Irish shirt or plaid, which, only covering the body and haunches, leaves the arms, and most of the limbs, exposed in all their shaggy strength. Their enthusiasm may be guessed from a simple anecdote. A Lowland gentleman, observing amongst their bands a man of ninety from the upper part of Aberdeenshire, had the curiosity to ask how so aged a creature as he, and one who seemed so extremely feeble, had thought of joining their enterprise. "I have sons here, sir," replied the man, "and I have grandsons; if they fail to do their duty, can I not shoot them?"—laying his hand upon a pistol which he carried in his bosom.

The attack of these resolute soldiers upon the left wing of the royal army, was, to use language similar to their own, like the storm which strews a lee shore with wrecks. The chief of Clanranald was killed as they were advancing; but that circumstance, which might have otherwise damped their ardour, only served to inspire them with greater fury. "To-morrow for lamentation!" cried the young chieftain of Glengary; "to-day for revenge!" and the Macdonalds rushed on the foe with irresistible force. Instantly put to rout, this portion of the royal army retired to Stirling, leaving hundreds a prey to the Highland broadsword. Thus, each of the two armies was partially successful, and partially defeated.

The battle was by no means undecisive in its results. Marr, as he deserved none of the credit of his partial victory, reaped no profit from it, but found it necessary to retire to Perth. Argyle remained upon the field, in possession of the enemy's cannon and many of his standards. The conduct of this celebrated warrior and patriot was in every respect the reverse of that of Marr. He had won a victory, so far as it could be won, by his own personal exertions, and that with every advantage of numbers against him. The humanity he displayed was also such as seldom marks the details of a civil war. He offered quarter to all he met, in the very hottest of the fight, and he granted it to all who desired it. With his own sword, he parried three different blows which one of his dragoons aimed at a wounded cavalier, who had refused to ask his life.

In January, the succeeding year, James himself, the weak though amiable man for whom all this blood was shed, landed at Peterhead in Aberdeenshire, and immediately proceeded *incognito* to join the Earl of Marr at Perth. His presence might inspire some enthusiasm, but it could not give strength or consistency to the army. Some preparations were made to crown him in the great hall of Scoon, where his ancestors had been invested with the emblems of sovereignty so many centuries ago. But the total ruin of his English adherents, conspired, with his own imbecility and that of his officers, to prevent the ceremony from taking place. In February he retired before the advance of the royal army. The Tay was frozen at the time, and thus he and all his army were fortunately enabled to cross without the difficulty which must otherwise have attended so sudden a retreat; directing their march towards the sea-ports of Aberdeenshire and Angus. We have heard that, as the good-natured prince was passing over, the misery of his circumstances prompted a slight sally of wit, as a dark evening will sometimes produce lightning; and he remarked to his lieutenant-general, in allusion to the delusive prospects by which he had been induced to come over, "Ah, John, you have brought me on the ice!"

The chevalier embarked with Marr and other officers at Montrose; and the body of the army dispersed with so much rapidity, that Argyle, who traversed the country only a day's march behind, reached Aberdeen without ever getting a glimpse of it. We may safely suppose, that the humanity of this general, if not the Jacobitism which he was suspected secretly to entertain, induced him to permit, without disturbance, the dispersion and escape of the unfortunate cavaliers. The Lowland gentlemen and noblemen who had been concerned in the campaign, suffered attainder, proscription, and in some cases death; but the Highlanders returned to their mountains unconquered and unchanged.

In 1719, a plan of invasion and insurrection in favour of the Stewarts was formed by Spain. A fleet of ten ships of the line, with several frigates, having on board 6000 troops and 12,000 stand of arms, sailed from Cadiz to England; and while this fleet was preparing, the Earl Marischal left Saint Sebastian with two Spanish frigates, having on board 300 Spanish soldiers, ammunition, arms, and money, and

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landed in the island of Lewis. The Spanish fleet was completely dispersed by a storm off Cape Finisterre; and as every thing remained quiet in England, very few Highlanders rose. General Wightman came up with the Spanish and Highland force in Glensheil, a wild vale in the west of Ross-shire. The Highlanders, favoured by the ground, withdrew to the hills without having suffered much; and the Spaniards laid down their arms and were made prisoners.

During the ensuing twenty years the state of the Highlands was often under the consideration of government, and some steps were taken with a view to render the people less dangerous, but, unfortunately, none with the design of making them more friendly. Three forts, one at Inverness, a second, named Fort Augustus, at Killiewhinnen, and a third, named Fort William, at Inverlochic, in Lochaber, were kept in full garrison, as a means of overawing the disaffected clans. Under the care of General Wade, the soldiers were employed in forming lines of road, for the purpose of connecting these forts with the low country. An act was also passed to deprive the people of their arms: it was obeyed to some extent by such clans as the Campbells, Sutherlands, and Mackays, whose superiors were, from whatever cause, well affected to the government, but was generally evaded by the Macdonalds, Stuarts, Camerons, and others, who maintained their zeal for the house of Stuart. Thus the measure was rather favourable to the Jacobite cause in the Highlands than otherwise.

Such had been the history, and such was the warlike condition of the Scottish mountaineers, at the time when Prince Charles landed amongst them in July, 1745. If any thing else were required to make the reader understand the motives of the subsequent insurrection, it might be said that Charles' father and himself had always maintained, from their residence in Italy, a correspondence with the chiefs who were friendly to them. For the service of these unhappy princes, their unlimited power over their clans gave them an advantage which the richest English partisans did not possess. At the same time, as sufficiently appears from the preceding and following chapter, the idea of taking the field for the Stuarts without foreign assistance was not agreeable to the Jacobite chiefs, though, in most instances, their ardour of character ultimately overcame that dictate of prudence.

The constitution of Highland society, as already remarked, was strictly and simply patriarchal. The clans were families, each of which, bearing the same name, occupied a well-defined tract of country, the property of which had been acquired long before the introduction of writs. Every clan was governed by its chief, whose native designation, *Kean-Kinnhe*, the head of the family, sufficiently indicated the grounds and nature of his power. In almost every clan there were some subordinate chiefs called chieftains, being cadets of the principal family, who had acquired a distinct territory, and founded separate septs. In every clan, moreover, there were two ranks of people; the *Douine-uilse*, or gentlemen, persons who could clearly trace their derivation from chiefs of former times, and assert their kinsmanship to the present; and a race of commoners, who could not tell why they came to belong to the clan, and who always acted in inferior offices.

There is a very common notion among the Lowlanders that their northern neighbours, with, perhaps, the exception of the chiefs, were all alike barbarians, and distinguished by no shades of comparative worth. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The *Douine-uilse* were, in every sense of the word, gentlemen—*poor* gentlemen, perhaps, but yet fully entitled, by their feelings and acquirements, to that appellation. On the contrary, the commoners, who yet generally believed themselves related to the chiefs, were a race of mere serfs, having no certain idea of a noble ancestry to nerve their exertions or purify their conduct. The *Douine-uilse* invariably formed the body upon which the chief depended in war, for they were inspired with notions of the most exalted heroism by the well-remembered deeds of their forefathers, and always acted upon the supposition that their honour was a precious gift, which it was incumbent upon them to deliver down unscathed to posterity. The commoners, on the contrary, were often left behind to perform the humble duties of agriculture and cow-driving; or, if admitted into the array of the clan, were put into the rear rank, and armed in an inferior manner.

With such a sentiment of heroism, the Highland gentleman of the year 1745 must have been a person of no mean order. His mind was further exalted, if possible, by a devoted attachment to his chief, for whose interests he was at all times ready to fight, and for whose life he was even prepared to lay down his own.—His politics were of the same abstract and disinterested sort. Despising the com-

mercenary pursuits of the low country, and regarding with a better founded disgust the dark system of parliamentary corruption which characterised the government of the *de facto* sovereign of England, he at once threw himself into the opposite scale, and espoused the cause of an exiled and injured prince, whom he looked upon as in some measure a general and higher sort of chief. Charles' cause was the cause of chivalry, of feeling, of filial affection, and even, in his estimation, of patriotism; and with all his prepossessions, it was scarcely possible that he should fail to espouse it.\*

At Borrodale, the Prince received a reply to the message which he had sent to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod. What Borrodale had said of these chiefs proved exactly true. Originally well affected to the Stuart family, they had recently been tampered with by Duncan Forbes, President of the Court of Session, so distinguished as a virtuous and enlightened friend of the Hanover succession, as well as by the genuine love he bore for his native country. Being now disposed to remain on good terms with the government, they returned for answer, that, although they had promised to support his royal highness if he came with a foreign force, they did not conceive themselves to be under any obligation since he came so ill provided. They likewise offered the advice that he should immediately return to France. It was not known at the time, but has since been made manifest, that these chiefs did at the same time active service to the government, in sending intelligence of the Prince's arrival. Their answer to Charles was so disheartening, that now even those who had come with him joined with his Highland friends in counselling him to give up the enterprise. † The example of the two Skye chiefs would, they said, be fatal, as many others would follow it. Nevertheless, Charles adhered to his design, repeating, in reply to all their representations, the same words he had used to Mr. Hugh Macdonald. With six good trusty followers, he said, he would skulk in Scotland, rather than return to France.

From Borrodale, where he lived in the manner described for several days, he dispatched messengers to all the chiefs from whom he had any expectation of assistance. The first that came to see him was Donald Cameron, younger of Lochail; a man in middle age, of great bravery, and universally respected character. Young Lochail, as he was generally called, was the son of the chief of the clan Cameron, one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Highland tribes. His father had been engaged in the insurrection of 1715, for which he was attainted and in exile; and his grandfather, Sir Evan Cameron, the fellow-soldier of Montrose and Dundee, had died in 1719, after almost a century of military partisanship in behalf of the house of Stuart. Young Lochail had been much in confidence with the exiled family, whose chief agent in the north of Scotland he might be considered; an office for which he was peculiarly well qualified on account of his talents, his integrity, and the veneration in which he was held by his countrymen. He was one of the seven gentlemen who, in 1740, entered into an association to procure the restoration of King James; and he had long wished for the concerted time when he should bring the Highlands to aid an invading party in that cause. When he now learned that Charles had landed without troops and arms, and with only seven followers, he determined to abstain from the enterprise, but

\* In this chapter, notice should also have been taken of the effect which their popular native poetry had upon the minds of the Highlanders. Throughout nearly the whole country, but especially in Athole and the adjacent territories, there were innumerable songs and ballads tending to advance the cause of the Stuarts, while there was not one to depreciate them. A Lowlander and a modern cannot easily comprehend, nor can he set forth, the power of this simple but energetic engine. It has been described to us, however, as something perfectly overpowering. Most of the ballads were founded upon the wars of Montrose and Dundee, and aimed at rousing the audience to imitate the actions of their ancestors in these glorious campaigns.

† Young Clanranald was himself shaken in his resolution of arming for the Prince by the conversation he had with Sir Alexander Macdonald, and returned to his own country with a decided disinclination to the enterprise. But when he arrived, he found his clan determined to go out at all hazards, whether he should head them or not, having probably been much gained upon in the interval by the Prince's address. The young chief was thus ultimately brought back to his former resolution. These facts are stated by Bishop Forbes (*Lyon in Mourning, MS.*), on the concurring testimony of Ranald Macdonald, a son of Borrodale, and Mr. Macdonald of Bellfinlay.

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thought himself bound as a friend to visit the Prince in person, and endeavour to make him withdraw from the country.

In passing from his own house towards Borodale, Locheil called at Fassefern, the residence of his brother John Cameron, who, in some surprise at the earliness of his visit, hastily inquired its reason. Locheil informed his relative that the Prince of Wales had landed at Borodale, and sent for him. Fassefern asked what troops his royal highness had brought with him? what money? what arms? Locheil answered that he believed the Prince had brought with him neither troops, nor money, nor arms; and that, resolved not to be concerned in the affair, he designed to do his utmost to prevent it from going any farther. Fassefern approved his brother's sentiments, and applauded his resolution, advising him, at the same time, not to go any farther on the way to Borodale, but to come into the house, and impart his mind to the Prince by a letter. "No," said Locheil; "although my reasons admit of no reply, I ought at least to wait upon his royal highness." "Brother," said Fassefern, "I know you better than you know yourself; if this Prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases." The result proved the justice of this prognostication.

On arriving at Borodale, Locheil had a private interview with the Prince, in which the probabilities of the enterprise were anxiously debated. Charles used every argument to excite the loyalty of Locheil, and the chief exerted all his eloquence to persuade the Prince to withdraw till a better opportunity. Charles represented the present as the best possible opportunity, seeing that the French general kept the British army completely engaged abroad, while at home there were no troops but one or two newly-raised regiments. He expressed his confidence that a small body of Highlanders would be sufficient to gain a victory over all the force that could now be brought against him, and he was equally sure that such an advantage was all that was required to make his friends at home declare in his favour, and cause those abroad to send assistance. All he wanted was that the Highlanders should begin the war. Locheil still resisted, entreating Charles to be more temperate, and consent to remain concealed where he was, till his friends should meet together, and concert what was best to be done. Charles, whose mind was wound up to the utmost pitch of impatience, paid no regard to this proposal, but answered that he was determined to put all to the hazard. "In a few days," said he, "with the few friends I have, I will raise the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors—to win it, or to perish in the attempt! Locheil, who my father has often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his Prince!" "No!" said Locheil, stung by so poignant a reproach, and hurried away by the enthusiasm of the moment; "I will share the fate of my Prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power." Such was the juncture upon which depended the civil war of 1745; for it is a point agreed, says Mr. Home, who narrates this conversation, that, if Locheil had persisted in his refusal to take arms, no other chief would have joined the standard, and "the spark of rebellion must have been instantly extinguished."\*

Locheil immediately returned home, and proceeded to raise his clan, as did some other gentlemen, whom Charles then prevailed upon to join him. It being now settled that he was to erect his standard at Glenfinnan on the 19th of August, he dispatched letters on the 6th of the month to all the friendly chiefs, informing them of his resolution, and desiring them to meet him at the time and place mentioned. In the meantime, Clanranald, returned from his unsuccessful mission to Skye, actively set about raising his own clan.

\* Mr. Home's account of this affair is very curious, and probably in the main true.—Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that, in the Jacobite Memoirs compiled from the papers of Bishop Forbes (p. 22, *note*), there is a statement, upon the credit of two good witnesses, which some may think at variance with the narrative of the historian. It is there alleged that Locheil, before agreeing to *come out*, took full security for the value of his estates from the Prince, and that it was to fulfil this engagement that Charles, after the unfortunate conclusion of the enterprise, obtained a French regiment for Locheil. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the presence of generous feelings does not necessarily forbid the dictates of prudence and caution: both anecdotes may be true.

Charles removed, about the 11th of August, from the farm-house of Borodale, to the mansion of Kinlochmoidart, situated seven miles off. While he and his company went by sea, with the baggage and artillery, the guard of Clauranald Macdonalds, which had been already appointed about his person, marched by the more circuitous route along the shore of the intervening bays. At Kinlochmoidart† he was joined by Mr. John Murray, of Broughton, the same who has already been mentioned as an emissary of the Prince to his Scottish friends, and who, after waiting during June to warn him from the west coast, had afterwards returned to his house in Peeblesshire. Mr. Murray, who was a man of good talents and education, had now once more come to the Highlands, in order to join an enterprise which it was too late to think of stopping. From this time he acted throughout the whole campaign as the Prince's secretary. Charles remained at Kinlochmoidart till the 18th, when he went by water to Glenaladale, the seat of another chieftain of the clan MacDonal, upon the brink of Loch Shiel. He was here joined by Gordon of Glenbucket, a veteran partisan who had figured in the affair of 1715, and who brought with him a prisoner of the opposite party, in the person of Capt. Sweetenham, of Guise's regiment, who had been taken by the Keppoch Macdonalds, while travelling from Ruthven barracks, in Badenoch, to Fort William.—From Glenaladale he proceeded next morning, with a company of about five-and-twenty persons, in three boats, to the eastern extremity of Loch Shiel, near which was the place where he designed to raise his standard.

Meanwhile, an incident had occurred, which tended not a little to foment the rising flame of insurrection. The governor of Fort Augustus (a small government post, at the distance of forty or fifty miles from Charles' landing-place), concluding, from reports he heard, that the "men of Moidart" were hatching some mischief, thought proper, on the 16th of August, to dispatch two companies of the Scots Royals to Fort William, as a reinforcement to awe that rebellious district.—The distance between the two forts is twenty-eight miles, and the road runs chiefly along the edge of a mountain which forms one side of the Great Glen, having the sheer height of the hill on one side, and the long narrow lakes, out of which the Caledonian Canal has since been formed, on the other. The men were newly raised, and, besides being inexperienced in military affairs, were unused to the alarming circumstances of an expedition in the Highlands. When they had travelled twenty out of the eight-and-twenty miles, and were approaching High Bridge, a lofty arch over a mountain torrent, they were surprised to hear the sound of a bagpipe, and to discover the appearance of a large party of Highlanders, who were already in possession of the bridge. The object of their alarm was in reality a band of only ten or twelve Macdonalds of Keppoch's clan; but by skipping and leaping about, displaying their swords and firelocks, and by holding out their plaids between each other, they contrived to make a very formidable appearance. Captain (afterwards General) Scott, who commanded the two companies, ordered an immediate halt, and sent forward a serjeant with his own servant to reconnoitre. These two persons no sooner approached the bridge, than two nimble Highlanders darted out and seized them. Ignorant of the number of the Highlanders, and knowing he was in a disaffected part of the country, Captain Scott thought it would be better to retreat than enter into hostilities. Accordingly, he ordered his men to face about, and march back again. The Highlanders did not follow immediately, lest they should expose the smallness of their number, but permitted the soldiers to get two miles away (the ground being so far plain and open) before leaving their post. As soon as the retreating party had passed the west end of Loch Lochie, and were entering upon the narrow road between the lake and the hill, out darted the mountaineers, and ascending the rocky precipices above the road, where there was shelter from both bush and stone, began to fire down upon the soldiers, who only retreated with the greater expedition.

The party of Macdonalds who attempted this daring exploit, was commanded

† "As the Prince was setting out for Glenfinnin, I was detached to Ardnamurchan to recruit, and soon returned with fifty clever fellows, who pleased the Prince; and, upon review, his royal highness was pleased to honour me with the command of them, telling me I was the first officer he had made in Scotland. This compliment delighted me exceedingly, and we all vowed to the Almighty, that we should live and die with our noble Prince, though all Britain should forsake him but our little regiment alone."  
—Macdonald's Journal; Lockhart Papers, ii. 453.

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by Macdonald of Tiendrish. That gentleman, having early observed the march of the soldiers, had sent expresses to Locheil and Keppoch, whose houses were only a few miles distant on both sides of High Bridge, for supplies of men. They did not arrive in time, but he resolved to attack the party with the few men he had; and he had thus far succeeded, when the noise of his pieces causing friends in all quarters to fly to arms, he now found himself at the head of a party almost sufficient to encounter the two companies in the open field.

When Captain Scott reached the east end of Loch Lochie, he perceived some Highlanders near the west end of Loch Oich, directly in the way before him; and not liking their appearance, he crossed the isthmus between the lakes, intending to take possession of Invergarry Castle, the seat of Macdonell of Glengary. This movement only increased his difficulties. He had not marched far, till he discovered the Macdonells of Glengary coming down the opposite hill in full force against him. He formed the hollow square, however, and marched on. Presently after his pursuers were reinforced by the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and increased their pace to such a degree as almost to overtake him. Keppoch himself then advanced alone towards the distressed party, and offered good terms of surrender; assuring them that any attempt at resistance, in the midst of so many enemies, would only be the signal for their being cut in pieces. The soldiers, by this time fatigued with a march of thirty miles, had no alternative but to surrender. They had scarcely laid down their arms, when Locheil came up with a body of Camerons from another quarter, and took them under his charge. Two soldiers were slain, and Captain Scott himself was wounded in this scuffle, which had no small effect in raising the spirits of the Highlanders, and encouraging them to commence the war.

The *gathering of the clans* was therefore proceeding with great activity, and armed bodies were seen every where crossing the country to Glenfinnan, at the time when Charles landed at that place to erect his standard. Glenfinnan (which belonged to Macdonald of Glenaladale, who emigrated with part of his clan to Prince Edward Island, having given his estates for a trifle to his cousin, the son of a junior branch of his family,) is a narrow vale, surrounded on both sides by lofty and craggy mountains, about twenty miles north from Fort William, and as far east from Borodale, forming, in fact the outlet from Moidart to Lochaber.—The place gets its name from the little river Finnan, which runs through it, and falls into Loch Shiel at its extremity. Charles disembarked, with his company, from the three boats which had brought them from Glenaladale, at the place where the river discharges itself into the lake. It was eleven in the forenoon, and he expected to find the whole vale alive with the assembled bands which he had appointed to meet him. In this he was disappointed. Only a few natives, the inhabitants of a little village, "were there to say, 'God bless him!'" Some accident, it was concluded, had prevented the arrival of the clans, and he went into one of the neighbouring hovel to spend the anxious hours which should intervene before they appeared.

At length, about an hour after noon, the sound of a pibroch was heard over the top of an opposite hill, and immediately after, the adventurer was cheered by the sight of a large band of Highlanders, in full march down the slope. It was the Camerons, to the amount of 700 or 800,

"All plaided and plumed in their tartan array,"

coming forward in two columns of three men abreast, to the spirit-stirring notes of the bagpipe, and enclosing the party of soldiers whom they had just taken prisoners. Elevated by the fine appearance of this clan, and by the auspicious result of the little action just described, Charles set about the business of declaring open war against the elector of Hanover.

The spot selected for the rearing of the standard, was a little eminence in the centre of the vale. The Marquis of Tullibardine, whose rank entitled him to the honour, pitched himself upon the top of this knoll, supported by two men, on account of his weak state of health. He then flung upon the mountain breeze that "meteor flag," which, shooting like a streamer from the north, was soon to spread such omens of woe and terror over the peaceful vales of Britain. It was a large banner of red silk, with a white space in the centre, but without the motto of "TANDEM TRIUMPHANS," which has been so often assigned to it—as also the significant emblems of a crown and coffin, with which the terror of England at one

time adorned it. The appearance of the standard was hailed by a storm of pipe-music, a cloud of skimmering bonnets, and a loud and long-enduring shout.—Tullibardine then read several documents of an important nature, with which the Prince had provided himself. The first was a declaration or manifesto, in the name of James VIII., dated at Rome, December 23, 1743; containing a view of the public grievances of Britain, and expressing an earnest desire to do the utmost to redress them; calling for this purpose on all his loyal subjects to join his standard as soon as it should be set up; and promising, in the event of his restoration, to respect all existing institutions, rights, and privileges. The second was a commission of the same date, in which James appointed his son Charles to be prince regent. The third was a manifesto by the Prince, dated at Paris, May 16, 1745, declaring that he was now come to execute the will of his father, by setting up the royal standard and asserting his undoubted right to the throne of his ancestors; offering pardon for all treasons to those who should now take up arms in his behalf, or at the least abjure allegiance to the usurper; calling on the officers of the army and navy to come over to his service, in which case he should pay all their arrears, and re-appointing as his servants all public officers whatever who should henceforth act in his name; commanding payment of all public monies to officers authorized by him; promising the same respect to existing institutions and privileges as his father; and, finally, calling on all his father's subjects "to be assisting to him in the recovery of his just rights and of their own liberties." The standard was carried back to the Prince's quarters by a guard of fifty Camerons.

About two hours after this solemnity\* was concluded, Macdonald of Keppoch arrived with 300 of his hardy and warlike clan; and in the evening, some gentlemen of the name of Macleod came to offer their services, expressing great indignation at the defection of their chief, and proposing to return to Skye and raise all the men they could. The army, amounting to about 1200 men, was encamped that evening in Glenfinnin, Sullivan being appointed quarter-master-general.

One of the principal objects of this little work being to give the Scotch of America who have not time nor opportunity to read larger works, some knowledge of the manners and actions of their forefathers, the writer regrets that he is only able to give a brief outline of the heroic deeds of their ancestors in 1745;—for other periods of Scottish history, such as the wars of Bruce and Wallace, Montrose and Dundee, I must refer them to larger and more elaborate histories.

The Prince, having raised the standard of his father and family at Glenfinnin, marched with his clans by the road of Fort William, through Lochail's country, the Glengary country, and by the shortest road to Perth, where he was well received—numbers with the Duke of Perth joining his standard. He entered Edinburgh almost without opposition, and was greatly admired for his handsome and princely appearance and truly elegant manners. He proclaimed his royal father as King in Edinburgh, where his forces were considerably increased by several gentlemen of the Lowland nobility and their followers, who, with a few English partisans, joined his standard.—After remaining a few days in Edinburgh, he marched to attack the English army under General Cope, at Preston, where, in a

\* Amongst the spectators on this occasion was a lady, named Miss Jeany Cameron, who afterwards became the subject of many unfounded popular rumours. She was in reality a middle-aged lady, of strict propriety of deportment, and after this occasion did not see the Prince any more, except when she met him in public during his stay in Edinburgh.

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very short period, as will be seen from the following extract from Chambers' History, he gained a complete victory—displaying, with his officers, considerable military talent and bravery. The courage and prowess of his Highlanders, with their broadswords and dirks, were in the highest degree wonderful for troops who never before had been engaged in any battle, excepting, occasionally, among themselves.

The Royal or Hanoverian army was arranged along the front of the morass in a manner displaying sufficient military skill. The centre consisted of eight companies of Lascelles's regiment, and two of Guise's. On the right were five companies of Lees's; on the left the whole of Sir John Murray's. Besides these, there were a number of recruits for different regiments at present abroad, and a few small parties of volunteers, comprising the gentlemen, with their tenants already mentioned, and some persons who had been induced to join by religious considerations. The infantry was protected on the right flank by Gardiner's, and on the left by Hamilton's dragoons; who stood each with two troops to the front, and one in the rear for a reserve. Some Highland companies composed a second line in the rear. The cannon, six pieces in all, guarded by a company of Lees's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane, and under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford, were placed on the right of the army, near the waggon-road or railway from Tranent to Cockenzie.

The army of Cope altogether consisted of 2100 men; but a number of these did not fight in the subsequent engagement, being engaged elsewhere as videttes and guards. The artillery corps was by far the most hopeless part of the army. At the time when General Cope marched to the north, there were no gunners or matrosses to be had in Scotland, but one old man who had belonged to the Scots train of artillery before the Union. This person, with three old invalid soldiers, the general carried with him to Inverness; and the hopeful band was afterwards reinforced by a few sailors from the ship of war which escorted the troops to Dunbar. A more miserable troop was perhaps never before, or since, entrusted with so important a charge.

As soon as it became dark, the Highland army moved from the west to the east side of Tranent, where the morass seemed to be more practicable; and a council of war being called, it was resolved to attack the army in that quarter at break of day. The Highlanders, wrapping themselves up in their plaids, then laid themselves down to sleep upon the stubble-fields. Charles, whose pleasure it had all along been to share in the fatigues and privations of his men, rejecting the opportunity of an easier couch in the village, also made his lodging upon the cold ground. During the night, not a light was to be seen, and not a word to be heard in his bivouack, in obedience to an order which had been issued, for the purpose of concealing their position from Sir John Cope.

A young gentleman, named Robert Anderson, (son of Anderson of Whitborough in East Lothian), who joined the insurgents at Edinburgh, had been present at the council which determined the place and mode of attack, but did not take the liberty to speak or give his opinion. After the dismissal of the council, Anderson told his friend, Mr. Hepburn of Keith, that he knew the ground well,\* and thought there was a better way to come at the king's army than that which the council had resolved to follow. "I could undertake," he added, "to show them a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire." Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms, that Anderson desired he would carry him to Lord George Murray. Mr. Hepburn advised him to go alone to the Lieutenant-General, with whom he was already perfectly well acquainted, and who would like best to receive any information of this sort without the presence of a third party. Anderson immediately sought Lord George, whom he found asleep in a field of cut peas, with the Prince and several

\* Mr. Anderson, while residing occasionally with his relatives, the Andersons of St. Germans, had often shot snipes on this ground. Such, I have been informed by his family, was the accident by which he gained this valuable piece of knowledge.

of the chiefs lying near him. The young gentleman immediately awoke his lordship, and proceeded to inform him of his project. To Lord George it appeared so eligible, that he hesitated not a moment to use the same freedom with the Prince which Mr. Anderson had used with him. Charles sat up on his bed of pens-straw, and listened to the scheme with great attention. He then caused Lochiel and the other leaders to be called and taken into counsel. They all approved of the plan; and a resolution was instantly passed to take advantage of Mr. Anderson's offers of service.

Lord Nairn's party being recalled from Preston, the Highland army began to move about three o'clock in the morning (Saturday, 21st September), when the sun was as yet three hours below the horizon. It was thought necessary, on this occasion, to reverse the order of march, by shifting the rear of the column to the van. Colonel Ker managed this evolution with his characteristic skill and prudence. Passing slowly from the head to the other end of the column, desiring the men as he went along to observe the strictest silence, he turned the rear forwards, making the men wheel round his person till they were all on the march. Mr. Anderson led the way. Next to him was Macdonald of Glenaladale, major of the Clanranald Regiment, who had a chosen body of sixty men. Close behind came the army, marching, as usual, in a column of three men abreast. They came down by a sort of valley, or hollow, that winds through the farm of Ringan-head. Not a whisper was heard amongst them. At first their march was concealed by darkness, and, when daylight began to appear, by the mist already mentioned. When they were near the morass, some dragoons, who stood upon the other side as an advanced guard, called out, "Who's there?" The Highlanders made no answer, but marched on. The dragoons, soon perceiving who they were, fired their pieces, and rode off to give the alarm.

The ditch so often mentioned as traversing the morass, became a mill-course at this easterly point, for the service of Seton Mill with water. The Highlanders had therefore not only the difficulty of wading through the bog knee-deep in mud, but also that of crossing a broad deep run of water by a narrow wooden bridge. Charles himself jumped across the dam, but fell on the other side, and got his legs and hands beslimed. The column, as it gradually cleared this impediment, moved directly onwards to the sea, till it was thought by those at the head that all would be over the morass; a line was then formed, in the usual manner, upon the firm and level ground.

The arrangement of the Highland army for the battle about to take place, was ruled, by some rather odd considerations. The great clan Colla, or Macdonalds, formed the right wing, in consequence of a tradition that Robert Bruce had assigned it that station at the battle of Bannockburn, in gratitude for the treatment he had received from its chief when in hiding in the Hebrides, and because it had assumed that station in every battle since, except that of Harlaw, on which occasion the post of honour was voluntarily resigned in favour of the Macleods. The Camerons and Appin Stuarths composed the left wing, perhaps for some similar reason; while the Duke of Perth's regiment and the Macgregors stood in the centre. The Duke of Perth, as oldest lieutenant-general, commanded the right wing, Lord George Murray the left.

Behind the first line, which was thus disposed and thus commanded, a second was arranged at the distance of fifty yards, consisting of the Athole men, the Robertsons, the Macdonalds of Glenco, and the Macleuchlans, under the command of Lord Nairn. Charles took his place between the two lines. The whole army was rather superior in numbers to that of General Cope, being probably about 2400; but as the second line never came into action, the real number of combatants, as stated by the Prince's authority after the battle, was only 1456.

Surprise being no part of the Prince's plan, no regret was expressed at the alarm which the videttes had carried to the king's army; but it was thought necessary to form the lines as quickly as possible. When this was effected, Charles addressed his men in these words, "Follow me, gentlemen, and by the blessing of God, I will this day make you a free and happy people!" The Duke of Perth then sent Mr. Anderson to inform Lord George Murray that he was ready to march. Anderson met an *aid-de-camp*, sent by Lord George to inform the Duke that the left wing was moving. Some time of course elapsing before the right wing was aware of this motion, it was a little behind the left; and the charge was thus made in an oblique manner.

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It was just dawn, and the mist was fast retiring before the advance of the sun, when the Highlanders set out upon their attack. A long uninterrupted series of fields, from which the grain had recently been reaped, lay between them and General Cope's position. Morn was already on the waters of the Forth to their right, and the mist was rolling in large masses over the marsh and up the crofts to their left; but it was not yet clear enough to admit of either army seeing the other. An impervious darkness lay between, which was soon however to disclose to both the exciting spectacle of an armed and determined enemy. On the part of the Highlanders there was perfect silence, except the rushing sound occasioned by their feet going through the stubble: on that of General Cope, only an occasional drum was to be heard, as it hoarsely pronounced some military signal.

At setting out upon the charge, the Highlanders all pulled off their bonnets, and, looking upwards, uttered a short prayer. The front-rank men, most of whom were gentlemen, and all of whom had targets, stooped as much as they could in going forward, keeping their shields in front of their heads, so as to protect almost every part of their bodies, except the limbs, from the fire which they expected. The inferior and worse armed men behind, endeavoured to supply the want of defensive weapons by going close in rear of their companions. Every chief charged in the centre of his regiment, supported immediately on both sides by his nearest relations and principal officers; any one of whom, as of the whole clan, would have willingly substituted his person to the blow aimed at that honoured individual.

A little in advance of the second line, Charles himself went on, in the midst of a small guard. His situation was not so dangerous as it would have been if he had persisted in his wish of going foremost into the enemy's lines, but yet such as a gallant man might have been glad to have. As his courage has been most absurdly challenged, it is the more necessary to be particular as to his conduct on this occasion. A Highland gentleman, who wrote a journal of the campaign, relates that, just before the moment of the onset at Preston, he saw the Prince leave his guard and go forward to the front line to give his last orders to the Duke of Perth and Clanranald. Passing the reporter of the circumstance on his return, and recognising him, he said, with a smile, "*Gres-ort, gres-ort!*"—that is, "Make haste, make haste!"

Not only was the front line, as already mentioned, oblique, but it was soon further weakened from another cause. Soon after commencing the charge, it was found that the marsh retired southwards a little, and left some firm ground unoccupied by that extremity of the army, so that it would have been possible for Cope to turn their flank with a troop of dragoons. In order to obviate this disadvantage, the Cameronians were desired by Lord George Murray to incline that way, and fill the open ground. When they had done so, there was an interval in the centre of the line, which was ordered to be filled up from the second line, but it could not be done in time. Some of the Prince's officers afterwards acknowledged, that, when they first saw the regular lines of the royal army, and the level rays of the new risen sun reflected at a thousand points from the long extended series of muskets, they could not help expecting that the wavering unsteady clusters into which their own line was broken, would be defeated in a moment, and swept from the field. The issue was destined to be far otherwise.

Sir John Cope, who had spent the night at the little village of Cockenzie, where his baggage was disposed under a guard, hastened to join his troops, on first receiving intelligence that the Highlanders were moving towards the east. His first impression regarding their movements seems to have been, that, after finding it impossible to attack him either across the morass or through the defiles of Preston, they were now about to take up a position on the open fields to the east, in order to fight a fair battle when daylight should appear. It does not seem to have occurred to him that they would make the attack immediately; and, accordingly, although he thought proper to form his lines, and turn them in the direction of the enemy, he was at last somewhat disconcerted, and his men were not a little surprised, when it was given out by the sentries that the Highlanders were upon them.\*

\* The circumstances which lead to this conclusion will scarcely fail to impress the reader with the same idea. According to the journal writer already quoted, the advancing mountaineers, on first coming within sight of Cope's army, heard them call out, "Who is there? Who is there? Cannons! cannons! get ready the cannons, cannon-

The mode of fighting practised at this period by the Highlanders, though as simple as can well be conceived, was well calculated to set at nought and defeat the tactics of a regular soldiery. It has been thus described by the Chevalier Johnstone, who was engaged in all the actions fought during this campaign. They advanced with the utmost rapidity towards the enemy, gave fire when within a musket-length of the object, and then, throwing down their pieces, drew their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand along with the target, darted with fury on the enemy through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of the enemy's bayonets, bending their left knee, they contrived to receive the thrust of that weapon on their targets; then raising their arm, and with it the enemy's point, they rushed in upon the soldier, now defenceless, killed him at one blow, and were in a moment within the lines, pushing right and left with sword and dagger, often bringing down two men at once. The battle was thus decided in a moment, and all that followed was mere carnage.

Cope, informed by his retreating sentries that the enemy was advancing, had only time to ride once along the front of his lines to encourage the men, and was just returned to his place on the right of the infantry, when he perceived, through the thin sunny mist, the dark clumps of the clans, rushing swiftly and silently on towards his troops; those which were directly opposite to him being most visible, while on the left they faded away in an interminable line amongst the darkness from which they seemed gradually evolving. The indefinite and apparently numerous clusters in which they successively burst upon his sight—the rapidity with which they advanced—the deceptive and indefinite extent given to their appearance by the mist—all conspired to appal the royal troops. Five of the six cannon were discharged against the left of the advancing host, with such effect as to make that part of the army hover for a moment upon the advance; and one volley of musketry went along the royal lines from right to left, as the clans successively came up. But all was unavailing against the ferocious resolution of the Highlanders.

The victory began, as the battle had done, among the Camerons. That spirited clan, notwithstanding their exposure to the cannon, and although received with a discharge of musketry by the artillery guard, ran on with undaunted speed, and were first up to the front of the enemy. Having swept over the cannon, they found themselves opposed to a squadron of dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, which was advancing to attack them. They had only to fire a few shots when these dastards, not yet recovered from their former fright, wheeled about, and fled over the artillery guard, which was accordingly dispersed. The posterior squadron of dragoons, under Colonel Gardiner himself, was then ordered to advance to the attack. Their gallant old commander led them forward, encouraging them as well as he could by the way; but they had not proceeded many steps, when, receiving a few shots from the Highlanders, they reeled, turned, and followed their companions. Lochell had ordered his men to strike at the noses of the horses, as the best means of getting the better of their masters; but they never found a single opportunity of practising this *ruse*, the men having chosen to retreat while they were yet some yards distant.

If Gardiner's dragoons behaved thus ill, Hamilton's, at the other extremity of the army, may be said to have behaved still worse. No sooner had they seen their fellows flying before the Camerons, than they also turned about and fled, without having fired a carbine, and while the Macdonalds were still at a little distance.

The infantry, when deserted by those from whom they were taught to expect support, gave way on all hands without having re-loaded their pieces, or stained a single bayonet with blood. The whole at once threw down their arms, either to lighten them in their flight, or to signify that they surrendered; and many fell upon their knees before the impetuous Highlanders, to beg the quarter which, in the hurry of the moment, could scarcely be given them. One small party alone, out of the army, had the resolution to make any resistance. They fought for a brief space, under the command of Colonel Gardiner, who, deserted by his own troop, and observing their gallant behaviour, had put himself at their head. They only

ers!" Andrew Henderson, a Whig Historian, has also mentioned, in his account of the engagement, that the sentries, on first perceiving the Highland line through the mist, thought it a hedge which was gradually becoming apparent as the light increased. The event, however, was perhaps the best proof that the royal army was somewhat taken by surprise.

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fled when they had suffered considerably, and when their brave leader was cut down by numerous wounds. Such was the rapidity with which the Highlanders in general bore the royal soldiers off the field, that their second line, though only fifty yards behind, and though it ran fully as fast as the first, on coming up to the place, found nothing upon the ground but the killed and wounded. The whole battle, indeed, is said to have lasted only four minutes.

In the panic flight which immediately ensued, the Highlanders used their dreadful weapons with unsparing vigour, and performed many feats of individual prowess, such as might rather adorn the pages of some ancient romance, than the authentic narrative of a modern battle. A small party of Macgregors, in particular, bearing for their only arms the blades of scythes fastened end-long upon poles, clove heads to the chin, cut off the legs of horses, and even, it is said, laid the bodies of men in two distinct pieces upon the field. With even the broad-sword, strength and skill enabled them to do prodigious execution. Men's feet and hands, and also the feet of horses, were severed from the limbs by that powerful weapon; and it is a well authenticated fact, that "a Highland gentleman, after breaking through Murray's regiment, gave a grenadier a blow, which not only severed the arm raised to ward it off, but cut the skull an inch deep, so that the man immediately died."

While the clans on the right and left behaved with distinguished bravery, a portion of the centre, including some of the lowland tenantry of the Duke of Perth, acted in a manner resembling the conduct of the royal troops. They are said, on approaching the enemy's lines, to have "stood stock-still like oxen". It was to this regiment that the scythe-armed company of Macgregors belonged. These, at least, evinced all the ardour and bravery which were so generally displayed that day by their countrymen. Disregarding the example of their immediate fellows, they continued to rush forwards, under the command of their Captain, Malcolm Macgregor. A space being left betwixt them and their clan-regiment, which went on beside the Camerous, under command of Glencairnag, their chief, they edged obliquely athwart the field in that direction, in order to rank themselves beside their proper banner—an evolution which exposed them in a peculiar manner to the fire coming at that moment from the British regiments. Their Captain fell before this fire, pierced with no fewer than five bullets, two of which went quite through his body. Stretched on the field, but unsubdued in spirit, he raised himself upon his elbow, and cried out as loud as he could, "Look ye, my lads, I'm not dead—by G—, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!" This speech, half-whimsical as it was, is said to have communicated an impulse to his men, and perhaps contributed, with other acts of individual heroism, to decide the fate of the day.

The general result of the battle of Preston may be stated as having been the total overthrow and almost entire destruction of the royal army. Most of the infantry, falling back upon the park-walls of Preston, were there huddled together, without the power of resistance, into a confused drove, and had either to surrender or be cut in pieces. Many, in vainly attempting to climb over the walls, fell an easy prey to the ruthless claymore. Nearly 400, it is said, were thus slain, 700 taken, while only about 170 in all succeeded in effecting their escape.

The dragoons, with worse conduct, were much more fortunate. In falling back they had the good luck to find outlets from their respective positions, by the roads which run along the various extremities of the park-wall, and they thus got clear through the village with very little slaughter; after which, as the Highlanders had no horse to pursue them, they were safe. Several officers, among whom were Fowkes and Lascelles, escaped to Cockenzie, and along Seton Sands, in a direction contrary to the general flight.

The unfortunate Cope had attempted, at the first break of Gardiner's dragoons, to stop and rally them, but was borne headlong, with the confused bands, through the narrow road to the south of the enclosures, notwithstanding all his efforts to the contrary. On getting beyond the village, where he was joined by the retreating bands of the other regiment, he made one anxious effort, with the Earls of Loudoun and Home, to form and bring them back to charge the enemy, now disordered by the pursuit; but in vain. They fled on, ducking their heads along their horses' necks to escape the bullets which their pursuers occasionally sent after them. By using great exertions, and holding pistols to the heads of the troopers, Sir John and a few of his officers induced a small number of them to halt in a field near St. Clement's Wells, about two miles from the battle ground. But, after a momentary delay, the accidental firing of a pistol renewed the panic.

and they rode off once more in great disorder. Sir John Cope, with a portion of them, reached Chunnelkirk at an early hour in the forenoon, and there halted to breakfast, and to write a brief note to one of the state officers, relating the fate of the day. He then resumed his flight, and reached Coldstream that night. He next morning proceeded to Berwick, whose fortifications seemed competent to give the security he required. He every where brought the first tidings of his own defeat.

The number of dragoons who accompanied the general was about 400; besides which, there were perhaps half as many who dispersed themselves in different directions. A small party which made for the castle of Edinburgh, permitted themselves to be pursued and galled the whole way by a single cavalier, without ever once having the courage to turn about and face him. Colquhoun Grant, who had the hardihood to perform this feat, was a man of great bodily strength, and was animated by a most heroic zeal for the interests of the chevalier. After performing some valorous deeds on the field of Preston, he mounted the horse of a British officer, whom he had brought down with his broadsword, and rode after the fugitive dragoons with all possible speed. Within an hour after the battle, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were informed of the result, by seeing these dispirited men galloping up their principal street, followed by a single enemy. The troopers got into the castle in safety, and Grant, when he arrived there, finding the gate closed behind them, stuck into it his bloody poniard, which he left in token of defiance. He then rode back, and was allowed to pass from the town without interruption!\* Another single pursuer was less fortunate. This was Mr. David Thriepland, eldest son of Sir David Thriepland, of Fingask in Perthshire. He was in delicate health, but animated by great courage and zeal. On his own horse he pursued a party of dragoons, till they came to the place where Cope was endeavouring to rally his troopers near St. Clement's Wells. Here pausing a moment, they became aware that they were pursued by only a single gentleman, with two servants. They turned, and cut him down with their swords. He was buried on the spot. "I remember, when a child," says Sir Walter Scott, "sitting on his grave, where the grass long grew rank and green, distinguishing it from the rest of the field. A female of the family then residing at St. Clement's Wells, used to tell me the tragedy, of which she had been an eye-witness, and showed me in evidence one of the silver clasps of the unfortunate gentleman's waistcoat." It is not unworthy of notice, that so late as 1824, in the course of some legal proceedings, a lady, who was cousin-german to Mr. Thriepland, gave evidence of the fact of his death, stating that she remembered being put into mourning on his account.†

"The cowardice of the English," says the Chevalier Johnstone, in allusion to their conduct at Preston, "surpassed all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves of the only means they had of arresting the vengeance of the Highlanders. Of so many men in a condition, from their numbers, to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken complete possession of their minds. I saw," he continues, "a young Highlander scarcely formed, who was presented to the Prince as a prodigy, having killed, it was said, fourteen of the enemy. The Prince asked him if this was true? 'I do not know,' replied he, 'if I killed them, but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my broadsword!' Another Highlander brought ten soldiers to the Prince, whom he had made prisoners of war, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. This Highlander, from a rashness without example, having pursued a party to some distance from the field of battle, along the road between the two enclosures, struck down the hindermost with a blow of his sword, calling, at the same time, 'Down with your arms!' The soldiers, terror-struck, threw down their arms without looking behind them; and the Highlander, with a pistol in one hand, and a sword in the other, made them do just as he pleased."

\* Information by a surviving friend of Mr. Grant. Sir Walter Scott gives a somewhat different version of apparently the same story, in which it is stated that the dragoons were refused admission.—See *Tales of a Grandfather*.

† The horse on which Mr. Thriepland rode was observed next year in a fair at Perth, by the *grieve* or land-steward of Fingask, having found its way thither in the possession of a horse-dealer, who had probably obtained it from some marauding Highlander.—The animal was purchased with a melancholy pleasure by the family, and kept sacred from work till the end of its days.

A small party, among whom were the brave Macgregors, continued the chase for a mile and a half, when, in the words of Duncan Macpharig, "the Prince came up and successively took Glencairnaig and Major Evan in his arms, congratulating them upon the result of the fight. He then commanded the whole of the clan Gregor to be collected in the middle of the field; and a table being covered, he sat down with Glencairnaig and Major Evan to refresh himself, all the rest standing round as a guard, and each receiving a glass of wine and a little bread." In regard to Charles' conduct after the battle, the report of another eye-witness, Andrew Henderson, author of an historical account of the campaign, is as follows:—"I saw the chevalier, after the battle, standing by his horse, dressed like an ordinary captain, in a coarse plaid and large blue bonnet, with a narrow plain gold lace about it, his boots and knees much dirtied, the effects of his having fallen into a ditch. He was exceedingly merry, and twice cried out with a hearty laugh, 'My Highlanders have lost their plaids.' But his jollity seemed somewhat damped when he looked upon the seven standards which had been taken from the dragoons; at this sight he could not help observing, with a sigh, 'We have missed some of them.' After this he refreshed himself upon the field, and with the greatest composure ate a slice of cold beef and drank a glass of wine." Mr. Henderson ought to have mentioned that Charles had, before thus attending to his own personal wants, spent several hours in providing for the relief of the wounded of both armies; preserving (to use the language of Mr. Home), from temper or from judgment, every appearance of moderation and humanity. It remains to be stated, that, after giving orders for the disposal of the prisoners, and for securing the spoils, which comprised the baggage, tents, cannon, and a military chest containing £4000, he left the field, and rode towards Pinkie House, the seat of the Marquis of Tweeddale, where he lodged for the night.

Though the general behaviour of the king's army on this memorable morning was the reverse of soldierly, there were not wanting in it instances of respectable conduct. The venerable Gardiner—a man who, perhaps, combined in his single person all the attributes which Steele has given to the "Christian soldier"—afforded a noble example of devoted bravery. On the previous afternoon, though so weak that he had to be carried forward from Haddington in a post-chaise, he urged the propriety of instantly attacking the Highlanders; and even, it is said, offered Cope his neighbouring mansion of Bankton as a present, provided he would consent to that measure, which he felt convinced was the only one that could ensure victory. When he found this counsel decidedly rejected, he gave all up for lost, and began to prepare his mind by pious exercises for the fate which he expected to meet in the morning. In the battle, notwithstanding his gloomy anticipations, he behaved with the greatest fortitude, making more than one of the insurgents fall around him. Deserted by his dragoons, and severely wounded, he put himself at the head of a small body of foot which still refused to yield; and he only ceased to fight, when brought to the ground by severe and repeated wounds. He expired in the manse of Tranent, after having rather breathed than lived a few hours.

Another redeeming instance of self-devotion was presented by Captain Brymer, of Lees's regiment, the only officer in the army who had ever before seen the Highlanders attack regular troops. He had witnessed the wild onset of the Macdonalds at Sheriffmuir, which impressed him with a respect for the instinctive valour of the race. At Haddington, two nights before, when all the rest of the officers were talking lightly of the enemy, and anticipating an easy victory, Brymer retired to solitary meditation, assured that the danger which approached was by no means inconsiderable. When the dread moment of fight arrived, he disdained to fly like the rest, but fell at his station, "with his face to the foe."

The wounded of the royal army were treated by their conquerors with a degree of humanity which might have been well imitated by the regular troops on a subsequent occasion. The conduct of the Prince has been spoken of: that of his lieutenant-general, Lord George Murray, was not less kind, if we are to believe his own statement. A party whose wounds were not very severe, was conducted by Lord George to Musselburgh, he walking by their side, and allowing some of them to use his horses. At Musselburgh he obtained accommodation for them in an empty house, and slept beside them that night, to protect them from any violence on the part of his troops. This precaution seems scarcely to have been necessary. The Clanranald journalist says, "Whatever notion our Low country

people may entertain of the Highlanders, I can attest they gave many proofs this day of their humanity and mercy. Not only did I often hear our common clansmen ask the soldiers if they wanted quarter, and not only did we, the officers, exert our utmost pains to save those who were stubborn, or who could not make themselves understood, but I saw some of our private men, after the battle, run to Port Seton for ale and other liquors to support the wounded. As one proof for all, of my own particular observation, I saw a Highlander, carefully, and with patient kindness, carry a poor wounded soldier on his back into a house, where he left him, with a sixpence to pay his charges. In all this," adds the journalist, "we followed not only the dictates of humanity, but also the orders of our Prince, who acted in every thing as the true father of his country."

Of the Highlanders themselves, only thirty were killed, including three officers, and about seventy or eighty wounded. The greater part of the wounded of both armies were taken into Colonel Gardiner's house, where it is yet possible to see upon the oaken floors, the dark outlines or prints of the tartaned warriors, formed by their bloody garments, where they lay.

After gaining this battle, which is called in history the Victory of Prestonpans, they marched into England, and took the towns of Carlisle, Preston, and Manchester, where they were joined by a number of the English who were well-wishers to the royal house of Stuart.

The following list will convey a distinct view of the Highland army as constituted at this interesting period, when they marched to England. It is from the *Life of the Duke of Cumberland*.

## CLAN REGIMENTS, AND THEIR COMMANDERS.

Locheil—Cameron of Locheil, . . . . .	700
Appin—Stuart of Ardsziel, . . . . .	200
Clanranald—Macdonald of Clanranald, . . . . .	300
Keppoch—Macdonald of Keppoch, . . . . .	200
Kinloch Moidart—Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart, . . . . .	100
Glencoe—Macdonald of Glencoe, . . . . .	120
Macinnon—Macinnon of Macinnon, . . . . .	120
Macpherson—Macpherson of Cluny, . . . . .	120
Glengary—Macdonell of Glengary, . . . . .	300
Glenbucket—Gordon of Glenbucket, . . . . .	300
Maclauchlan—Maclauchlan of that ilk, . . . . .	200
Struan—Robertson of Struan, . . . . .	200
Glenmorriston—Grant of Glenmorriston, . . . . .	100
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## LOWLAND REGIMENTS.

Athol—Lord George Murray, . . . . .	600
Ogilvie—Lord Ogilvie, Angus men, . . . . .	900
Perth—Duke of Perth, . . . . .	700
Nairn—Lord Nairn, . . . . .	200
Edinburgh—Roy Stuart, . . . . .	450

## HORSE.

Lord Elcho and Lord Balmerine, . . . . .	120
Lord Pitsligo, . . . . .	80
Earl of Kilmarnock, . . . . .	60



## CHAPTER II.

Many are of opinion that had the Prince been allowed by his council of war to march direct to London, he would have been successful in gaining the crown of his ancestors; for such was the consternation of the King and Government in London, that it is said as follows by Chambers, in his History of that time :—

Now, however, the metropolis at least became strongly impressed with a sense of danger. When intelligence reached it that the Highlanders were getting past the Duke of Cumberland's army, and had reached Derby, consternation took possession of the inhabitants. Fielding, in his *True Patriot*, describes the degree of terror which prevailed as beyond all belief. The Chevalier Johnstone, speaking from the information which he procured a few months afterwards on the spot, says that the shops were shut, many people fled to the country, taking with them their most precious effects, and the bank only escaped insolvency by paying in sixpences to persons in its confidence, who, going out at one door and returning at another, received the same money over and over again, and thus kept back the *bona fide* holders of notes. The ministers were perplexed. The Duke of Newcastle, then one of the secretaries of state, was even said to have shut himself up in his house for a day, deliberating whether he should not at once declare for the Stuarts. King George was said to have ordered his yachts, in which he had embarked his most valuable effects, to remain at the Tower-stairs, in readiness to sail at a moment's warning. Perhaps some of these allegations were mere popular rumour, but they show at least a degree of fear which must have been thought sufficient to render them credible. And, in truth, the danger, if danger it is to be called, was by no means inconsiderable, for not only was the Highland army within a few days' march, with little to oppose its progress, but there was a party in the city, including, it now appears, one of the aldermen (a Mr. Heathcote), who were expected to make a public appearance in the same cause, and a French army was expected to land on the coast. The day of all this consternation was afterwards remembered under the expressive appellation of *Black Friday*.

When the Prince arrived in Derby, he and the greater number of his followers from the Highlands were eager to go forward on their march to London, hoping that the succour which had been promised from France, and even from many of the English gentry, would make the march less dangerous than it appeared. The men in general were in high spirits, until they were informed that the council of war had decided on their retreat; a retreat which dispirited the Highland army, and prevented Sir Watkin William Winn, and even some of the King's own ministers, from declaring themselves for Prince Charles, which, it has since been said, some of them meditated doing.

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The Prince's army retreated, with great regularity and military science, to Scotland—passing by Edinburgh, which they did not however enter on this occasion, but proceeded to Glasgow, where they did not receive the support they so much required from their wealthy countrymen in that city. They soon left Glasgow, which was so devotedly attached to the royal house of Hanover. The Highland army, in its retreat to the Highlands, met the English army, under Gen. Hawley, at Falkirk, where, in an incredibly short period, they gained a complete victory over the English, Lowland, and Campbell forces, as well as some other clans that continued loyal to Government. We shall here transcribe Chambers' description of the Battle of Falkirk.

It was between one and two o'clock, that several gentlemen, volunteer attendants on the camp, coming in upon the spur, gave final and decisive intelligence of the intention of the enemy. They reported that they had seen the lines of the Highland infantry evolve from behind the Torwood, and cross the Carron by the Steps of Dunnipace. The drums instantly beat to arms; an urgent message was dispatched for the recreant Hawley; and the lines were formed, in front of the camp, by officers on duty. The negligence of their general was now bitterly reflected on by the men, many of whom seemed impressed with the idea that he had sold them to the enemy.

The last message which had been dispatched to Callander succeeded in bringing Hawley to a sense of the exigency of his affairs, and he now came galloping up to his troops, with his head uncovered, and the appearance of one who has abruptly left a hospitable table. The day, which had hitherto been calm and cloudless, became at this moment overcast with heavy clouds, and a high wind beginning to blow from the south-west, seemed about to bring on a severe winter storm.

While they stood in the position already mentioned, Charles was eagerly leading forward his desultory bands to a wild upland, of irregular surface, called Falkirk Muir, two miles south-west of the English camp. In crossing the Carron at Dunnipace Steps, and thus making for a rising ground, where he could overlook Hawley's position, he precisely acted over again the very course he had pursued four months before, in crossing the Esk at Musselburgh, and ascending the heights above Cope's station at Preston; and it may be added, that there is a remarkable resemblance in the corresponding localities. Hawley, on learning the direction Charles was taking, seems to have immediately suspected that he was in danger of becoming the victim of a similar course of measures to that which occasioned the defeat of Cope; and having the bad effect of that general's caution before his eyes, he appears to have immediately adopted the resolution of disputing the high ground. He therefore gave a hasty command to the dragoons to march towards the top of the hill, in order, if possible, to anticipate the Highlanders; the foot he commanded to follow at quick pace, with their bayonets inserted in the musket. To this precipitate measure, by which he placed his army on ground he had never seen, and which was the unfittest possible for the movements of regular troops, while it was proportionally advantageous for the Highlanders, the disasters of the day are in a great measure to be attributed.

The dragoons galloped up a narrow way at the east end of Bantaskine Park. The foot followed, with a show of promptitude and courage; and the artillery, consisting of ten pieces, came last of all, driven by a band of Falkirk carters, who, with their horses, had been hastily pressed into King George's service that forenoon—for it was not till some time after this memorable campaign that the British artillery was drawn by horses and men regularly appointed for the purpose.—Whether from accident, or from the design of the drivers, who were all Jacobites, the artillery stuck in a swampy place at the end of the loan, beyond all power of extrication; and the drivers then cut the traces of their horses, and galloped back to Falkirk. The sullen south-west, against which the army was marching, now let forth its fury full in their faces, blinding them with rain, and rendering the as-

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cent of the hill doubly painful. Still they struggled on, encouraged by the voice and gesture of their general, whose white uncovered head was everywhere conspicuous as he galloped about, and who seemed ardently desirous to recover the effects of his negligence.

Before Hawley commenced this unlucky march, Charles had entered Falkirk Muir at another side, and was already ascending the hill. His troops marched in two parallel columns, about two hundred paces asunder; that which was nearest the king's army consisting of the clans which had been in England, and the other comprising all the late accessions, with some low-country regiments. The former was designed to become the front line in ranking up against the enemy.

A sort of race now commenced between the dragoons and clans, towards the top of the moor; each apparently esteeming the pre-occupation of that ground as of the most essential importance to the event. The clans attained the eminence first, and the dragoons were obliged to take up somewhat lower ground, where they were prevented from coming into direct opposition with the Highlanders by a morass on their left.

The three Macdonald regiments, according to the right of the great Clan Colla to that distinguished position, marched at the head of the first column, in order to form eventually the right wing of the army in battle array; but, on the present occasion, Glencairnaig's minor regiment of Macgregors, exerting greater speed in the race with Hawley's dragoons, and being therefore the first to reach the top of the hill, took that post of honour, which they retained throughout the ensuing conflict. The first line of the insurgent army was therefore formed by the following regiments, reckoning from right to left:—Macgregor, Keppoch, Clanranald, Glengary, Appin, Cameron, the Frasers under the Master of Lovat, and the Macphersons under Cluny their chief. At the right extremity, Lord George Murray had the chief command, fighting as usual on foot. On the left there was no general commander, unless it was Lord John Drummond, whose attention, however, was chiefly directed to his French regiment in the rear. The second line was chiefly composed of low country regiments, which stood in the following order:—Athol, Ogilvie, Gordon, Farquharson, Cromarty, and the French. The Prince stood on an eminence\* behind the second line, with the horse; having been implored by the army not to hazard his person by that active collision with the enemy, for which, as at Preston, he had expressed his ardent desire.

Opposite to the Highland army thus disposed, but rather inclining to the north, on account of the morass and of the declivity, the English foot were drawn up also in two lines, with the horse in front, and a reserve in the rear. The first line comprised the following regiments from right to left:—Wolfe, Cholmondley, the Scots Royals, Price, and Ligonier; the second, Blakeney, Monro, Fleming, Barrel, and Battersau. The reserve was composed of the Glasgow regiment, Howard's and the Argyle militia.

Falkirk Muir, an upland now covered with thriving farms, and intersected by the Union Canal, was then a rough tract, irregular in its surface without rising into peaks, and bearing no vegetation but heath. It was upon its broad ridge at the top that the two armies were disposed, the Highlanders extending more to the south, and occupying, as already stated, somewhat higher ground. The country was not encumbered by enclosures of any kind; but a sort of hollow, or *dean*, as it is called in Scotland, commenced nearly opposite to the centre of the Highland lines, and ran down between the two armies, gradually widening towards the plain below, and opening up at one place into a spacious basin. By this ravine, which was too deep to be easily passed from either side, two-thirds of the English were separated from about one-half of the Highland army. Owing to the convexity of the ground the wings of both armies were invisible to each other.

To conclude this account of the disposition of the English, the Argyle Highlanders and Ligonier's regiment were stationed in the hollow just mentioned; the Glasgow regiment was posted at a farm-house behind the other extremity; and the horse stood a little in advance of the foot, opposite to the right wing of the Highlanders, without any portion of the ravine intervening. General Hawley commanded in the centre, Brigadier Cholmondley on the left, and Major-general Huske on the right. The horse were immediately under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Ligonier, who, stationed on the left with his own regiment (lately

\* Still popularly termed *Charlie's Hill*, and now covered with wood.

Gardiens), had Cobham's and Hamilton's on his right, and personally stood almost opposite to Lord George Murray.

In numbers, the two armies were nearly equal, both amounting to about 8000; and as they were alike unsupplied by artillery (for the Highlanders had also left their's behind), there could scarcely have been a better match, so far as strength was concerned. But the English had disadvantages of another sort, such as the unfitness of the ground for their evolutions, the interruption given to so much of their lines by the ravine, the comparative lowness of their ground, and the circumstance that they had the wind and rain full in their faces.

It was near four o'clock, and the storm was rapidly bringing on premature darkness, when Hawley ordered his dragoons to advance, and commence the action. As already mentioned, he had an idea that the Highlanders would not stand against the charge of a single troop of horse, much less did he expect them to resist three regiments, amounting to 1300 men. The result showed that he was mistaken.

These regiments, after making several feints to draw the fire of the Highlanders, in order then to rush in upon them, moved slowly forward; the Highland right wing in like manner advancing to meet them, under Lord George Murray, who made the most anxious efforts to keep it in line, and to restrain all firing till the proper moment. There was the more reason for delay on the part of the Highland right wing, as the left was not yet fully formed. After the two parties had confronted each other the better part of a quarter of an hour, the dragoons went on at a full trot, in good order, till within pistol shot of the Highlanders. Then Lord George gave orders to fire, which was done with such execution, that the dragoon regiments were instantly broken. Ligonier's and Hamilton's, the cravens of Preston, fled backwards right over the left wing of their own foot, who lay upon their faces; as they went, some were heard crying, "Dear brethren, we shall all be massacred this day!" Cobham's did little better, for it fled down the ravine, receiving a volley from the Highland line as it went along. The Highlanders had fired so near, and with such precision, as to bring many to the ground, including several officers of distinction. One small party of these dragoons acted with courage. It was kept together, and led to the charge by Lieutenant-colonel Whitney, a brave officer, who had remained behind his retreating cavalry at Preston, though wounded in the sword-arm. As he was going forward at the head of his little troop to the attack, he recognised John Roy Stuart, a former friend, and cried out, "Ha! are you there? We shall soon be up with you." Stuart exclaimed in reply, "You shall be welcome when you come, and, by G—, you shall have a warm reception!" Almost at that moment, the unfortunate leader received a shot, which tumbled him lifeless from the saddle. His party rushed resistlessly through the front line of the Highlanders, trampling down all that opposed them. But their bravery was unavailing. The Highlanders, taught to fight in all postures, and under every variety of circumstances, though thrown upon their backs beneath the feet of the cavalry, used their dirks in stabbing the horses under the belly, or, dragging down the men by their long-skirted coats, engaged with them in mortal struggles, during which, they seldom failed to poniard their antagonists. The chief of Clanranald was thrown below a dead horse, from which he could not extricate himself, when one of his own clan tumbled down beside him in the arms of a dismounted dragoon. From his situation the chief could not make his condition known to any more distant clan man, and it almost appeared that his existence depended upon the success which this man might have with the dragoon. After a brief and anxious interval, the Highlander contrived to stab his foeman, and then sprang to relieve his prostrate chief.

This was but a trifling exception from the general fate of the dragoon charge. The mass retreated, as has been stated, doing great damage to the infantry of their own army. Lord George Murray was very anxious that the Macdonald regiments under his charge should keep their ranks, as the bulk of the English army was yet to engage, and the remainder of the Highland lines were as yet scarcely formed. But these regiments were too much elated by the repulse of the dragoons to obey any orders to that effect. Many of them broke off, sword in hand, and encountered the parties of militia stationed nearly opposite to them.

A few minutes after the dragoons had fled, the left wing, or rather moiety, of the Highland army, consisting of the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Camerons, Stuarts of Appin, and others, were charged by the English regiments opposed to them

assisted by a party of horse. The Highlanders, having met the horse with a good fire, advanced upon the foot, sword in hand, their ranks thickened by a considerable number of individuals from the second line, who were too impatient for action to be restrained to that position. The Macdonalds were at the same moment rushing down in considerable numbers upon the left wing of the English army. Thus a simultaneous attack was made, by nearly the whole of the Highland front line, upon all the English regiments, except the three which outflanked the Prince's forces. Those regiments, half blinded and wholly disconcerted by the storm, which blew full in their faces, and with their pieces rendered useless by the rain, gave way before the onset, and trooped off hurriedly in large parties towards Falkirk, bearing General Hawley along with them.

Some individuals who beheld the battle from the steeple of Falkirk, used to describe these its main events as occupying a surprisingly brief space of time. They first saw the English army enter the misty and storm-covered moor at the top of the hill; then saw the dull atmosphere thickened by a fast-rolling smoke, and heard the pealing sounds of the discharge; immediately after they saw the discomfited troops burst wildly from the cloud in which they had been involved, and rush, in far-spread disorder, over the face of the hill. From the commencement till what they styled "the *break* of the battle," there did not intervene more than ten minutes—so soon may an efficient body of men become, by one transient emotion of cowardice, a feeble and contemptible rabble.

The rout would have been total but for the three outflanking regiments. These not having been opposed by any of the clans, having the ravine in front, and deriving some support from a small body of dragoons, stood their ground under the command of General Huske and Brigadier Cholmondeley. When the Highlanders went past in pursuit, they received a volley from this part of the English army which brought them to a pause, and caused them to draw back to their former ground, their impression being that some ambuscade was intended. This saved the English army from destruction. A pause took place, during which the bulk of the English infantry got back to Falkirk. It was not till Lord George Murray brought up the second line of his wing, and the picquets with some others on the other wing, that General Huske drew off his party, which he did in good order. There is some obscurity in the accounts of the action with respect to this particular juncture; but there can be no doubt that the English army retired into Falkirk without molestation from the Highlanders, and that the latter staid for some time on the field of battle, or between it and the town, uncertain what to do further.

It would appear as if the very facility with which the Highlanders gained the earlier part of their victory, was a main cause of its being ultimately incomplete. When Lord John Drummond saw the Scots Royals fly, he cried, "These men behaved admirably at Fontenoy—surely this is a feint." It was impossible for even the Highlanders, humble as was their opinion of the British regiments, to believe that they would display so extreme a degree of cowardice; and when they at length found no enemies before them, they could not help asking each other (in Gaelic) "What is become of the men? Where are they?" Surprised, and apprehensive of some mysterious design, they remained for a considerable time irresolute. Many of the officers were of opinion that they ought to retire for shelter to Dunnipace and other villages in the rear; but Lord George Murray was decided for attempting to enter Falkirk immediately, lest the English army might post themselves advantageously in it. He was certain that at present they were in great confusion; but a little time might put them into a different condition. He concluded with Count Mercy's exclamation at the battle of Parma, that he would either lie in the town or in paradise. The Prince, when he came up, approved of the proposal to attempt the town; but he was himself advised to stay at some house on the face of the hill, till Lord George should inform him of the success of the attempt. The Master of Strathallan, and Mr. Oliphant, younger of Gask, then disguised themselves as peasants, and went forward to Falkirk, where they learned that General Hawley, after giving orders to fire his tents, had retreated to the eastward, leaving the town vacant. On this fact being communicated to the army on the moor, three detachments, respectively under the command of Lord John Drummond, Lochoil, and Lord George Murray, proceeded to the town, which they entered at three different points—Lord John's party by the west end, Lochoil's by a lane near the centre, and Lord George's by another lane farther to

the east. They found nothing but a few straggling parties in the street.\* Nevertheless, considerable apprehensions of a renewed attack from the English army still prevailed. It was not till about seven o'clock, that, the Earl of Kilmarnock having approached the Edinburgh road by byways through his estate, and returned with intelligence that he had seen the English army hurrying along in full flight, the Prince at length thought proper to seek shelter in the town of Falkirk, from the storm to which he had been exposed for five hours.

Charles was conducted, by torch-light, to a lodging which had been prepared for him in the house of a lady called Madam Graham, the widow of a physician, a Jacobite, and a woman whose intelligence and superior manners are still remembered with veneration at Falkirk. This house, which stands opposite to the steeple, was then the best in the town, and is still a tolerably handsome mansion, and occupied as the Post-office; but according to the fashion of times not very remote in Scotland, the best room, and that in which Charles was obliged to dine and hold his court, contains a bed concealed within folding-doors. Unexpected good fortune, however, reconciles the mind to trivial inconveniences; and it is not probable that the victor of Falkirk regretted to spend the evening of his triumph in an apartment about twelve feet square, lighted by one window, and which was at once his refectory and bed-chamber.

Only about 1500 of the Highland army spent that night in Falkirk. The remainder had scattered themselves to the westward, in search of shelter. A great deal of confusion had prevailed; some even retired, under the impression that their party had been defeated. Several chiefs, including Lord Lewis Gordon, met, in the course of the evening, at the house of Dunnipace, in a state of uncertainty as to the general result of the battle, and ignorant even of the fate of their own regiments. At length, about eight o'clock, their minds were relieved by the arrival of Macdonald of Lochgary, who had been sent from Falkirk, to order the troops forward in the morning. The intelligence brought by this gentleman, for the first time, gave them reason to suppose that their army had had the best of the day.

The Falkirk party, with the exception of a few skirmishers sent off to harass the retreating enemy, employed themselves during this evening in securing the English camp and its contents, and in stripping the bodies of the slain. Hawley, in the brief interval between the rout and the pursuit, had made an attempt to strike his camp and take away his baggage, but owing to the desertion of his waggons and the necessity of a speedy retreat, he was at last obliged to abandon the whole to the Highlanders; having only made an ineffectual attempt to set it on fire. Charles thus obtained possession of a vast quantity of military stores, while his men enriched themselves with such articles of value as the people of Falkirk had not previously abstracted. In addition to the tents, baggage, &c., which fell into his hands, he secured seven pieces of cannon, three mortars, 600 muskets, a large quantity of hand-grenades, and 4000 pounds' weight of powder, besides many standards and other trophies of victory. As for the slain, they were that night stripped so effectually, that a citizen of Falkirk who next morning surveyed the field from a distance, and who lived till recent years to describe the scene, used to say, that he could compare them to nothing but a large flock of white sheep at rest on the face of the hill.

Charles lost only thirty-two men in the battle, including officers, and had 120 wounded. The loss on the English side is stated by the official returns to have been 280 in all, killed, wounded, and missing, but was probably much more considerable. The loss of officers was in particular very great. There were killed, four captains and two lieutenants of Blakeney's, five captains and one lieutenant of Wolfe's, with no fewer than three lieutenant-colonels, Whitney, Bigger, and Powell. Colonel Ligonier, who had been under medical treatment for pleurisy,

\* The column commanded by Lord John Drummond overtook one of the straggling parties upon the main street, at a spot nearly opposite to the Old Bank. Its commander was reeling for loss of blood, but had still strength to wave his sword, and call upon his men to rally. The first Highlander who approached cut down the unfortunate officer; upon which another rushed up and slew him in his turn with a battle-axe, exclaiming, "She ought to respect a *teenan* [dying] brave man, whether she'll wear a red coat or ta kilt." The Camerons made great slaughter among another party which they found upon the street, on emerging from the Cow Wynd.—*Tradition at Falkirk.*

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went to the battle contrary to advice, and formed the rear-guard on the retreat to Linlithgow. The wetting he got that evening brought on a quinsy, of which he died on the 25th. It is worthy of note, though no more than was to have been expected, that the greatest loss took place in the regiments which soonest gave way. The most distinguished officer among the slain was Sir Robert Monro of Foulis, the chief of an ancient and honourable family in the Highlands, and whose regiment was chiefly composed, like those of the insurgent leaders, of his own clan. *Monro's* had excited the admiration of Europe by its conduct at the battle of Fontenoy, where it had fought almost without intermission for a whole day; but on the present occasion it was seized with a panic, and fled at the first onset of the insurgents. Sir Robert alone, who was so corpulent a man that he had been obliged at Fontenoy to stand upon his feet when all the rest of his regiment lay down on their faces to avoid the enemy's fire, boldly faced the charging Highlanders. He was attacked at once by six antagonists, two of whom he laid dead at his feet with his half pike, but a seventh came up, and discharged a shot into his body, by which he was mortally wounded. His brother, an unarmed physician, at this juncture came up to his relief, but shared in the indiscriminate slaughter which was then going on. Next day their bodies were found stripped and defaced, so as to be scarcely recognisable, in a little pool of water, formed around them by the rain; and it was remarked in that of the brave Sir Robert, as an instance of the ruling passion strong in death, that his right hand still clenched the pommel of his sword, from which the whole blade had been broken off. The corpses were honourably interred in one grave in the public cemetery of Falkirk, near the tombs of Graham and Stewart, the heroes of the former battle of Falkirk.

The mass of Hawley's army spent that night at Linlithgow, about ten miles from the field. They next day continued the retreat to Edinburgh, where they arrived in the afternoon, in a state strikingly different from that order, freshness, and confidence, in which they had left the city a few days before. The state-officers, and other friends of the government, were more distressed by this affair than even by Preston, many of the troops employed on the occasion having been tried in several campaigns. Hawley's policy seems to have been to bluster through the disgrace. The accounts of the action published by him are full of gaseonade. Any failure that he admits at all, he lays to the account of the bitter storm of wind and rain, which blew in the faces of his troops, and made their firelocks useless. While he makes some slight allusion to the retreat of the dragoons and part of his left wing of infantry, he lays great stress upon the gallant behaviour of his right wing, which, he says, repulsed the rebels, and drove them from the field. He represents this portion of his troops as staying *an hour* in the field, while the rebels durst not molest them. The whole retired in *good order*, to Falkirk. He intended at first to occupy his camp; but the weather proving extremely bad, and having advice that the enemy were pushing to get between him and Edinburgh, he resolved to march to Linlithgow. When the tents were to be struck, it was found that many of the drivers had ridden off with the horses; he therefore ordered the tents to be burnt. For the like reason, seven pieces of artillery had been left behind. He allowed of 280 men missing, but alleged that the enemy had lost many more. In short, the Gazette accounts of the affair read remarkably well; it only happens to be true, that the general had mismanaged the march of his troops to the field, and their arrangement there; that four-fifths of his army was disgracefully beaten and driven back; that he lost (probably) twice the number of men he stated, his cannon, his camp, and most of its contents; and in less than twenty-four hours from the time of the action, had retired twenty-six miles from the field.

Hawley, before leaving Edinburgh, had erected two gibbets, whereon to hang the Highlanders who should surrender to him in the victory he expected to achieve. After he returned in a state so different from that of a conqueror, he had to use these conspicuous monuments of his folly for the execution of some of his own men. He hanged no fewer than four in one day, permitting their bodies to remain on the gallows till sunset.\* Such a sight had not been seen in Edinburgh since

\* Both Hawley and his royal patron [the Duke of Cumberland] were signal exceptions to the rule, that brave men are never cruel. Once, in Flanders, a deserter being hanged before Hawley's windows, the surgeons begged to have the body for dissection. But Hawley was reluctant to part with the pleasing spectacle: 'at least,' said he,

the day before the Duke of York opened the Scottish Parliament in the year 1681, when five rebellious ministers were executed at once in the Grassmarket. The captain of the artillery, who had deserted his charge at the beginning of the action, upon a horse which he cut from the train, was cashiered with infantry; and many of the private soldiers who had displayed extraordinary cowardice, were severely whipped.†

By a strange chance, Hawley carried along with him from Falkirk, *one prisoner*. This was the gallant Major Macdonald, of Tiendrish, cousin of Keppoch, and who had signalized himself by the attack upon the two companies of foot in Loehaber, at the beginning of the insurrection. Seeing the right wing of Hawley's army still keeping the field, and mistaking it for Lord John Drummond's regiment, he ran up to it, crying, "Gentlemen, why do you stand here? Why don't you pursue the dogs?" and he was in the midst of them before he discovered his error. A cry was raised, "Here is a rebel! Here is a rebel!" He attempted to pass for one of the loyal clan Campbell, trusting that his white cockade was sufficiently blackened by the firing and rain not to betray him. But all in vain. General Huske was for shooting him on the spot, but was induced by Lord Robert Kerr, an amiable officer, the son of the Marquis of Lothian, to give him quarter. He requested that he might be allowed to surrender his arms to an officer, as he had the honour to be one himself; and he advanced to Huske for that purpose. But the General had the usual contempt for the Highland army, and swore he would do no rebel so much honour. The generous Kerr then stepped forward to take Macdonald's arms. Tiendrish could not perform even this act of self humiliation, without a recollection of his dignity of blood and station; and he drew forth his pistols from his belt, with such an air as impressed the English General with a dread of assassination. On his expressing this fear in his own vulgar language, Macdonald drew himself up with still greater pride, and said he could do nothing unbecoming a gentleman. He was then mounted on horseback, bound, and carried along with the retreating army to Edinburgh. The circumstances help to show that the English right wing retired from the field with deliberation, though they did not perhaps linger a whole hour upon it.

A most extraordinary instance of individual enthusiasm in the Jacobite cause, deserves here to be recorded. Robert Stewart, a descendant of the Stewarts of Bonskeid in Athole, was a private soldier in the town-guard of Edinburgh throughout the whole period embraced by this history. At the time when the troops of General Hawley left the city, to fight with the Highland army in the west country, this man had just been relieved from duty for the customary period of two days. Having instantly formed his plan of action, he set off with his gun, passed through Hawley's army, joined that of the Prince, fought next day in the battle of Falkirk, and was back on the succeeding morning in Edinburgh, in time to go upon duty at the proper hour. The captain of his company suspected where he had been, and what he had been about, but winked at the offence.

While the English industriously denied that they had lost the battle, the insurgents made no very confident pretensions to having gained it. They were in reality mortified at having taken so little advantage of the circumstances which fortune had laid before them, and which, they were sensible, might never occur again. From Lord George Murray's narrative, it would appear that, as to pre-arrangement and concert, there was as remarkable a deficiency on the insurgent as on the government side. If the bravery of the Macdonald regiments were put out of view, it might be said that the storm had gained them the battle. The considerations which arose from all the circumstances in the minds of the more reflecting officers, were not agreeable. They "were convinced," says Lord George Murray, "that unless they could attack the enemy at very considerable advantage, either by surprise, or by some strong situation of ground, or a narrow pass, they could not expect any great success, especially if their numbers were no ways equal; and that a body of

'you shall give me the skeleton to hang up in the guard-room.'—Lord Mahon, quoting a letter of Horace Walpole, who added, that the soldiers' nickname for Hawley was "the Lord Chief Justice."

† Hawley's gallows stood in the Grassmarket, *in terrorem*, and to the great disgust of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, till the night between the 12th and 13th of September, when it was sawed through by some unknown persons. The place where it stood was known afterwards by the name of *Hawley's Stambles*.



regular troops was absolutely necessary to support them, when they should at any time go in, sword in hand; for they were sensible, that without more leisure and time than they could expect to have to discipline their own men, it would not be possible to make them keep their ranks, or rally soon enough upon any sudden emergency, so that any small body of the enemy, either keeping in a body when they were in confusion, or rallying soon, would deprive them of a victory, even after they had done their best." The significancy of these remarks will sufficiently appear, when we come to consider the next battle in which the clans were engaged.

The succeeding day, during which it continued to rain with little intermission, was spent at Falkirk by the insurgents, in securing the spoils, and burying the slain. They employed the country people to dig a spacious pit upon the field of battle, into which they precipitated the naked corpses. The rustics who stood around easily distinguished the English soldiers from the Highlanders, by their comparative nudity, and by the deep gashes which seamed their shoulders and breasts—the dreadful work of the broad-sword. The number of slain inhumed in this pit was such, that some years after the surface sunk down many feet, and there is still a considerable hollow at that part of the battle-field.

The Highland army lost more this day by an accident, than it did on the preceding by the fire of the enemy. A private soldier of the Clanranald regiment had obtained a musket as part of his spoil upon the field of battle; finding it loaded, he was engaged at his lodgings in extracting the shot; the window was open, and nearly opposite there was a group of officers standing on the street. The man extracted a ball, and then fired off the piece, to clear it in the most expeditious manner of the powder; but, unfortunately, it had been double loaded, and the remaining ball pierced the body of young Glengary, who was one of the group of bystanders. He soon after died in the arms of his clansmen, begging with his last breath that the man, of whose innocence he was satisfied, might not suffer; but nothing could restrain the indignation of his friends, who immediately seized the man, and loudly demanded life for life. Young Clanranald would have gladly protected his clansman; but, certain that any attempt he could make to that effect would only embroil his family in a feud with that of Glengary, and, in the first place, cause that regiment to quit the Prince's service, he was reluctantly obliged to assent to their demand. The man was immediately taken out to the side of a park-wall near the town, and pierced with a volley of bullets. His own father put a shot into his body, from the desire to make his death as instantaneous as possible.

The Prince, who had most occasion to regret this accident, as it endangered the attachment of a valuable regiment, exerted himself, by showing the most respectful attentions to the deceased, to console the clan for their loss. He caused the grave of Sir John Graham, which had never before been disturbed, to be opened for the reception of the young soldier, as the only part of the churchyard of Falkirk which was worthy to be honoured with his corpse; and he himself attended the obsequies as chief mourner, holding the string which consigned his head to the grave. Charles's judicious kindness was not unappreciated by the grateful Highlanders; but nevertheless, a considerable number yielded to their grief, or rage so far as to desert his standard.

Another incident took place this day upon the street of Falkirk, which had almost become as tragical as the former, and which illustrates in a striking manner the peculiar ties of clanship. Lord Kilmarnock, had brought up to the front of Charles's lodging a few prisoners whom he had taken the preceding night, in the rear of the retreating army; and Charles was standing within the open window, with a paper in his hand, conversing with Lord Kilmarnock, when a man was seen coming up the street in the uniform of an English regiment, with a musket and bayonet in his hand, and a black cockade upon his hat. A few captive volunteers, among whom Mr. Home, the narrator of the incident, was one, beheld the man with surprise; and conceiving that he designed to assassinate the Prince, expected every moment to see him take aim and fire. Charles, observing the prisoners look all one way, turned his head in the same direction, and, immediately comprehending the cause of their alarm, called in some surprise to Lord Kilmarnock, and pointed towards the soldier. The earl instantly descended to the street, and finding the man by that time just opposite to the window, went up to him, struck his hat off his head, and set his foot upon the black cockade. At

that instant, one of the numerous Highlanders who stood upon the pavement, rushed forward, and violently pushed Lord Kilmarnock from his place. The earl pulled out a pistol, and presented it at the Highlander's head; the Highlander drew his dirk, and held it close to Kilmarnock's breast. In this posture they stood about half a minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed between the parties, and drove Kilmarnock away. The man with the dirk in his hand then took up the hat, put it on the soldier's head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph.

This unaccountable pantomime astonished the prisoners, and they entreated an explanation from one of the insurgent officers who stood near. He answered, that the soldier was not in reality what he seemed, but a Cameron, who had deserted his regiment (the Scots Royals) during the conflict, to join the company of his chief, when he had been permitted to retain his dress and arms till he could be provided with the uniform of the clan. The Highlander who interposed was his brother, and the crowd that had rushed in was his clansmen the Camerons. Lord Kilmarnock, in presuming to interfere, even through ignorance, in the affairs of a clan, had excited their high displeasure; "nor, in my opinion," continued the officer, "can any person in the Prince's army take that cockade out of the man's hat, except Lochiel himself."

After this victory, the government of St. James became more seriously alarmed, and raised large bodies of troops, which they sent to Scotland, under the Duke of Cumberland, who was well received in Edinburgh and over all parts of the Lowlands of Scotland, and was favoured in many parts of the Highlands, particularly in Argyleshire, and in Lord McDonald's family, and in the McLeod country, as well as by a great part of the Grants and the McKenzies.

The Prince retired to the northernmost part of the Highlands, hoping that the large force, arms, ammunition, and treasure, which had been promised him from France, would arrive; but the French government sent only trifling assistance, and even what they did supply came so slowly that it was of no avail to the unfortunate and disappointed Prince and his small army. The Bourbons, the descendants of that very French king who then reigned in France, experienced a similar disappointment in not receiving succour, from England, at the period of the Revolutionary War of France, during the struggle in La Vandee. But the Highlanders had, on the Peninsula and at Waterloo, in conjunction with their more faithful allies (the English and Irish), an opportunity, which they did not neglect, of proving by their valour that they were worthy of better treatment from heir French friends. This should be a lesson to the Highlanders of America, to consider well whom they regard as friends, and the form of government best suited to their characters and liberties.

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## CHAPTER III.

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The sad battle of Culloden, where England brought her best generals and her best troops, together with the Duke of Argyll and his numerous and powerful clan of Campbells, and whole clans and parts of others, as well as a numerous force from the Lowlands of Scotland, against the small, half-armed, ill-supplied, and nearly famished army of the clans, under the Prince, affords an example of severe defeat, under great privation and disappointment. Besides an abstinence from food, on the part of Charles and his followers, for the thirty-six hours which preceded the battle, several of the clans, that were favourable to the Prince, did not arrive in time to be present at the engagement; and the MacDonalds, who were the strongest clan, and who had always been on the right of the army, since the battle of Bannockburn, felt so much insulted by being deprived of that honour, which was their prerogative, that they refused to fight, cutting the ground with their swords,—an internal dissention, which, under the circumstances, we do not pretend to justify; for it ought to be a principle with every true patriot, to sacrifice his private feelings for the good of his country. We shall here give Chambers' description of the battle of Culloden.

The Highlanders returned, fatigued and disconsolate, to their former position, about seven o'clock in the morning, when they immediately addressed themselves to sleep, or went away in search of provisions. So scarce was food at this critical juncture, that the Prince himself, on retiring to Culloden House, could obtain no better refreshment than a little bread and whisky. He felt the utmost anxiety regarding his men, among whom the pangs of hunger, upon bodies exhausted by fatigue, must have been working effects the most unpromising to his success; and he gave orders, before seeking any repose, that the whole country should now be mercilessly ransacked for the means of refreshment. His orders were not without effect. Considerable supplies were procured, and subjected to the cook's art at Inverness; but the poor famished clansmen were destined never to taste these provisions—the hour of battle arriving before they were prepared.

The moor of Culloden stretches away so far to the east, with so little irregularity and so few incumbent objects, that its termination escapes the eyesight, and the horizon in that direction resembles that of a shoreless sea. It was about eleven in the forenoon, when the Highland guards first observed the dim level outline of the

plain to blacken with the marching troops of the Duke of Cumberland, which seemed gradually to rise above and occupy the horizon, like the darkness of a coming storm dawning in the mariner's eye upon the distant waters. Notice of their approach being carried to the Prince, he instantly rose, and went out to the moor to put himself at the head of his troops.\* He there exerted himself to collect his men from the various places to which they had straggled, ordering a cannon to be fired as a signal for their immediate assembling. Macdonald of Keppoch and the Frasers had joined that morning, to the great joy of the army; and it was in something like good spirits that they now prepared for the battle.

When all had been collected that seemed within call, the Prince found he had an army of about five thousand men, and these in very poor condition for fighting, to oppose a force reported as numerous again, supported by superior horse and artillery, and whose strength was unimpaired either by hunger or fatigue. It seemed scarcely possible that he should overcome a host in every respect so much superior to his own; and various measures were proposed to him by his officers, for shunning battle in the mean time, and retiring to some position where their peculiar mode of warfare would avail against a regular army. But Charles, for reasons already stated, insisted upon immediate battle; pointing out that the gross of the army seemed in the highest degree anxious to come to blows, and that they would probably fall off in ardour—perhaps altogether disperse—if the present opportunity were not seized.

Active preparations were now, therefore, made for that conflict, upon which the issue of this singular national contest was finally to depend. The insurgents were drawn up by O'Sullivan (at once their adjutant and quarter-master-general) in two lines; the right protected by the turf-enclosures around a rude farmstead, and their left extending towards a sort of morass in the direction of Culloeden House. The front line consisted of the following clan regiments, reckoned from right to left:—Athole, Cameron, Appin, Fraser, Mackintosh, Maclauchlan and Maclean (forming one), John Roy Stuart, Farquharson, Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengarry. The second, for which it was with difficulty that enough of men were found, comprised the Low country and foreign regiments, according to the following order:—Lord Ogilvie, Lord Lewis Gordon, Glenbucket, the Duke of Perth, the Irish, the French. Four pieces of cannon were placed at each extremity of the front, and as many in the centre. Lord George Murray commanded the right wing, Lord John Drummond the left, General Stapleton the second line. Charles himself stood, with a small body of guards, upon a slight eminence in the rear.

While the insurgent army laboured under every kind of disadvantage, and were actuated by impulses of the most distracting and harassing nature, that of the Duke of Cumberland moved with all the deliberation and security proper to a superior and more confident force. They had struck their tents at five in the morning, when, the commanders of the various regiments having received their instructions in writing, the general orders of the day were read at the head of every company in the line. These bore, in allusion to the misbehaviour of Falkirk, that if any persons entrusted with the care of the train or baggage absconded or left their charge, they should be punished with immediate death, and that if any officer or soldier failed in his duty during the action, he should be *sentenced*. Another and more important order was then given to the army. The superiority of the broadsword over the bayonet at Preston and Falkirk had given rise to much discussion among military men, and, during this winter, many suggestions had been made and discussed in the public journals for putting the weapons of the regular troops upon a par with those of the insurgents. It was reserved for the Duke of Cumberland effectually to obviate the supposed superiority of the claymore and target. He had perceived that the greatest danger to which the regular troops were subjected in a charge of the Highlanders, arose from the circumstance, that the latter received his antagonist's point in his target, swayed it aside, and then had the defenceless body of the soldier exposed to his own weapon. The duke conceived, that if each man, on coming within the proper distance of the enemy, should direct his thrust,

\* As he was quitting the house, the steward made up to him, with information that dinner, "consisting of a roasted side of lamb and two fowls," was about to be laid upon the table. But he asked the man if he would have him sit down to eat at such a moment, and, hungry though he was, he immediately hurried out to the field.—*The Young Chevalier*, 6.

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not at the man directly opposite to him, but against the one who fronted his right-hand comrade, the target would be rendered useless, and the Highlander would be wounded in the right side, under the sword-arm, ere he could ward off the thrust. Accordingly, he had instructed the men during the spring in this new exercise. When they had taken their morning meal, they were marched forward from the camp, arranged in three parallel divisions of four regiments each, headed by Huske, Sempill, and Mordaunt; having a column of artillery and baggage upon one hand, and a fifth of horse upon the other.

After a march of eight miles, through ground which appeared to the English soldiers very boggy and difficult, they came within sight of the insurgents, who were posted about a mile and a half in advance. The duke then commanded his lines to form; having learned that the Highlanders seemed inclined to make the attack. Soon after, on its being ascertained that no motion was perceptible in the Highland army, he ordered the lines to be restored to the form of columns, and to proceed in their march. Calling out, at the same time, to know if any man in the army was acquainted with the ground, he commanded the individual who presented himself to go a little way in advance, along with some officer of rank, to conduct the army, and especially the artillery, over the safest paths. When he had got within a mile of the enemy, he ordered the army once more and finally to be formed in battle-array.

The royal army was disposed in three lines; the first containing, from left to right, the regiments of Barrel (now the 4th) and Munro (the 37th), the Scots Fusileers (the 21st), Price's (the 14th), Cholmondeley's (the 34th), and the Scots Royals (the 1st), under the command of the Earl Albemarle; the second, in the same order, Wolfe's (the 8th), Sempill's (the 25th), Blyth's (the 20th), Ligonier's (the 48th), and Fleming's (the 35th), commanded by General Huske; the third, Blakeney's (the 27th), Battereau's,\* Pulteney's (the 13th), and Howard's (the 3d), led by Brigadier Mordaunt. The centres of all the regiments of the second line being behind the terminations of those of the first, and those of the third line occupying a similar position in regard to the second, the various bodies of which the army consisted were in a manner indented into each other. Betwixt every two regiments of the first line were placed two cannon: The left flank was protected by Kerr's dragoons (the 11th), under Colonel Lord Ancrum; the right by a bog; and Cobham's dragoons (the 10th) stood, in two detachments, beside the third line. The Argyle Highlanders guarded the baggage.

The disposition thus made was allowed by the best military men of the period to have been altogether admirable, because it was impossible for the Highlanders to break one regiment without finding two ready to supply its place. The arrangement of the insurgent army was also allowed to be very good, upon a supposition that they were to be attacked.

Duke William, full of anxiety for the event of the day, took the opportunity afforded by the halt to make a short speech to his soldiers. The tenor of his harangue, which has been preserved in the note-book of an English officer, shows, in the most unequivocal manner, how apprehensive his royal highness was regarding the behaviour of his troops. Without directly adverting to Preston or Falkirk, he implored them to be firm and collected—to dismiss all remembrance of former failures from their minds—to consider the great object for which they were here, no less than to save the liberties of their country and the rights of their master. Having read a letter to them, which he said he had found upon the person of a straggler, and in which sentiments of the most merciless nature were breathed against the English soldiery, he represented to them that, in their present circumstances, with marshy ways behind them, and surrounded by an enemy's country, their best, indeed, their only chance of personal safety, lay in hard fighting. He was grieved, he said, to make the supposition that there could be a person reluctant to fight in the British army. But if there were any here who would prefer to retire, whether from disinclination to the cause, or because they had relations in the rebel army, he begged them in the name of God to do so, as he would rather face the Highlanders with 1000 determined men at his back, than have 10,000 with a title who were lukewarm. The men, catching enthusiasm from his language, shouted "Flanders! Flanders!" and impatiently desired to be led forward to battle.

\* Broke in 1749.

It was suggested to the duke at this juncture that he should permit the men to dine, as it was now nearly one o'clock, then the usual time for their meal, and as they would not probably have another opportunity of satisfying their hunger for several hours. But he decidedly rejected the proposal. "The men," he said, "will fight better and more actively with empty bellies; and, moreover, it would be a bad omen. You remember what a dessert they got to their dinner at Falkirk."

The army now marched forward in complete battle-array, their fixed bayonets glittering in the sun, their colours flying, and the sound of 100 drums rolling forward in defiance of the insurgents. Lord Kilmarnock is said to have remarked, on seeing the army approach, that he felt a presentiment of defeat, from the cool, orderly, determined manner in which they marched. When within 600 yards of the Highland lines, they found the ground so marshy as to take most of the regiments up to the ancles in water; and, the artillery horses then sinking in a bog, some of the soldiers slung their carbines, and dragged the carriages on to their proper position. Soon after, the bog was found to terminate upon the right, so as to leave that flank uncovered; which being perceived by the all-vigilant duke, he ordered Pulteney's regiment to take its place beside the Scots Royals, and a body of horse to cover the whole wing in the same manner with the left. The army finally halted at the distance of 500 paces from the Highlanders.

The day, which had hitherto been fair and sunny, was now partially overcast, and a shower of snowy rain began to beat with considerable violence from the north-east. The Highlanders, who had found the weather so favourable to them at Falkirk, were somewhat disconcerted on finding it against them at Culloden; the spirits of the regulars were proportionally raised. Charles saw and felt the disadvantage, and made some attempts, by manœuvring to get to windward of the royal army; but Duke William, equally vigilant, contrived to counteract all his movements; so that, after half an hour spent in mutual endeavours to outflank each other, the two armies at last occupied nearly their original ground.

Whilst these vain manœuvres were going on, an incident took place, which serves to show the spirit of self-devotion which animated the Highlanders on this occasion. A poor mountaineer, resolving to sacrifice his life for his Prince and his clan, approached the lines of the English, demanded quarter, and was sent to the rear. As he lounged backwards and forwards through the lines, apparently very indifferent to what was going on, and even paying no attention to the ridicule with which the soldiers greeted his uncouth appearance, Lord Bury, son of the Earl of Albermarle, and aide-de-camp to the duke, happened to pass in the discharge of his duties, when all at once the Highlander seized one of the soldiers' muskets, and discharged it at that officer; receiving, next moment, with perfect indifference, and as a matter of course, the shot with which another soldier immediately terminated his own existence. He had intended to shoot the Duke of Cumberland, but fired prematurely, and without effect, at an inferior officer, whose gaudy apparel seemed, in his simple eyes, to indicate the highest rank.

There is a print, executed at the time, in which the beginning, middle, and end of the battle of Culloden are simultaneously represented. It is calculated to be of material service in portraying the various successive events of the action, and also in conveying a good idea of the ground and of the positions and appearance of the armies. The spectator is supposed to stand within the enclosures so often mentioned, and to look northward along the lines towards Culloden House and the Moray Firth. In the foreground, rather for the sake of giving a portrait of the hero of the day, than because this was his position, the artist has represented the duke on horseback, with a walking-cane extended in his hand, a star upon the breast of his long gold-laced coat, and his head, with its close curls and tri-cocked hat, inclined towards an aide-de-camp, to whom he is giving orders. The long compact lines of the British regiments, each three men deep, extend along the plain, with narrow intervals between: the two flags of each regiment rising from the centre; the officers standing at the extremities with their spontoons in their hands, and the drummers a little in advance, beating their instruments. The men have tri-cocked hats, long coats resembling the modern surtout, sash-belts from which a sword depends, and long white gaiters buttoned up the sides. The dragoons exhibit still more cumbrous superfluity of attire; their long loose skirts flying behind them as they ride, whilst their trunk square-toed boots, their massive

stirrup-leathers, their huge holster-pistols and carabines, give altogether a degree of dignity and strength, much in contrast with the light fantastic hussar uniforms of modern times.

The Highlanders, on the other hand, stand in lines equally compact, and, like the regular regiments, each three men deep. The only peculiarity in their dress, which is so well known as to require no general description, seems to be, that the philabeg, or kilt, is pulled through betwixt the legs, in such a way as to show more of the front of the thigh than is exhibited by the modern specimens of that peculiar garment. They have muskets over their left shoulders, basket-hilted broadswords by their left sides, pistols stuck into their girdles, and a small pouch hanging down upon their right loin, perhaps for holding their ammunition. By the right side of every piece of ordnance, there is a cylindrical piece of wicker-work, for the protection of the artillerymen, all of whom appear to wear kilts, like the rest.

The ground upon which the armies stand, is the plain swelling moor already described, out of which Culloden House raises its erect form, without any of the plantations which now surround it. The spires of Inverness are seen upon the left, close to the sea-shore. Upon the Moray Firth, which stretches along the back ground of the picture, the victualling-ships ride at anchor, like witnesses of the scene about to ensue; and the magnificent hills of Ross raise their lofty forms in the remoter distance.

Such were the aspect and circumstances of the two armies, upon whose conduct, during the next little hour, the future interests of Britain might in some measure be considered to depend.

The action was commenced by the Highlanders, who fired their cannon for a few minutes without being answered by the royal artillery. They had brought their guns to bear upon a point where, by means of glasses, they thought they could perceive the duke. But the shot went clear over the heads of the king's troops, and for a long time did no other mischief than carrying off a leg from one of Blyth's regiment.

A few minutes after one o'clock, soon after the Highlanders had opened up their battery, Colonel Belford got orders to commence a cannonade, chiefly with a view to provoke the enemy to advance. The colonel, who was an excellent engineer, performed his duty with such effect, as to make whole lanes through the ranks of the insurgents. He fired two pieces at a body of horse, amongst whom it was believed the Prince was stationed; and with such precision did he take his aim, that that personage was bespattered with dirt raised by the balls, and a man holding a led horse by his side was killed.

Meanwhile, the duke rode about, calling upon his men to be firm in their ranks—to permit the Highlanders to mingle with them—to let them feel the force of the bayonet—to “make them know what men they had to do with.” He also ordered Wolf's regiment to form *en pointe* at the extremity of the left wing—that is, to take a position perpendicular to the general line, so as to be ready to fall in upon and enclose the Highlanders, as soon as they should attack that division of his army. He also ordered two regiments of the rear line, or reserve, to advance to the second. Finally, he himself took his position between the first and second lines, opposite to the centre of Howard's regiment, and of course a little nearer the left than the right wing.

Prince Charles, before the commencement of the battle, had ridden along the lines of his little army, endeavouring, by the animation of his gestures, countenance, and language, to excite the Highlanders to their highest pitch of courage. They answered him with cheers, and with many an expression of devotion, which he could only understand by the look with which it was uttered. He then again retired to the eminence which he originally occupied, and prepared with an anxious mind to await the fortune of the day.

The great object of both parties at the battle of Culloden seems to have been, which should force the other to leave its position, and make the attack. Charles for a long time expected that the duke would do this, because he was favoured with the wind and weather. But the Duke, finding his cannon rapidly thinning the Highland ranks, without experiencing any loss in return, had no occasion whatever to make such a motion; and it therefore became incumbent upon Charles to take that course himself.

The victory of Preston, where the Highlanders felt little or no annoyance from cannon, had done away with a great deal of the fear in which they originally held these engines of destruction; and it seems to have been a capital error on Charles's part, to have restrained them, on the present occasion, to a position, where that terror got some reason and leisure to return. He ought to have, on the contrary, rushed up, at the very first, to the lines of his enemy, and endeavoured to silence their artillery, as he had done at Preston, by a *coup-de-main*. Had he done so, a great number of lives might have been saved, and the attack would have been made with lines less broken, and a more uniform and simultaneous impulse.

It was not till the cannonade had continued nearly half an hour, and the Highlanders had seen many of their kindred stretched upon the heath, that Charles at last gave way to the necessity of ordering a charge. The aide-de-camp entrusted to carry his message to the Lieutenant-General—a youth of the name of MacLanchlan—was killed by a cannon ball before he reached the first line; but the general sentiment of the army, as reported to Lord George Murray, supplied the want; and that general took it upon him to order an attack, without Charles's permission having been communicated.

Lord George had scarcely determined upon ordering a general movement, when the Macintoshes—a brave and devoted clan, though never before engaged in action—unable any longer to brook the unavenged slaughter made by the cannon, broke from the centre of the line, and rushed forward through smoke and snow, to mingle with the enemy. The Atholmen, Camerons, Stewarts, Frasers, and Mucleans, then also went on, Lord George Murray heading them with that rash bravery befitting the commander of such forces. Thus in the course of one or two minutes, the charge was general along the whole line, except at the left extremity, where the Macdonalds, dissatisfied with their position, hesitated to engage.

It was the emphatic custom of the Highlanders, before an onset, to *scrag their bonnets*—that is, to pull their little blue caps down over their brows, so as to ensure them against falling off in the ensuing *melée*. Never, perhaps, was this motion performed with so much emphasis as on the present occasion, when every man's forehead burned with a desire to revenge some dear friend who had fallen a victim to the murderous artillery. A lowland gentleman, who was in the line, and who survived till a late period, used always, in relating the events of Culloden, to comment, with a feeling of something like awe, upon the terrific and more than natural expression of rage which glowed on every face and gleamed in every eye, as he surveyed the extended line at this moment. It was an exhibition of terrible passion, never to be forgotten by the beholder.

The action and event of the onset were, throughout, quite as dreadful as the mental emotion which urged it. Notwithstanding that the three files of the front line of English poured forth their incessant fire of musketry—notwithstanding that the cannon, now loaded with grape-shot, swept the field as with a hail-storm—notwithstanding the flank fire of Wolfe's regiment—onward, onward, went the headlong Highlanders, flinging themselves into, rather than rushing upon, the lines of the enemy, which, indeed, they did not see for smoke till involved among their weapons. All that courage—all that despair could do—was done. It was a moment of dreadful and agonising suspense; but only a moment—for the whirlwind does not reap the forest with greater rapidity than the Highlanders cleared the line. Nevertheless, almost every man in their front rank, chief and gentleman, fell before the deadly weapons which they had braved; and although the enemy gave way, it was not till every bayonet was bent and bloody with the strife.

When the first line had been thus swept aside, the assailants continued their impetuous advance till they came near the second, when, being almost annihilated by a profuse and well-directed fire, the shattered remains of what had been but an hour before a numerous and confident force, began to give way. Still a few rushed on, resolved rather to die than forfeit their well acquired and dearly estimated honour. They rushed on: but not a man ever came in contact with the enemy. The last survivor perished as he reached the points of the bayonets.\*

\* "The late Mr. Macdonald of Glenaladale told me some years ago that he saw John Mor Macgilvra, Major of the Macintoshes, a *gun-shot past the enemy's cannon*, and that he was surrounded by the reinforcements sent against the Macintoshes; that he killed a dozen men with his broadsword, while some of the halberds were run into his body. When Cumberland heard of it, he said he would have given a great sum of money to have saved his life."—*Letter of Bishop Macintosh, MS. 1310.*



The persevering and desperate valour displayed by the Highlanders on this occasion, is proved by the circumstance, that at one part of the plain, where a very vigorous attack had been made, their bodies were afterwards found *in layers three and four deep*; so many, it would appear, having in succession mounted over a prostrate friend, to share in the same inevitable fate. The slaughter was particularly great among the brave Macintoshes; inso-much, that the heroic lady who sent them to the field, afterwards told the party by which she was taken prisoner, that only three of her officers had escaped.

While the rest of the clans were performing this brilliant though fatal charge, the Macdonalds, as already stated, withheld themselves on account of their removal to the left wing. According to the report of one of their officers, the clan not only resented this indignity, but considered it as omening evil fortune to the day; their clan never having fought elsewhere than on the right wing, since the auspicious field of Bannockburn. The Duke of Perth, who was stationed amongst them, endeavoured to appease their anger by telling them, that if they fought with their characteristic bravery, they would make the left wing a right, in which case he would assume for ever after the honourable surname of Macdonald. But the insult was not to be expiated by this appeal to the spirit of clanship. Though induced to discharge their muskets, and even to advance some way, they never made an onset. They endured the fire of the English regiments without flinching; only expressing their rage by hewing up the heath with their swords; but they at last fled when they saw the other clans give way. One of the whole three regiments, only one man is commemorated as having displayed conduct worthy of the gallant name which he bore. This was the chieftain of Keppoch, a man of chivalrous character, and noted for great private worth. When the rest of his clan retreated, Keppoch exclaimed, with feelings not to be appreciated in modern society, "My God, have the children of my tribe forsaken me!"—he then advanced, with a pistol in one hand, and a drawn sword in the other, resolved apparently to sacrifice his life to the offended genius of his name. He had got but a little way from his regiment, when a musket-shot brought him to the ground. A clansman of more than ordinary devotedness, who followed him, and with tears and prayers conjured him not to throw his life away, raised him, with the cheering assurance that his wound was not mortal, and that he might still quit the field with life. Keppoch desired his faithful follower to take care of himself, and again rushing forward, received another shot, and fell to rise no more.

When the whole front line of Charles's host had been thus repulsed, there only remained to him the hope that his Lowland and foreign troops, upon whom the wreck of the clans had fallen back, might yet make head against the English Infantry, and he eagerly sought to put himself at their head. But though a troop of the Irish picquets, by a spirited fire, checked the pursuit which a body of dragoons commenced after the Macdonalds, and one of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiments did similar service in regard to another troop which now began to break through the enclosures on the right, the whole body gave way at once, on observing the English regiments advancing to charge them. Their hearts were broken, with despair rather than with terror; and they could only reply to his animating exclamations, "Prions—ochon!—ochon!"—the ejaculation by which Highlanders express the bitterest grief. As they said this, they fled; nor could all his entreaties, or those of his officers, prevail upon them to stand.

It was, indeed, a complete rout. The mountaineers had done all that their system of warfare taught them, and all that their natural strength had enabled them to perform; they had found this vain; and all that then remained was to withdraw. Charles saw the condition of his troops with the despair of a ruined gamester. He lingered on the field, in the fond hope that all was not yet lost. He even moved to charge the enemy, as if his own single person could have availed against so big a destiny. Confounded, bewildered, and in tears, it required the utmost efforts of his attendants to make him forego his once splendid hopes by a retreat; and he at last only left the field, when to have remained would have but added his own destruction to that of the many brave men who had already spilt their hearts' blood in his cause.

The pursuit of the royal forces did not immediately follow the retreat of the insurgents. After the latter had withdrawn their shattered strength, the English regiments, upon many of which they had produced a dreadful impression, were

ordered to resume the ground where they had stood, and to dress their ranks. The dragoon regiments, with which the duke had calculated to enclose the charging Highlanders as in a trap, were checked, as already stated, by the flanks of the Prince's second line : and they had altogether been so severely handled by the insurgents,\* that it was some time ere they recovered breath or courage sufficient to commence or sustain a general pursuit.

The English dragoons at length *did* break forward, and join, as intended, in the centre of the field, so as to make a vigorous and united charge upon the rear of the fugitives. Charles's army then broke into two great bodies of unequal magnitude ; one of which took the open road for Inverness, while the other turned off towards the south-west, crossed the water of Nairn, and found refuge among the hills.

The state of the first of these divisions was the most disastrous, their route admitting of the easiest pursuit. It lay along an open moor, which the light horse of the enemy could bound over with the utmost speed. A dreadful slaughter took place, involving many of the inhabitants of Inverness, who had approached the battle-ground from curiosity, and whose dress subjected them to the indiscriminating vengeance of the soldiery. Some of the French, who fled early, reached Inverness in safety ; but scarcely any who wore the Highland dress escaped. A broad pavement of carnage marked four out of the five miles intervening betwixt the battle-field and that city ; the last of the slain being found at a place called Millburn, about a mile from the extremity of the suburbs.†

Some other portions of the retiring army displayed a self-protecting coolness and resolution.‡ The right wing, in its way to cross the river Nairn, met a large party of English dragoons which had been dispatched to intercept them. Such was the desperate fury of their appearance, that the troopers opened their ranks in respectful silence to permit them to pass. Only one man attempted to annoy the wretched fugitives. He was an officer, and dearly did he pay for his temerity. Advancing to seize a Highlander, the man cut him down with one blow of his claymore. Not content with this, the Highlander stooped down, and with the greatest deliberation, possessed himself of his victim's gold watch. He then joined the retreat, whilst the commander of the party could only look on in silence, astonished at the coolness of the mountaineer.

Another Highlander signalled himself in a still more remarkable manner. He was a man of prodigious bodily strength ; his name Golice Macbane. When all his companions had fled, Golice, singled out and wounded, set his back against a wall, and, with his target and claymore, bore singly the onset of a party of

\* The Rev. Donald Mackintosh, usually called Bishop Mackintosh, writing in 1810, says, "Joha Miln, an old bellman in Edinburgh, is still alive : he is one of the fifteen men whom our Clan Chattan left of Barrel's regiment at Culloden."—*MS. in my possession.*"

† Tradition at Inverness, confirmed by Mr. Home. "The battle was witnessed by many gentlemen (amateurs) who rode from Inverness for that purpose—among the rest, my grandfather, Mr. — of —, and Mr. Evan Baillie of Aberiachan. They took post upon a small hill, not far from where the Prince and his suite were stationed, and there remained till dislodged by the cannon balls falling about them. In their retreat they passed through Inverness ; and at the bridge-end met the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat. These had not been in time for the battle ; but the Master seemed very anxious to defend the passage of the bridge, and spoke much of fighting there. Mr. Baillie, who was a warm Jacobite, and rather testy in his way, sternly addressed the master in these words, 'Fighting ! by G—, Master, you were not in the way when fighting might have been of service. You had better now say nothing about it !' "—*From information contributed in writing by the editor of the Culloden Papers.*

‡ A strange instance of their cunning is commemorated by Mr. Ray, a volunteer, who wrote an account of the insurrection. "In the flight," says he, "I came up with a pretty young Highlander, who called out to me, 'Hold your hand—I am a Campbell.' On which I asked him, 'Where's your bonnet?'—'Somebody has snatched it off my head.' I mention this, to show how we distinguished our loyal clans from the rebels, they being dressed and equipped all in one way, except the bonnet ; ours having a red or yellow cross or ribbon, theirs a white cockade. He having neither of these distinctions, I desired him, if he was a Campbell, to follow me, which he promised ; but on the first opportunity he gave me the slip."

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dragoons. Pushed to desperation, he made resistless strokes at his enemies, who crowded and encumbered themselves to have each the glory of slaying him. "Save that brave fellow!" was the unregarded cry of some officers. Poor Macbane was cut to pieces, though not, it is said, till thirteen of his enemies lay dead around him.

The battle of Culloden is said to have lasted little more than forty minutes, most of which brief space of time was spent in distant firing, and very little in the active struggle. It was as complete a victory as possible on the part of the royal army, though perhaps less praise is due to the victors than to the vanquished. The numbers of the former, and condition for fighting, were superior; their artillery did so much for them, and the plan of the battle was so much in their favour, that to have lost the day would have argued a degree of misbehaviour utterly inconceivable of any soldiery, while to gain was only the natural result of these circumstances. Great praise was awarded afterwards to Barrell's, Monro's, and some other regiments, for their fortitude in bearing the attack of the Highlanders, and for their killing so many; but these battalions were in reality completely beat aside, and the whole front line shaken so much, that had the Macdonald regiments made a simultaneous charge along with the other clans, the day might have had a different issue. Such was the opinion of the Chevalier Johnstone, who on such a point may be allowed to have been a good judge.

The foregoing will, the writer hopes, give a good idea of the Prince's chivalrous although unfortunate career, until his defeat at Culloden; after which the Highlanders gained, if possible, more credit by their fidelity to him, in his misfortunes, than they did by their bravery and surprising victories at Preston and Falkirk. The illustrious Flora Macdonald, and her cousin Glenaladale, as well as many others, have gained immortal glory for their country, on account of the deep interest which they took in everything connected with his safety;—and even the poorest Highlanders refused to accept a sum of money that would have made them far more wealthy, probably, than the richest of their chiefs, rather than betray the faith and attachment which they had vowed to his cause; and in spite of the efforts of the Duke of Cumberland's army, concealed the places of his retreat until he found means to embark for the Continent.

As all national jealousies between England and Scotland have long since been lulled asleep, we shall not repeat or transcribe details of the cruelties of the Duke of Cumberland, after the battle of Culloden. England, Ireland, and Scotland have too long been united, and have won, together, too many glorious victories,—which never could have been done by one of them alone, or even by any two of them,—for us to doubt the soundness of the policy that binds the three.

After the most miraculous escapes, during which the Prince had endured hardships that few constitutions could have withstood, his friends on the continent procure<sup>d</sup> him an opportunity of escape to France by two vessels of war, L'Hereux and La Princesse de Conti, which had been fitted out by the exertions of a gentleman who was promised a baronetcy by the old chevalier in the event of his bringing off the Prince.

Setting sail from St. Maloes in the latter part of August, they arrived in Loch-nanuagh on the 6th of September. Next day, four gentlemen, including Captain

Sheridan, son of Sir Thomas, and a Mr. O'Beirne, a lieutenant in the French service, landed to make inquiry about the Prince, and were received by Macdonald of Glenaladale, who had taken his station in that part of the country for the purpose of communicating to Charles any intelligence of the arrival of French vessels. He now lost no time in setting out to the neighbourhood of Auchnacarry, expecting there to find Cameron of Clunes, who was appointed to be a medium of forwarding the intelligence to the Prince, wherever he might then be. When Glenaladale had arrived at the place where he expected to see Clunes, he found that gentleman removed he knew not whither, in consequence of some alarm from the military, who had destroyed his hut. Being himself altogether ignorant of Charles' present hiding-place, Glenaladale was thrown by this accident into a state of great perplexity and distress, for he reflected that, if the Prince did not quickly come to Lochannagh, the vessels might be obliged to sail without him. He was wandering about in this state of mind when he encountered an old woman, who chanced to know the place to which Clunes had withdrawn. Having obtained from her this information, he immediately communicated with Clunes, who instantly despatched the faithful Maccoilveen to convey the intelligence to Cluny, that it might be by him imparted to the Prince. Glenaladale then returned to inform the French officers that they might expect ere long to be joined by the royal wanderer.

Before the arrival of the Prince, a considerable number of gentlemen and others had assembled, in order to proceed in the vessels to France. Amongst these were young Charanald, Glenaladale, Macdonald of Daley and his two brothers.— Charles waited upwards of a day, to allow of a few more assembling, and he then (Saturday, September 20) went on board L'Herex, accompanied by Lochell, Lochgarry, John Roy Stuart, and Dr. Cameron. From the vessel he wrote a letter to Cluny, informing him of his embarkation, and of the excellent state in which he found the vessels. Twenty-three gentlemen, and a hundred and seven men of common rank, are said to have sailed with him in the two ships. "The gentlemen, as well as commons, were seen to weep, though they boasted of being soon back with an irresistible force."

The unparalleled tale of the Prince's wanderings is now concluded. For upwards of five months he had skulked as a proscribed fugitive through the mountains and seas of the West Highlands, often in the most imminent danger of being taken, and generally exposed to very severe personal hardships; yet he eluded all search, and never lost his health or spirits in any fatal degree. The narrowness of his own escapes is shown strikingly in the circumstance of so many persons being taken immediately after having contributed to his safety. The reader must have already accorded all desirable praise to the people who, by their kindness and fidelity, had been the chief means of working out his deliverance.— Scarcely any gentlemen to whom he applied for protection, or to aid in effecting his movements, refused to peril their own safety on his account; hundreds, many of whom were in the humblest walks of life, had been entrusted with his secret, or had become aware of it; none had attempted to give him up to his enemies.\* Thirty thousand pounds had been offered in vain for the life of one human being, in a country where the sum would have purchased a princely estate. The conduct of the Prince himself under his extraordinary dangers and hardships, is allowed by all who gave their personal recollections of it, to have been marked by great caution and prudence, as well as by a high degree of fortitude, and a cheerfulness which no misery could extinguish. Perhaps the testimonies to his cheerfulness are only too strong, and might lead to a conclusion different from that intended by the witnesses, namely, that he was scarcely considerate enough of the wretchedness which his ambition had occasioned to others. Here, however we are met by the strong expressions of sympathy for those injured in his cause, which he uttered

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\* Much as we must admire the fidelity of the Highlanders on this occasion, it would not be just to human nature to say, that it is without parallel. M. Berryer, the eloquent partisan of the fallen dynasty of France, at his trial, October 16, 1832, mentioned that, in the Vendean campaign of that year, the Duchesse de Berri changed her abode not less than three or four times a week, that every change was known to eight or ten persons at least, and yet, in the course of six months, not a single person betrayed the honourable confidence reposed in him.]

in Raasay and Skye. It is also expressly stated by several of his fellow-adventurers, that he put on appearances of cheerfulness, on various occasions, to keep up the spirits of those around him. His conduct throughout his wanderings appears, upon the whole, creditable to him, whatever shades may have settled upon his character at a later period. That it entirely pleased the gentlemen who associated with him, is abundantly evident. All of these, in their various narratives, speak of him with the greatest admiration. The Rev. John Cameron, in particular, sums up with the following panegyric:—"He submitted with patience to his adverse fortune; was cheerful; and frequently desired those who were with him to be so. He was cautious when in the greatest danger; never at a loss in resolving what to do. He regretted more the distress of those who suffered for adhering to his interest, than the hardships and dangers he was hourly exposed to. To conclude, he possesses all the virtues that form the character of *a true hero and a great prince*." The interest he bore in the eyes of his followers could not be entirely the offspring of the fascination of birth and rank. I have a letter of Bishop Mackintosh before me, in which that venerable person mentions that he had known many individuals who had gone out to fight for Prince Charles, but he never knew one who regretted having fought for him, or did not seem as if he would have gladly perilled life in his cause once more. "He went," says Lord Mahon, "but not with him departed his remembrance from the Highlanders. For years and years did his name continue enshrined in their hearts and familiar to their tongues; their plaintive ditties resounding with his exploits and inviting his return. Again, in these strains, do they declare themselves ready to risk life and fortune for his cause; and even maternal fondness—the strongest, perhaps, of all human feelings—yields to the passionate devotion to 'Prince Charlie.'"

## CHAPTER IV.

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In consequence of the losses sustained by the Glenaladale family in 1745, and there being no colleges at that period, in Scotland, for the education of Catholic students, young Glenaladale, who was but a child when his father was engaged in supporting the Prince, was sent to Ratisbon, in Germany, to pursue his studies. He made extraordinary progress in them, and very soon attained an eminence among his competitors. He could read, write, and speak seven languages fluently; and on his return to Scotland, he was considered one of the most finished gentlemen and perfect scholars, in his part of the country.

The estates of Clanronald, one of the chief branches of the great clan MacDonald, are situated upon the deeply indented coast of Scotland, and at the period when every Highland Chief was in fact a patriarchal sovereign, and every clan was ready, and, indeed, compelled in many cases to protect itself and its country by the sword, they were surrounded on three sides by numerous and powerful clans, some of whom were from time to time in a state of feud, or hostility with the Camerons. A strong and well-guarded frontier then became as necessary to the safety of a single sept, as it can be now to that of an independent state or empire.

It was while such a state of things existed in all its primitive vigour, that there seems to have raged a vehement feud, between the MacDonalds on the one side, and the Camerons of Lochiel, who occupied a locality to the south-east of the Clanronald country, on the other. The frontier passes on the side of the MacDonalds, were those of Glenaladale and Glenfinnen. The Camerons were powerful, determined, active, and daring enemies, and consequently, both able, and inclined to be exceedingly troublesome neighbours, to those with whom they were at enmity. Hence, the Chief of Clanronald was led to adopt the policy, (then by no means uncommon,) of giving the estates of Glenaladale and Glenfinnen to a younger son of his own, who was of a fearless, and warlike disposition, on the condition that he, and his descendants, were to protect the

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border of the Clauronald country against the incursions of their restless and powerful neighbours. In consequence of this species of domestic compact, or alliance, the Glenaladale branch of the family became the hereditary guardians of Clauronald; the natural managers of their affairs, and the prescriptive representatives of their person in the military musters of the Clans, whenever circumstances rendered it expedient that any such transfer of the active sway of the Chief to another should take place.

It was upon this principle, and by virtue of this compact, that many changes took place in the history of the clan.— Alexander MacDonald of Glenaladale, occasionally commanded with the rank of Major, in the absence of his Chief, the Clauronald Highlanders, who were embodied in the service of Charles Stuart. It was upon one of Glenaladale's estates, Glenfinnen, (at a spot where a monument now stands, which was erected to perpetuate the recollection of the attachment of Highlanders to Royalty,) that the standard of the luckless and hapless Chevalier was raised. The last time the standard of the Royal Stuart was unfurled, was in the presence of Glengarry, Lochiel, Glenaladale, and the other Highland and Lowland Noblemen and Chiefs who had met in the above-mentioned place to receive the "*Son of a hundred Kings.*" It was the same Glenaladale who had accompanied the Clauronald corps, in their romantic advance into the heart of England, and fought with them at the battles of Prestonpans, Falkirk, and finally, on the decisive field of Culloden Moor; and it was simply, and naturally, as the result of the same connexion, that his Son, Captain MacDonald, of Glenaladale, with the hope of protecting a large number of Catholic tenantry, became their guardian, by directing, for a short period of great difficulty, the affairs of his relative and friend, the young Chief of Clauronald; and it was for his sound judgment, varied learning, and high rank and standing among the Chieftains of the Clauronald family, that he was thus selected as the "*Cashnier,*" which, in the Gaelic language, signifies, the guardian, or one next in rank to the Chief, being a transfer of power in his absence, or when he is incapacitated, in consequence of age, or illness, to command.

In proof of the loyalty of the last mentioned Glenaladale, and his sincere attachment to the House of Hanover, it may be observed, that at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, he (being at once offered the rank of Captain by the British Government,) successfully exerted all his influence to induce his followers to join the Royal Standard. In conjunction with Major Small, he was the means of forming the 84th, or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment in Nova-Scotia, and actively co-operated in making good the defence of these colonies against the attacks of the insurgents.

Of the 24,000, the probable number of Scotch, or of Scotch descent, who are now established in Prince Edward Island, not less than 4,500 bear the name of Mac Donald; being descended from the emigrants who had accompanied Glenaladale, and his brother, Lieutenant Donald Mac Donald, (afterwards killed in an engagement with a French man-of-war,) and from those who subsequently left the Highlands, to join their friends, on the shores of that beautiful and fertile Island.

The Acadian Inhabitants of Prince Edward Island, a sober, robust, and useful people, intended to have left the Colony in 1774, which, if carried into effect, would have been an irreparable loss to that country. They were, however, induced to continue on the Island by Captain Mac Donald, in consequence of his having, at his own expence, brought them a Clergyman of their own persuasion, of which blessing they had been deprived since that colony was taken from the French.

Captain Mac Donald took a very prominent part in the public affairs of the land of his adoption, where his talents were frequently called into action, in defending the just rights of the noblemen and gentlemen of the Mother Country, who, as well as himself, had extensive estates in that colony. But it must be observed that he gave those who settled on his land, all the advantages accruing from a long lease of *nine hundred and ninety-nine years*, for very low rents. And such was the value of these advantages, that many of his tenants had amassed sufficient money to enable them to purchase lands in other places. There are now also settled in the district of Antigonish, Nova-Scotia, Bras d'or Lake, and other parts of Cape Breton, many of the descendants of Glenaladale's first emigrants.

As a proof of the exalted opinion which the British Government had of this gentleman, and of his rank as a scholar, a loyalist, and a patriot, I will here remark that the Government of Prince Edward Island was offered to him, which he was obliged to decline, because of the oath which was required at that time to be taken. But his having formed into a body of fighting men, in the wilds of America, the different members of his own clan, proves with what propriety and confidence a conscientious Catholic may be entrusted with the management of the affairs of a Prince, and the defence of a Protestant Government, when his assistance and energies may be required.

In addition to the plans which Captain Mac Donald had suggested for the defence of the Province of Nova-Scotia, he had rendered other substantial services to his country and government. During the American Revolution, an American ship-of-war came to the Nova-Scotia coast, near a post where Glenaladale was on detachment, with a small party of his men, of the 84th Highland Emigrants. A part of the crew of the enemy's ship having landed for the purpose of plundering

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the people of the country, Captain Mac Donald, with his handful of men, boarded the vessel, overcame those who had been left to take charge of her, hoisted the sails, and took her in triumph into the harbour of Halifax. He then returned to his former post, with a reinforcement, and took the surprised crew of Americans and French all prisoners.

Glenaladale's first marriage took place in Scotland, to Miss Gordon, of Wardhouse, aunt of the present Admiral Sir James Gordon, whose brilliant career in the naval history of England is well known. His only child by this marriage, survived but a few months its amiable mother.

After having rendered many important services to his adopted country, he married Miss Mac Donald, of the Morar family, who was related to the Chief of Glengarry, and to several of the first families in the Highlands of Scotland, such as those of Kinloch-moydart, Locheil, Sir Norman M'Leod, &c. His alliance with the first, brought him also into family connexion with the houses of many others in the North,—the Urquharts, Sir Alexander Cummins's family, and the Macdonells of Scotchouse.\*

Glenaladale died in 1811; and although he was a sincere and zealous Catholic, he never made the slightest difference as to the religion of his tenantry, clansmen, friends, or acquaintance. In all the relations of private life, he was singularly amiable; and when the building of the first Protestant Church in Charlotte Town, Prince Edward Island, was proposed, he subscribed most liberally to the carrying out of that sacred object. To the memory of such a public benefactor, the deepest respect is due from all; but in the fond recollection of his own clansmen, his many excellent qualities are embalmed;—and, moreover, in relation to his military virtues and abilities, I beg to submit the following opinion of General Small, in an address to Government:—

“The activity and unabating zeal of Captain John Mac Donald, of Glenaladale, in bringing an excellent company into the field, is his least recommendation, being acknowledged by all who know him, to be one of the most accomplished men and best officers of his rank in His Majesty's service.”

At the conclusion of the peace with the United States, the 84th, or Royal Highland Regiment of Emigrants, was disbanded, after being enrolled about three years; but their valuable services entitled the officers to half-pay, and the men to grants of land, which were obtained in Nova Scotia, at a place called the Douglas Settlement, about thirty miles from Halifax, while others returned with their leader to Prince Edward Island.

\* This information is from Logan's Letters on Highland Families.

To this Colony the late Lord Selkirk and Sir James Montgomery were real benefactors. These patriotic gentlemen sent thither a superior class of emigrants, from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, who are now settled in those parts of the Island called Belfast and Stanhope.

From the year after their arrival, down to 1840, many of their relations from the Isle of Skye, and other places in Scotland, continued to join them; and by constant and numerous arrivals from the Mother Country, the population of this fine and flourishing Colony was, in 1841, when the last census was taken, 47,000, and now amounts to nearly 50,000. A very considerable number of Scotch emigrants have also been brought to Prince Edward Island, as well as to different parts of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, through the exertions of the late Colonel Frazer. Thus these poor people have endeavoured to procure a home for themselves and their posterity, in the forests and wilds of America, after being deprived of their parental homes in their native glens, by the new system of extensive sheep farming, first introduced into the Highlands in the year 1790.

For the purpose of showing the present state of Prince Edward Island, as regards the number of its inhabitants, their religion, the produce of the country, &c., I beg to make an extract from the Statistical Returns of 1841 :

Number of persons in connection with the Church of England, -	5,678
Ditto with the Church of Scotland, - - - - -	10,006
Number of persons, being Presbyterians, in connection with the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island, - - - - -	5,089
Number of Roman Catholics, - - - - -	20,429
Number of Methodists, - - - - -	3,421
Number of Baptists, - - - - -	1,609
Number of persons of any other denomination, - - - - -	772
Number of persons, natives of England, - - - - -	2,675
Number of persons, natives of Scotland, - - - - -	5,682
Number of persons, natives of Ireland, - - - - -	5,193
Number of persons, natives of Prince Edward Island, - - - - -	31,561
Number of persons, natives of the other British Colonies, - - - - -	1,755
Number of persons, natives of other Countries, - - - - -	194

N. B.—The Indians or Aborigines are not enumerated.

The produce raised on the Island during the year 1840 was 169,659 bushels of Wheat, 83,299 bushels of Barley, 611,824 bushels of Oats, and 2,250,114 bushels of Potatoes. The farmers in general keep considerable stocks of horned Cattle and Horses.

There are seventy-nine Places of Worship in the Island, one hundred and fifteen School Houses, ten Brewing and Distilling establishments, eighty-six Grist Mills, eleven Carding Mills, eighty-two Saw Mills, and an Iron Foundry in which stoves, grates, &c. &c. are made.

There are twenty-four Catholic Congregations in the Island, and a Bishop, and seven Priests.

There are also in the Island seven Church of England Clergymen, two Ministers of the Church of Scotland, and five Ministers, members of the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island, two Methodist Preachers, and two Baptist Missionaries.

With the view of affording information to Scottish emigrants, relative to other portions of the British Possessions in North America, the following statistics have been gathered from authentic sources. The population of the whole Province of Nova-Scotia may be taken at 250,000 souls, about 50,000 of whom may be allowed for Cape Breton. From due calculation I think that one-third of the whole population of the Province is Scotch, or the descendants of Scotch. The prevailing names of the Highlanders are the MacDonalds, MacDonells, Frazers, McKenzies, McKays, Camerons, McLeods, Campbells, Grants, Robertsons, Stewarts, McIntoshes, Malcolms, McIntyres, Mac Farlanes, Mac Neils, Mac Nabs, Munros, McLeans, McDougals, Chisholms, McPhersons, Sutherlands, MacKinnons and MacQueens; of the last name altho' not numerous, there have been many men of literary merit and highly patriotic principles, particularly the late worthy Dr. MacQueen, of Bedfordshire.

The principal part of the Emigration from the highlands of Scotland to Nova-Scotia, has been from Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland shires, while the later arrivals have been from Argyle, Perth, and Caithness shires.

By the returns made in 1837, it appears that there were then in Nova-Scotia, 48,000 Presbyterians, and 47,000 Catholics, upwards of one-half of whom are Scotch, the remainder consisting of Irish, and native French. In the population of the 50,000 allowed for Cape Breton, nearly one-half are Presbyterians; the remainder is made up of Scotch Catholics, Irish, and French.

The population of the County of Pictou is about 25,000; they are principally Scotch Presbyterians from Inverness, Ross, Argyle, and Sutherland shires. The population of the County of Sydney, is one-half Catholic, chiefly from Inverness shire. There is also in this county a large number of Irish Catholic settlers. In the adjoining county, Gtysborough, the proportion of Irish Catholics is greater, altho' there are many Scotch Catholics at this place also.

The Gulf shores are lined with Highland settlements, which are in a prosperous state. In Tadmagouche, Wallace, and other places along the Nova-Scotia shore, Highlanders are the most numerous.

In New Brunswick there are at least 30,000 Scotch settlers or their descendants. Many of their ancestors came from the United States, with considerable numbers of English Loyalists,

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in 1783, at the close of the American Revolutionary War, disdaining to live under any Government but that of Great Britain.

Some of the brave old soldiers of the 42d Regiment, or Black Watch, have settled in this Province, and I have heard with delight, from Sir William MacBean George Colebrooke, the present patriotic and enlightened Governor of this Province, that those of the descendants of the veterans of this Regiment, who settled near Fredericton, preserve, unaltered, the feelings, language, and customs of their ancestors, with their attachment to Royalty and the Government of England.

New Brunswick, which has the great advantage over Lower Canada of being contiguous to the sea, near good fishing-grounds and markets, and, what is above all other advantages, nearer to England, Ireland, and Scotland; is well worthy of the attention of Emigrants from the Mother Country.

Of the Bay of Chaleur are situated the Towns of Bathurst and Dalhousie,—the latter so called in honour of Lord Dalhousie, a name that will be long remembered and cherished in America, on account of the many virtues of the nobleman who bore it. Lord Dalhousie's strict attention to the affairs of his Government has been productive of the most beneficial results. It has been remarked of him, that, like the Duke of Wellington, he never forgot to answer the letters even of the poorest individuals. Such men do much to consolidate the power of England in America; indeed the same may with truth be said of all our Governors and Admirals, particularly those appointed by the Conservative Ministry of the Mother Country. The name, alone, of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, fills the mind of every British subject in America with the proudest recollections, and our souls with the prayer to God, and to our beloved and gracious Queen, that we may always be blessed with Governors, Admirals and Generals of the Wellington and Nelson school, whose public conduct and energetic measures have proved so highly beneficial to their country.

General David Stewart, of Garth, who died when Governor of Saint Lucia, and the present Chief of the Highland Society of Saint John, New Brunswick, Sir Archibald Campbell, had, I have understood, long since offered Government to accompany and direct an extensive emigration of Highlanders to America; in all parts of which they could not fail to meet some of their countrymen, and experience their friendly assistance and sympathy. The following are, as nearly as I can learn, the principal Scotch Presbyterian Congregations in New Brunswick. In the City of Saint John there are from three hundred to four hundred families; in Kingston there are about one hundred families; in the Parish of Saint James, Charlotte County, about one hundred and fifty families; Saint Andrews, in Charlotte County, one hundred and fifty families;

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at Digdeguash, one hundred families, and the same number at Magaguadavic. In Sunbury County there are one hundred and fifty families; and many settlers of Scotch origin on the Nashwaak, in York County. There are also respectable Presbyterian congregations at Fredericton, (the Seat of Government in the Province,) and at Newcastle and Chatham, (Miramichi,) each consisting of many respectable families. The same may be said of Richibucto, Restigouche, Dalhousie, Dorchester, Norton, and the various districts on the River Nashwaak. The land in the vicinity of most of these places is very fertile, as well as at Woodstock, on both sides of the great River Saint John, the Kennebeckasis River, and on most of the numerous rivers of this Province. The back lands are in general the most productive. The sea coast, however, from the great abundance of fish, is more suitable to emigrants from the Western Islands, and the west coast of Scotland, as well as from the fishing districts of England and Ireland, whose emigrants will, it is hoped, turn their attention to the sea coasts of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. For, although my original intention was to dwell particularly on Scotch affairs, the principal object of this publication is, if possible, to be of service to those persons who may not have had access to better sources of information, whether English, Irish, or Scotch.

The following Memorandum of the ungranted Government Land in New Brunswick, has been obtained from the Office of the Surveyor General of the Province, and may, for correctness, be relied on :

## MEMORANDUM.

The Province of New-Brunswick contains about 16,500,000 acres, and is divided into thirteen counties. Upwards of 10,000,000 of acres are yet vacant and in the hands of government. Say about as follows:—

In Restigouche and Gloucester Counties,	- - - - -	1,823,000
Northumberland,	- - - - -	2,216,000
Kent,	- - - - -	552,400
Westmorland,	- - - - -	532,000
Saint John,	- - - - -	123,000
Charlotte,	- - - - -	480,000
King's,	- - - - -	214,000
Queen's,	- - - - -	470,000
Sunbury,	- - - - -	413,000
York,	- - - - -	1,220,000
Carleton,	- - - - -	2,020,000

The four last-mentioned Counties are inland, and upon the River St. John.— All the others have extensive sea-boards and numerous harbours and fishing-stations. The population of the Province may now be reckoned at 160,000, and is rapidly increasing. In consequence of the decrease in the price of timber, the agriculture of the country is of late much better attended to. The soil is in general excellent, and the only disadvantage as compared with the United Kingdom, is the length of our winters, during which, farming operations are necessarily suspended, from the severity of the frost and the depth of snow. But experience has fully proved

that industry and application invariably secure a comfortable and sufficient subsistence to the settler at once, and in the course of eight or ten years, comparative affluence.

Great numbers of the very poorest emigrants from Great Britain have arrived here within the last fifteen years, and though without any other capital, than their own ability to work at first, they are now generally in the possession of farms varying from one to two and three hundred acres each, with a good proportion under cultivation.

The price of government land is 3s. currency, or 2s. 6d. sterling, but those emigrants who have not the ability to pay immediately, are allowed three years credit, and those who pay down the full purchase money, a discount of one-fifth for prompt payment.

The best method of settling in the wilderness, is by forming associations of at least twenty persons or upwards, together—who make selection of some choice situation; and as the country is well intersected with roads and streams, there is no difficulty in at once obtaining eligible situations in every county.

Within the last two years, the Provincial Government has caused extensive Surveys to be made of the finest lands, for the accommodation of Immigrants and young men, natives of the country; and additional Surveys will be made wherever required.

As the Government is now most anxious to promote the agricultural interests of the Province, every possible facility is given to encourage and assist in the formation of new settlements, in consequence of which, numerous companies of thirty, forty, and even seventy persons each, have been settled and located upon Crown Lands during the present season. And they are not required at present to make any payment whatever for the land, and the price agreed upon to be ultimately paid is only 3s. per acre, and 3d. to defray the cost of Survey.

September 22, 1842.

## REGULATIONS FOR THE DISPOSAL OF CROWN LANDS

IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

*By order of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor in Council, 11th May, 1843.*

1st.—Public Sales of Crown Lands will be held, as occasion may require, on the first Tuesday in every month, by the Surveyor General, in his office at Fredericton, and by a Deputy Surveyor thereunto specially appointed for each County.

2d.—All applications must be addressed by Petition to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, and transmitted either by the Applicant or through the Local Deputy, under cover to the Surveyor General, and accompanied by a Report from the Local Deputy, describing the Land, and setting forth whether it is required for actual Settlement, together with such other information as he may deem necessary to be communicated.

3d.—If the application be approved of, and the Land applied for be not already surveyed, a Warrant will forthwith issue to authorize the Survey to be executed, on guarantee to the Surveyor, for the expenses of Survey, according to such Regulations and at such Rates as may be prescribed for Surveys in the Department of the Surveyor General; and where the applications for Land in any locality may be numerous, care will be taken that the charges be proportionably reduced.

4th.—On the return of the Survey duly executed, the description of the Land, the time and place of Sale, and the upset price, will be announced in the Royal Gazette, and also by Handbills to be publicly posted in the County where the land lies, at least twenty days previous to the day of sale; and the charges for all such Surveys shall be paid down by the Purchaser or his Agent at the time of sale, in addition to such part of the Purchase Money as will be required, or the Sale to be null and void.

5th.—If the Land applied for should have been previously surveyed, the like notice of the time and place of Sale, &c., be forthwith published, and three pence

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per acre, Survey money, paid down by the Purchaser or his Agent at the time of Sale, in addition to the part of the Purchase Money required as before, or the Sale to be null and void.

6th.—To facilitate these arrangements, outline Maps of the several Counties are to be made as soon as practicable, for the use of the Surveyor General and Deputy Surveyors, and for the information of the public, on which are to be recorded the situation and limits of the Lands when Surveyed and advertised for Sale.

7th.—The upset price of all Crown Lands for actual settlement is to be not less than three shillings (2s. 6d. sterling) an acre, exclusive of the charge for surveying the same. Twenty-five per cent. of the sale price to be paid down, and the remainder to be payable in three equal annual Instalments, to be secured by Bond of the purchaser; each Instalment to bear interest at six per cent. per annum, from and after the day the same becomes due. Purchasers who may pay down the full purchase money at the time of Sale will be allowed a deduction or discount of one fifth for prompt payment.

8th.—No consideration or allowance whatever will be made on account of unauthorized improvements on Crown Lands which shall not have been commenced or made on or before the first day of May of this present year, but the allotments with such improvements will be sold in the same manner as other Crown Lands.

9th.—In cases of the Sales of Land where improvements may have been made prior to the first of May, and where the occupier is not the purchaser, the Surveyor General or Deputy Surveyor will value the same, subject to an appeal by Petition to the Governor in cases of objection to such valuation; and the purchaser shall be required to pay such valuation on the day of Sale to the persons entitled thereto, or in cases of appeal, to deposit the same, in addition to the Purchase and Survey Money, as herein before provided.

10th.—All Local Deputies making Sales under these Regulations are required to make a return thereof to the Surveyor General within fourteen days after such Sales respectively, and of all Bonds which he may have taken for securing the payment of Instalments.

11th.—Every such Deputy is also required to transmit within thirty days after such Sales respectively, a Duplicate of the said return to the Receiver General, and to remit to him all Monies received on account of such Sales, except the sums paid for Surveys and deposited for improvements, of which he is to render an account; and he will be allowed to retain for his remuneration a commission of five per cent of the Purchase Money so received—such per centage is in no case to exceed in the whole the sum of £100 per annum. And the Receiver General shall within six days after his receipt of such return and remittance, render to the Surveyor General a copy of the return duly authenticated.

12th.—Where the Purchase Money has been paid down under the conditions of the 7th Clause, a Grant will immediately pass to the Purchaser, but in other cases an occupation Ticket will be issued to him on the day of sale, signed by the Surveyor General; such Ticket will not give any power or authority to the occupant to cut and remove from his allotment any Timber or Logs until all the Purchase Money is paid, but all Timber and Logs so cut will be liable to seizure, unless paid for according to existing Regulations for the disposal of Crown Timber and Lumber; in which case the amount so paid shall be carried to the credit of the Purchaser and towards the liquidation of the Instalments which remain due or unpaid for the said allotment.

13th.—Every Deputy authorized to perform the foregoing duties will be required to give a Bond to the Queen, with two approved securities, in the penal sum of £400, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duty.

14th.—No Deputy shall be permitted, either directly or indirectly, during the continuance of his official employment, to purchase or be in any manner interested in any Crown Lands whatsoever.

15th.—Where large parties of Settlers may associate and make application for the purchase of Tracts of Wilderness Lands, in situations distant from any settlements already formed or in progress, and to which communications may not have been opened through the Forest, they will set forth in their Petitions, and the Surveyors in their Reports, all such particulars; and when the difficulties to be overcome may require greater facilities than are provided for in the foregoing Regula-

tions, the case will be reserved for the special consideration of the Lieutenant Governor and Council; and when such parties may engage to defray the charges of surveying their Locations, and also of the Bye Roads required to be opened to and through their Settlements, and to which they are willing to apply their own labour, the Deputy Surveyors will be authorized to execute such Surveys. In laying out such Locations, the Surveyors are to attend to the Regulations reserving Lines of Road, and allotments for Schools and places of Worship, which Reserves will not be allowed to be broken or sold.

*By Order of the Lieutenant Governor.*

Secretary's Office, 11th May, 1843.

WILLIAM F. ODELL.

The numerous and very interesting volumes written by Dr. Gesner, the indefatigable and able Geologist of New Brunswick, may be relied on both for correctness and deep research. This gentleman has, on behalf of the Colonial Government, been particularly successful in locating, at a very moderate expence, considerable numbers of emigrants, who are now comfortably settled and prospering on their farms. This consideration induces me to refer to the sad mismanagement of some officers of certain Emigration Companies, who have, with little benefit to their employers or their settlers, expended in a most useless and improvident manner, many thousands of pounds. It cannot, however, be expected, that English gentlemen, totally unacquainted with Colonial affairs, or forest lands, should be so well qualified to select situations, manage and locate strangers, as an individual born and brought up in the country, with every opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with it. This gentleman has explored many hundreds, indeed thousands of miles of the wilderness lands, the rivers, lakes, and coasts of New Brunswick, and brought to light the great value of its mines and minerals, and given, at the same time, a great variety of other useful information, which could not be obtained but by many years of laborious research in the Colony itself.

In the City of Saint John, (although not the Head Quarters of the Province,) some of the most opulent Merchants and Store-keepers are native Scotchmen. In the Legislative Halls, as Medical men, in the Forum, and in the Professors' Chairs of the University of New-Brunswick, are to be found able and learned Scotchmen, promoting the liberal arts and sciences and thus diffusing light and knowledge over the length and breadth of their adopted country.

In that part of Cape Breton called Bras d'or Lake, there is a flourishing settlement of Highlanders, who, after having acquired on Prince Edward Island, the means of procuring land, migrated to that place, where they now possess free lands for themselves and their posterity.

A large proportion of the Highlanders in Cape Breton, are Roman Catholics, who cultivate feelings of friendship with



their fellow-countrymen of other religious belief, and keep up a close intimacy with them, all differences as to conscience being sacrificed at the shrine of patriotism, and fraternal love. And it is not too much to say that English, Irish, and Scotch vie with each other in their devotion and loyalty to the powerful throne of England, and in attachment to the august person and family of Her Majesty.

As there have been so many unreasonable and groundless complaints with reference to extensive tracts of land being owned in Prince Edward Island by British noblemen and other non-resident gentlemen, which have contributed to produce feelings of animosity between persons whose interests seem to lie in one direction, the writer must here in justice to those parties, and for the purpose of allaying discontent, state, that in frequent communications with them on the subject of improving that Colony, he invariably found them most anxious to promote the welfare, comfort, and respectability of their tenantry, as well as the education of their children. An instance will be found in the conduct of the Honorable Samuel Cunard, of Halifax, an extensive proprietor, who, while in London, in 1838, in company with the writer and a deputation from the Highland Society, visited the Colonial Office, for the purpose of recommending to Lord Normanby a good and uniform system of education for the North American Colonies,—and at the same time empowered the writer to state to the Highland Society his readiness to subscribe liberally to the erection of School-houses, and to make a free gift of one hundred acres of land to each school established in the different settlements of his large estates. Similar liberal offers have been made by numerous other proprietors, particularly by the benevolent and much-respected family of the late General Fanning, and by D. and R. Stewart, Esquires, of London. To these may be added the deep interest taken in the welfare of the colony by other gentlemen of distinction, and among them by His Lordship the Protestant Bishop of Nova-Scotia, who wrote the author a letter to be submitted to the Highland Society of London, recommending, in the event of their procuring from Government the means of promoting an efficient system of loyal education in Nova-Scotia, that the instruction of the children of Presbyterians should be entrusted to the Presbytery of Halifax, the education of the Catholics to the Venerable Bishop Fraser, and that he, Dr. Inglis, should provide for the proper instruction of the youth of the Church of England. His lordship's letter was replete with pious, christian, and loyal sentiments, worthy of the representative of an eminent family, whose extensive and valuable possessions in the United States fell forfeit to their loyalty to the British crown and their unswerving attachment to Her Majesty's illustrious House.

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On the late threatened invasion of New-Brunswick by the people of the United States, the Legislature of Nova-Scotia voted the sum of £100,000, and eight thousand fighting men, for the service of the British Government; and that of New-Brunswick exhibited a similar testimony of loyal attachment and fidelity as descendants of Britons—the Militia of this Province, during a considerable part of the winter of 1839, cheerfully undertaking to perform military duty, both at the Garrison at Saint John and the various military posts throughout the Province, while the regular soldiery were employed in protecting the frontier from the incursions and depredations of American citizens.

During the late insurrection in Canada, another opportunity for the display of loyalty to the crown was offered to the provincials of British descent. Had their duty called them again into the field, to protect their altars and their firesides from the violation and spoliation of foreign aggression, they were determined to acquit themselves in a style not unworthy of the heroes of Ciudad Rodrigo, Torres Vedras, Vimiera, Salamanca, Talavera, and Waterloo. And we confidently believe that the inhabitants of British North America will always be opposed to the inroads of our Republican neighbours, and will ever continue the ready and intrepid defenders of British rights, and the redressers of any insult offered to the British sceptre.

The Branches of the Highland Society of London, which are established in America, have been endeavouring to promote a loyal system of education among the Scotch youth. Such societies are eminently calculated to advance educational objects and to train up the tender minds of youth in feelings of veneration for the wise and time-honoured institutions of England.

The solid and permanent advantages which would result to the youth of the country from the adoption of the Normal plan of instruction, would infinitely more than compensate for any expense with which it might be attended.

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## CHAPTER V.

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In the year 1773, Sir William Johnson induced a large number of emigrants, from Glengarry and Knoydart, in the West Highlands, to settle in the then British Province of New-York. They took up their position on the borders of the Mohawk River. After the breaking out of the American Revolutionary War, the Americans tried every means in their power to persuade them to remain in the country ; but when they found that coaxing, entreaties and threats were alike disregarded by the King's subjects, they arrested several of the influential men, and imprisoned them. Thus they attempted to effect by brute force what was abhorrent to the feelings of these faithful people, and what, therefore, they would not consent to, namely, to make themselves traitors to their King. They most indignantly and contumeliously rejected the advice, disdaining to consort or have any part with rebels—with men who had fallen away from their political faith. The Mohawk Scotch settlers remonstrated with the disaffected on behalf of their King, but their remonstrances proving vain and useless, they refused to continue under a government which was hostile to any demonstrations of loyalty to England, and succeeded in effecting their own release, and under the guidance and command of Sir John Johnston, son to Sir William, they fought their way to the banks of the Saint Lawrence. During this expedition they suffered incredible hardships, both by hunger and fatigue ; living chiefly upon the flesh of their horses and dogs, and, when that failed them, upon the roots of the forest. On their arrival in Canada they were formed into a corps under Sir John Johnston, and called "The Royal Emigrants," and their services in the field contributed in a great degree to the preservation of the Canadas. At the conclusion of the War, as a reward for their services, and in compensation for their losses, lands were granted them in Upper Canada, and they located themselves, some on the Niagara frontier ; some on the Bay of Quebec ; some on the shores of the Saint Lawrence, in what is now called the Johnstown District ; and others in the Eastern District, in those counties now known by the names

of Glengarry and Stormont, the former of which was so called, in compliment to the emigrants from Glengarry, in Scotland.

Many of the friends and connexions in Scotland of these emigrants, especially of those settled in Glengarry, hearing the cheerful tidings from Canada, and suffering from the same causes that induced the former to quit their homes, began to join them in numbers. To such an extent did the emigration proceed, that the Highland Lairds began to be alarmed at the idea of the Highlands being depopulated; so much so indeed, that they procured the enactment of a law, restricting emigration by oppressive and vexatious regulations, and obtained ships of war to guard the harbours and lochs of the Highlands, to board emigrant vessels, and to press into the naval service every able-bodied man found on board. By the regulations of this Act, no man could emigrate to North America with a wife and three children, even below the age of five years, unless at an expense of nearly fifty pounds, and the cost of transportation of the rest of his family in like proportion. As American ships carrying out emigrants were not subjected to any of these severe regulations, the natural consequence was, that intended emigrants to Canada and other British Provinces made choice of those vessels, and emigrated to the United States instead, so that the tide of emigration set in towards that country, to which more or less it has always since flowed. And the consequence resulting from this emigration was, that in the war of 1812, between Great Britain and the United States, the ranks of the enemy were thronged with Highlanders and their children, who had left their homes under the irritation of mind arising from the oppression of their landlords in exacting their rents, and from the illiberality of the Government in having thrown impediments in the way to prevent their obtaining relief by joining their friends in Canada.

In the years of 1793 and 1794, the French Revolution threatened the subversion of civil order in most of the Kingdoms of Europe, and it had begun to extend its unholy and destructive principles to many parts of England, and Scotland. It was at this juncture that a number of Catholic Gentlemen in the Highlands, assembled together and drew up a loyal address to His Majesty George III. offering to form themselves into a regiment to be under the young Chief of Glengarry—most of the persons who were to compose it being his clansmen and tenants. The address was presented to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by the Rev. Mr. Macdonell, and Fletcher, the Laird of Dunens, father of the present Lady Gordon of Drimmer, and grand-daughter of the Glenaladale of 1745.

Government most readily availed itself of this spirited and patriotic offer, and granted a letter of Service to the Glengarry

Regiment, to serve in any part of Great Britain and Ireland, or in the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey. The command was given to Glengarry, whose influence as Chief, with his numerous, brave, and devoted clansmen, and whose power with Government, arising from the high rank he held on account of his chivalrous and martial character, and his extensive estates, were the means of rendering that gallant and hard-fighting corps eminently useful to their country.

In the summer of 1795, the First Glengarry Regiment was ordered to the Island of Guernsey, then threatened to be invaded by the French; and there it continued until the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion in 1798. This corps was then ordered to Ireland, and it served in that country during the whole of the Irish troubles. The good conduct of the men, together with the activity, derived from their mountainous habits, induced the Government to employ the Glengarry Regiment in the most disturbed parts of the country, in the Counties of Wexford and Wicklow, and in the Hills and Morasses of Connemara, where during the rebellion, and for some time after it was put down, a number of deserters took refuge, accompanied by the most desperate of the rebels, yet at large. Issuing from their fastnesses during the night, they harassed the peaceable inhabitants, plundering their habitations, and burning their houses and out-tenements. Mr. Macdonell, their Chaplain, accompanying the men in the field, by the influence of his office, prevented those excesses so generally committed by the soldiers of other regiments, especially by those of the native Yeomanry Corps, and which rendered them alike the terror and detestation of the insurgent inhabitants. Mr. Macdonell found many of the Catholic Chapels in the counties of Wicklow, Carlow, and Wexford, turned into stables for the horses of the Yeomanry. These he caused to be cleansed and restored to their original sacred use, performing Divine Service in them himself, and inviting the Clergy and Congregations to attend, who had mostly been driven into the mountains and bogs, to escape the cruelties of the Yeomanry, and such of the Regular Troops as were under the command of prejudiced or merciless officers. The poor, deluded, and terrified inhabitants returned with joy and thankfulness to their Chapels and homes, as soon as assurance of protection was afforded them from quarters and by persons who had no interest to deceive them. The above-mentioned district, which by its peculiar fastnesses had become the resort of the desperate characters alluded to, was by the promptness and activity of Col. Macdonell and his Highlanders, quickly cleared of its troublesome tenants; and aided by the humane endeavours of Mr. Macdonell, to allay the fears, and soothe the feelings of the public, it soon became as peaceable and tranquil, as it had been turbulent and disturbed.

During the short peace of Amiens, in 1802, forty-four of the Scotch Fensible Regiments were disembodied and among them the Glengarry Highlanders.

The Right Honorable Henry Addington, then Prime Minister of England, when passing a most complimentary tribute to the character and brilliant services of the Glengarry Regiment, took that opportunity to express his disapproval of the proposed settlement of that valiant body of men in Canada, as he was under the impression that the British Government had but a slight hold of that part of the King's dominions. Notwithstanding the many vexatious impediments which had been thrown in the way of the friends and relatives of the disbanded Glengarry Regiment to prevent them from emigrating to Canada, they proved that a willing mind is able to surmount any work, however arduous and difficult it may be.

The Glengarry Regiment was afterwards re-organized in Canada, and did its part in saving the Provinces from the Americans in 1812, and from the rebels in McKenzie's wicked and traitorous attempt to overthrow the British power in Canada.

It is but justice to the Glengarry Highlanders that I should relate the scenes of their glory, and enumerate the names of those places where they emulated the spirit of their forefathers, and bore through in triumph the METEOR FLAG OF ENGLAND—their only watchword being DEATH OR VICTORY.

The Glengarry Regiment were employed on the frontier of Canada, from Quebec to Sandwich, during the whole of the war of 1812, '13, '14 and '15, with the United States of America, and were at the taking of many towns and garrisons, and in several general battles with the enemy. They were daily, and almost hourly engaged with the Americans, in skirmishing, or in cutting off some of their posts or picquets; and were always the first in the field, and the last to leave it.

Their skill in the art of war was first put to the test, at the taking of a blockhouse at Fort Corrington, in the United States, under the command of Major (now Colonel) MacDonell; next at the capture of the town and fort at Ogdensburg, where they took fourteen cannon, a great number of small arms, and other booty. They next distinguished themselves at the taking of Oswego, in the United States, and of Sacket's Harbour, at the sanguinary battle of York, Upper Canada, where they fought like lions. They lost three companies, with their officers, at the landing of the Americans at Fort George. They were also at the battle of Stoney Creek, at the Cross Roads, Lundy's Lane. At this point they behaved in a manner and fought with a coolness which would have reflected honour upon veteran troops of the line, leaving behind them fearful evidences of the havoc they made among the ill-fated enemy. When the action commenced, they were the only troops on the ground, and although

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they were constantly engaged, and under a tremendous and destructive fire, from six o'clock P. M. until one o'clock the next morning, (lying under arms all night,) they stood like a wall of adamant, against those showers of shot and ball, without giving way a single inch. They had prepared to attack the enemy next morning, but the latter crossed the Chippewa, and destroyed the bridge, so that their pursuers could not follow, to give them further proofs of Glengarry valour, until the following day. The loss on both sides was not less than THREE THOUSAND. The Glengarry men took one gun from the enemy, whose force amounted to 7000, while their own numbers did not at any time exceed 1500. On the 17th of September, 1814, they lost eight hundred men, and their whole line was so closely pressed that they were only enabled to stand the repeated charges of the enemy by disputing every inch of the blood-deluged field with the point of the bayonet. At last the enemy retreated, and found safety in flight from a renewal of the vengeance of the INVINCIBLE Highlanders. After the battle, one of the Glengarry men and an American were found lying dead side by side, having run each other through the body with their bayonets. Those brave Highlanders had been in fourteen general engagements. At the last, which took place at Cook's Mill, two balls passed through the cap of Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) Angus MacDonell, and his two sergeants were killed by his side, one immediately after the other. The loss during the whole of the service of this corps, was about TWO THOUSAND,—than whom more brave and noble fellows never brandished a claymore.

When the American fleet was landing several thousand troops near Fort George, Upper Canada,—who were opposed only by three companies of the Glengarries, part of the 49th, and part of the 8th, or King's,—John MacDonell, after having expended all his ammunition, rushed forward to the bow of the boats, and drove the naked steel, up to the muzzle of his firelock, into the bodies of his foes, until he had dispatched five or six of them. Upon looking round, and finding himself alone, he joined his few surviving companions. It was at all times most difficult for the officers to restrain the headlong daring and unbounded courage of this brave soldier. The horrors of the carnage and the terrific roaring of the cannon had no terrors for him—his King and his country were the stake for which he fought and bled.

At the battle of Lundy's Lane, Sergeant Alexander MacDonell stepped up to the Colonel, and said, "We should make a dash upon that cannon, which is in our front, and which is doing us great damage." But the night being extremely dark, and the cannon being supported by numerous columns, the attempt was not made; as it would have been madness to attack the offensive piece of cannon.

I beg here to submit an extract from Graham's History of North America :—

“During the whole period of her controversy with Great Britain, America was deriving a continual increase of strength from domestic growth and from the flow of European emigration. Her territories presented varieties of human condition, and diversified attractions adapted to almost every imaginable peculiarity of human taste—from scenes of peace and repose, to circumstances of romantic adventure and interesting danger—from the rudeness and solitude of the forest, to the refinements of cultivated life, and the busy hum of men in flourishing, populous, and improved communities—from the lawless liberty of the black settlements, to the dominion of the most severely moral legislation that ever prevailed among mankind. No complete memorial has been transmitted of the particulars of the emigrations that took place from Europe to America at this period ; but (from the few illustrative facts that are actually preserved) they appear to have been amazingly copious.—Within the first fortnight of August 1773, thirty-five thousand emigrants arrived at Philadelphia, from Ireland ; and from the same document which recorded this circumstance, it appears that vessels were arriving every month, freighted with emigrants from Holland, Germany, and especially from Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. About 7000 Irish settlers repaired to the Carolinas, in the autumn of 1773 : and in the course of the same season, no fewer than ten vessels sailed from Britain with Scottish Highlanders emigrating to the American States. As most of the emigrants, and particularly those from Ireland and Scotland, were persons discontented with their condition or treatment in Europe, their accession to the Colonial population, it might reasonably be supposed, had no tendency to diminish or counteract the hostile sentiments towards Britain which were daily gathering force in America. And yet these persons, *especially the Scotch*, were, in general, extremely averse to an entire and abrupt rejection of British authority. Their patriotic attachments, enhanced as usual by distance, always resisted and sometimes prevailed over their more rational and prudent convictions, *and more than once*, in the final struggle, were the interests of British prerogative espoused and aided by men who had been originally driven by hardship and ill-usage from Britain to America.”

The services of the Glengarry Highlanders during the last war with the United States of America were so valuable and so highly appreciated, that they called forth the approbation of his late Majesty George IV.—and they received his thanks.

Sir John Colborne, (now Lord Seaton,) the late commander of the Forces in Canada, acknowledged the promptitude and cheerfulness with which the Glengarry men flew to arms in



Lower Canada, where their presence effectually checked the spirit of revolt for a length of time, and would most probably have extinguished it in that part of the country, had this gallant corps been properly supported.

The distinguished hero of Hugamout, (General Sir James MacDonell,) travelled some hundreds of miles to Glengarry, for the purpose of inspecting the militia regiments on their respective parades.

## CHAPTER VI.

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After having finished his education in France, and his travels on the Continent, the writer of these pages entered the army in 1825.

In case he may be considered chargeable with egotism, or with a wish to say too much of his own humble exertions to provide a loyal system of education for his countrymen in America, it will not, he hopes, be deemed irrelevant to mention here that he found on his first visit to different parts of Nova Scotia, an almost total absence of the means of instruction among his countrymen. At Prince Edward Island alone there were from ten to twelve thousand children, principally of Scotch descent, who then had no means, nor even a prospect of learning to read and write, and there were probably more than double that number in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton, in that melancholy situation. Moreover, he found just prior to the Canadian Rebellion, in some of the most respectable families of the Lower Provinces, that their children were educated by native citizens of the United States who could be expected to communicate to the minds of their pupils no other principles than those of Republicanism—and knowing by experience, that the British Government is the best adapted for the promotion of civilization and human improvement, he resolved to make every effort to procure for the rising generation of his countrymen, and other Colonists in America, by procuring books and loyal teachers from England and Scotland, a system of education that would attach them to their father-land, and make them not only appreciate the benefits of the laws and liberties of Great Britain, but also make them proud of their origin, and anxious to perpetuate a connection with the Mother Country, whose beneficent institutions are so well calculated to promote their own happiness and that of their posterity. There being no prospect of a war, and having no hopes of promotion without giving large sums of money for the purchasing of advancement, the writer was induced to expend all his pecuniary resources in endeavouring to procure school-masters and books for these Colonies. In

consequence of which he has been led to accept a Paymastership, by which step he has sacrificed the hopes of rising in a profession to which he was ardently devoted and attached. These circumstances are more particularly alluded to, as all the beneficial results that he anticipated, have not, unfortunately, been realized; for although the *Highland Society* of Halifax have trained, at their own expense, five or six young school-masters for different parts of Nova-Scotia and Cape Breton, yet all the good that might have been expected in the cause of education has not, as yet, been accomplished. However, the truly patriotic gentlemen of the above-named Highland Society have nobly commenced the work of instruction, and it is due to them to state that although they are almost all Protestants, four of the young teachers whom they were at the expense and trouble of educating, were Roman Catholics, and are now diffusing the blessings of education in the Roman Catholic settlement of Cape Breton.

At Prince Edward Island he formed the Caledonian Society for the purpose of promoting kindly feeling and the mutual interests of Lowlanders and Highlanders in that colony. He then went to London, and obtained a commission from the Highland Society of that Metropolis, to constitute the one he had formed, a branch of that honourable association. He also applied to the Roman Catholic Bishops in Edinburgh and Glasgow, for books and teachers for the Catholic Highlanders on this side of the western ocean; but they, in consequence of the numerous calls upon their charity, and the extremely limited state of their finances, were compelled to deny themselves the gratification which they otherwise would have felt in benefitting their trans-Atlantic countrymen.

The Highland Society in Halifax was formed in the year 1838, for the promotion of education,—Sir Colin Campbell being chosen its Patron, and the Hon. William Young its first President; and to give the Society a Highland character, they conferred on its founder the honour of Chief.

There are now established five Branches of the Highland Society, in different parts of Nova-Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New-Brunswick. Of the Association in St. John, Sir Archibald Campbell, the late Governor of the Province, was appointed the Chief, and His Excellency Sir William Colebrooke, Patron; the Hon. John Robertson was elected President, while some of the most influential Scotchmen in the city were appointed office-bearers, among whom there are several gentlemen of eminence in the learned professions.

When the author in 1835 waited on the late Duke of Gordon at his residence in Belgrave-square, London, to propose that His Grace should be the Patron of the Highlanders of America, the Duke replied in the most feeling terms, saying, "*Any thing and every thing in my power, I shall do for Highlanders.*" His

Grace afterwards went to the Horse Guards to propose to the Adjutant General, Sir John MacDonald, (to whose well-earned influence many a youth owes his rank in the army,) a plan for obtaining Highland Recruits from America for his own Regiment, the Scotch Fusileer Guards, which could not, however, be adopted, as Government was not, at that period, recruiting men in the Colonies.

The illustrious Duke died in a few months after having undertaken to become the patron of his countrymen, in America. By the death of this kind-hearted Nobleman, who was most appropriately styled the "Cock of the North," the Highlanders have lost a generous and a powerful patron,—hundreds of young men owe their commissions in the army to his powerful influence.

The writer, when in London, having been requested by the Caledonian Society of Prince Edward Island to select and purchase a "Tartan," for the Highlanders of that Colony, Miss Flora MacDonald—the *grand-daughter* of the heroine of 1745—was requested to decide on the pattern; and, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Duke of Gordon, this elegant young lady selected as the prominent colour the Gordon tartan, introducing also the colours of the other clans.—This tartan has since been selected as the Association tartan of the Highland Societies of Nova-Scotia, and Saint John, New-Brunswick, as well as the costume of the Castle Tioram Regiment of Highlanders of Prince Edward Island. This Regiment will long remember the distinguished honour conferred on them by the presentation of a handsome pair of colours, richly ornamented with the Glengarry and Castle Tioram Coat of Arms, from the hands of Mrs. MacDonald, the accomplished and beloved niece of Lieutenant-General Sir James MacDonell, who was also present at this ceremony.

It might be considered ostentatious, were we to mention all the instances of generous kindness which we have witnessed, on the part of some of the most illustrious personages in Great Britain to natives of the Colonies. We cannot, however, avoid mentioning Lord Breadalbane and Sir George Murray, who formed part of a deputation from the Highland Society of London to the Colonial Office for the purpose of inducing Lord Normanby (then Colonial Secretary), to promote a good system of education among the Highlanders of America.—The liberal contributions, for building churches and school-houses in Prince Edward Island, by the Countess of Westmoreland,—the numerous commissions in the army that have been given, without purchase, to young colonists, by Her Gracious Majesty's father (the Duke of Kent), His Royal Highness the Duke of York, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Hill—are further illustrations of the generous wish that exists, in the breasts of the great and powerful of England,

to cherish and foster the military genius of the natives of this country.

When it was proposed, in 1838, by the President of the Highland Society of Antigonish, to appoint a Chief from among themselves, all the clan Chisholm, who are very numerous in that district, violently opposed the measure, saying that for their part they would have no Chief but their own, in the Highlands of Scotland—“*the Chisholm of Chisholm.*” It required all the influence of the venerable, pious, and learned Bishop Frazer, to persuade them to consent. His Lordship at last convinced them that such a person would be Chief of the Highland Society only, although chieftainship ought always to be hereditary, and that it would not interfere with their undoubted right to have their own Chief at home, who was the head of their clan. From this we perceive that the rights of chieftainship receive their due share of respect and regard from American Highlanders.

Those who approve of the principles of clanship will not be displeased that I should here mention, also, that when the Rev. Alexander Macdonald, of Cape Breton, died in Halifax, at a distance of two hundred and fifty miles from his own parish, a large number of his congregation walked all the way to that city, to bring his remains to have them interred among his own people. The Governor and Admiral then on that station were so struck with this act of sincere clan attachment, that they offered to send a man-of-war from Halifax to Cape Breton with the deceased priest. The poor Highlanders expressed their sincere gratitude for the generous offer of these gentlemen, but they said they could not trust his remains on board of a ship, and preferred carrying them on their shoulders all the way to Cape Breton.

I refer to this circumstance merely to show the strong cords of attachment that bind the Highlanders of America to men of talent, education, and moral worth, and I appeal to the chiefs and lords of Scotland and America, if such sentiments do not merit encouragement, and if such minds should not experience the beneficial influence of education. Thus such noble feelings may be perpetuated, and will not be allowed to decay from generation to generation, as might otherwise be the case among our brethren and kinsmen of this country.

The feelings of attachment to the Mother Country are much encouraged by Presbyterian and Catholic Clergymen coming to settle in these colonies from Scotland. The Scotch Presbyterian Clergy and the ladies of Edinburgh, aided by the influence and example of Mrs. M'Kay, of that city, have contributed very liberally to promote the educational welfare and general improvement of their countrymen on this side of the Western Ocean. Those fair patronesses of good and useful knowledge, by sending Clergymen and Teachers, with large

quantities of books and other requisites for training up the youth of the Scotch nation in the way they should walk, have conferred incalculable benefits in these Colonies.

The cause and its advocates are worthy of each other. As the result of the representation and earnest entreaties of the writer on behalf of his countrymen of the Presbyterian religion, that pious and most patriotic clergyman, the Rev. Dr. McLeod, of Glasgow, and the Rev. Principal MacFarlane, of Glasgow, have obtained a promise from an Educational Society in Scotland, that they would send to different parts of Nova-Scotia, Cape Breton, New-Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, ten well qualified Teachers suited to the districts where their services might be required; that they would pay their passage-money and present each of them with sufficient clothing for three years, and with Books and Stationery to establish ten schools, each to contain about fifty students. The only condition required in return for this *munificent* contribution is, that some responsible public body, such for instance as the Highland Society, should undertake, that immediate employment, and a Salary sufficient to support them be secured to them on their arrival.

As it was the most creditable sentiments that induced Highlanders to emigrate to America, where it is to be hoped they will continue to maintain the high reputation of their ancestors; the writer trusts that it will be gratifying to them to know who are the Chiefs of their Clans, or from whose family each Highlander is descended, that the poorest of them now in America, as formerly in the glens and dales of his forefathers, may feel an honest pride in the thought that the blood of his Chief flows in his veins.

A catalogue of the English and Gaelic names of estates, castles, and of the principal ancient chiefs, and others of noble parentage, as nearly as can be ascertained at this distance from home, is here given.

- MacDonald of Clanronald,—(Mac-ic-aillen.) Castle Tioram.  
 MacDonell of Glengarry,—(Mac-ic-alastair) Ghlinne-Geradh, who is representative of the Scotch Earls of Ross, &c. &c. owns Glengarry Castle, Inveric Hall, and valuable estates in the West Highlands.  
 Lord MacDonald—(Morair-Mac-Dhonnuil) of Armedale Castle, has large estates in the Isle of Skye and Yorkshire.  
 MacDonald of Glencoe—(Mac-Ian). This Chieftain is in the army.  
 Campbell.—The Duke of Argyle.  
 Sutherland, the Duchess, Countess of Sutherland—(Bhannashur-lanah)—has extensive estates in England and Scotland.  
 Fraser, Lord Lovat—(Morair Friossalach) Beaufort Castle, Inverness.

- The Chisholm of Chisholm—(Siosalach) Erchless Castle, Inverness, has extensive estates in Inverness shire.
- MacLeods—MacLeod of Dunvegan Castle (MacLeod.)
- MacGrigor—(MacGriogair) chief, the son of the late Sir Ewan MacGrigor.
- MacKinnon—(Mac-Jounain) MacKinnon of MacKinnon, M. P., London.
- Cameron of Lochiel—(Mac-Dhonnuil-dubh-Lochial) Inverness shire.
- MacNab—(Mac-n-Nab.) The Chief has been for some years past residing in Canada, township of MacNab.
- MacPherson (Mac-a-Phearsoin). Cluny MacPherson, Cluny Castle.
- Mackintosh (Mac-an-Toisich). Mackintosh of Mackintosh.
- Grant—(Graundnich) Lord Seafield, Castle Grant.
- MacDonell of Lochgarry. This Chieftain is still a minor.
- MacDougal—(Mac-ic-Dhughril), MacDougal of Lorn, Argyllshire.
- MacLean.—MacLean of Coll.
- Robertson—(Robbartsen), Robertson of Struan.
- Keppoch—(Mac-ic-Raonnulna-Ceopaich).
- Lord Breadalbane—(Jarla-Bhradalban).
- MacKay—(Mac-Caoidh) Chief Lord Rae.
- Buchannon—(Abhanna-Buchannon) Mrs. Mac Donald Buchannon.
- MacKenzie—(Abhanna-Mac-Coinnich). The Hon. Mrs. Stewart MacKenzie of Seaforth.
- McNeil—Chief, McNeil of Barra.

These are the principal Clans ; there are many others who are considered Clans also, or belonging to the foregoing principal families. Although many of the ancient Chiefs and Chieftains have lost their estates, it is due to Highlanders to mention that though they punctually acknowledge the rights of their present superiors, they do not transfer the feelings of clan attachment to the gentlemen who have purchased the Estates and Castles which no longer belong to their Chiefs.

The only Chieftains or heads of families who came from the Highlands to the Lower Provinces of British America, were the Chieftains of Glenaladale and Keppoch. The history of the former I have already referred to. The latter, the last of the chivalrous Chiefs of Keppoch, (Major MacDonell) died in 1808 on Prince Edward Island, leaving no other male representative of the family, than one young man, a Lieutenant in the army, who was killed in Spain. Thus became extinct in a distant colony the representative of a noble family, which although it had not received a patent of nobility from the hands of the Sovereign, was truly noble for its deeds of valour, its chivalry, and its magnanimous patriotism. They disdained to

hold their lands by paper or parchment tenure, bonds, or charters, because their swords, they said, would always protect their estates against foreign aggression, or internal commotion. The Keppoch of the eventful year of 1745, maintained the glory and martial spirit of his ancestors, but after that period the influence and name of the family began to decline, and their once powerful swords lost their sway. The family was obliged to surrender their estates, not having the necessary documents to prove their title to them.

Many very respectable families emigrated from the Highlands of Scotland to Upper Canada, most of them branches of the Glengarry Clan, such as the MacDonells of Greenfield; the MacDonells of Ardnabee, &c. &c., and the McDonells of Inch, who are of the Keppoch family; MacNab of MacNab, the chief of that clan; MacDonald of Garenish, who is by many considered the next heir to the Highland estates of the ancient family of Moror. Although all these gentlemen are now in comfortable circumstances, they are not altogether forgetful of the land they left; but are full of loyalty and affectionate attachment to old England, as their military feats in the war of 1812 and their devotion to the British cause in the Canadian Rebellion amply prove.

Of the loyalty of New-Brunswickers, or "*Blue-Noses*" as they are called, I need not say one word; they have by their acts, which are now matters of history, proved it most satisfactorily on various occasions. Nothing is wanted to settle this magnificent Province from one end to the other, with inhabitants wholly and ardently devoted to the British flag, but a good and efficient system of emigration. But no false promises should be held out to emigrants to induce them to leave their native land. They should not, after their arrival, be thrust into damp, unwholesome, and half-finished hovels, as though they were not of the human species. Such treatment has been experienced by emigrants in America, and it has done a most serious and extensive injury to British interests, inasmuch as it has deterred a class of persons from emigrating, upon whose loyalty and courage in the hour of need, the English Government might calculate with certainty. I allude to this circumstance from a wish that others may not experience a similar treatment.

Have affidavits been made by disinterested persons, from which it appeared that the ill-fated and deluded people we speak of were so scantily fed on their passage, and with such bad, unwholesome provisions after their being landed, that their originally robust constitutions gave way; that sometime after their arrival at their place of destinations, they were huddled together in unfinished dwellings, through which the weather had free ingress. Have affidavits setting forth all

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these facts been made? We believe they have, and that they can be produced!

Did a gentleman at his own expense offer to accompany these emigrants in order to see them comfortably settled? Was that offer accepted or rejected? Unfortunately for these emigrants, it was rejected! Are the majority of those people now prospering in other parts of this continent? They are; and is not that an incontestible proof that the assertions which had been so freely and so unscrupulously made against them, viz., that they were indolent and ill-disposed, were not founded in fact; but that such suggestions were intended to screen the harshness of some of the agents of that company, and were a heartless aggravation of the varied and multiplied miseries which they had been doomed to undergo. Under these circumstances should any astonishment be felt that the tide of emigration has been diverted to foreign States where many of the best of England's, Scotland's, and Ireland's sons have gone, because they had experienced no encouragement in some parts of the British territory. This is deeply and sincerely to be regretted by every lover of British freedom, and every admirer of British Institutions.

In justice to the principals in the emigration affair to which I have alluded, I shall here remark, that they had every desire to promote the welfare of the emigrants in question; but their great misfortune was, that they were misled by some of their agents, and that they had not appointed fit and proper persons to secure the fulfilment of the most kind and liberal promises which they (the principals) had made to gentlemen in favour of the emigrants.

We will now dismiss this subject, remarking that there is a law which says that *the graver the truths, the graver the offence*; or, in other words, *the greater the truth, the greater the libel*.—By this law many have escaped well merited public censure, and this will doubtless be the case, until our legislators shall deem it expedient to alter the system of management in this particular.

The vast and almost boundless resources of the Province of New-Brunswick, for instance, justify us in asserting that emigrants to that colony, by perseverance, industry, temperance, and good conduct, would find a comfortable subsistence for themselves, and leave a respectable provision to their children. But the interior parts of many of the Provinces are as yet destitute of British subjects; and yet there are, at this day, thousands in the United States, who would make a sacrifice to live under British rule: they would be satisfied to take less for their labour, and for the produce of their labour,—both intellectual and manual,—if they could live under the protecting power and fostering influence of the noble Government of their ancestors.

The conduct of the Canadian traitors would have cast a deep

and lasting disgrace upon that Province but for the loyalty of a very large proportion of their fellow-countrymen, who have made ample amends for their directions by the bitter chastisement which they inflicted upon the conspirators. If the unfortunate and misguided people whom the factious Papineau led astray and seduced from the path of loyalty, had reflected for a moment—that the Republic which they had conjured up in their own heated and distempered brains, in opposition to the Monarchical form of Government, could not be protected without fortifications and garrisons, and that these things, when procured, could not be kept up without an immense expense,—they would not have even dreamt of so mad a project—they would have paused, before they had allowed themselves to be deluded.

They never took it into their calculations that Great Britain had the power to crush them, in their headlong and wild attempt to establish a Republic. If the unhappy Canadians had taken the advice of the most enlightened and prudent of their clergy, and rejected, with firmness of purpose worthy of faithful British subjects, the mischievous and fatal counsels of the agitators, they would have saved their habitations and splendid churches from destruction by conflagration, and themselves from bloodshed and carnage. If report speak the truth, the foolish traitor McKenzie has long since discovered that the time-honoured Institutions of Britain can do more to protect life and property, and can impart more real happiness to those who have the good fortune to live under them, than a tyrannical democracy, however attractive to the eye it may be rendered by diseased fancy.

In history we find that many of the most renowned and prosperous republics, that have ever existed, have been brought to a sudden and inglorious dissolution, by the fatal and uncontrollable power of the rabble—by a succession of political whirlwinds, storms, and hurricanes, by which they have been eventually overwhelmed, and finally swept from the face of the earth. If we examine into those democracies which have sprung up into existence in our own times, at the fiat of the fickle populace, as in South America, we shall find much to censure and much to condemn,—and on comparing them with the government under which we live, we shall behold in strong contrast and bold relief, the true blessings, the beauties, the advantages, and the perfection of the British Constitution.

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## APPENDIX.

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The following letters have been written expressly for this work, by Dr. GESNER, author of a Treatise on the Geology of Nova-Scotia, and other scientific reports. From the great opportunities that gentleman has had for acquiring the information given, their practical bearing is of much importance, and the high standing of the writer entitles them to the fullest confidence.

*Saint John, New Brunswick, 12th August, 1843.*

DEAR SIR,—From the great zeal and interest you have manifested in ameliorating the condition of the labouring poor in the Highlands of Scotland, and in improving the condition of Scottish emigrants to North America, I am led to comply with your wishes so far as my ability will allow in offering a few practical hints to those who may feel disposed to emigrate from the mother country to this part of the British empire.

During the last fifteen years I have examined and explored almost every tract of soil in Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick. My labours have been directed by the Government in the latter Province of which I have made a geological survey. In the performance of this public duty my attention has been devoted to the advantages New-Brunswick offers to the steady and industrious immigrant, as well as to the natural resources of the country.

Having also been employed in opening a number of new settlements, I have at the solicitation of my friends entered upon the preparation of a work on the resources of New-Brunswick with reference to immigration and the settlement of the extensive tracts of wild land at present unoccupied.

As my own publication is intended to convey an accurate account of the country, with particular directions for immigrants, it occurred to me at first that I would decline the honour of having my name appear in your pamphlet; but upon the consideration of your truly benevolent intentions to improve the Highland settlements in this part of the world, I could not withhold any information which my opportunities have enabled me to gain, or such hints as might be useful to the cause you are engaged in: and my own work will, no doubt, be rendered more useful by being preceded by the interesting pages you have brought together.

My remarks must be necessarily brief, and, so far as they relate to emigration, they will be in some degree confined to the labouring classes and those who do

not possess the ordinary means of obtaining information in regard to the British Provinces in America.

Perhaps there are no race of people better adapted to the climate of North America than that of the Highlands of Scotland. The habits, employments and customs of the Highlander seem to fit him for the American forest, which he penetrates without feeling the gloom and melancholy experienced by those who have been brought up in towns and amidst the fertile fields of highly cultivated districts. Scotch emigrants are hardy, industrious and cheerful, and experience has fully proved that no people meet the first difficulties of settling wild lands with greater patience and fortitude.

The Province of New-Brunswick contains upwards of sixteen millions of acres of land; of that quantity scarcely four millions of acres have been granted, so that upwards of twelve millions of acres remain at the disposal of the Government. There are at least seven millions of acres of ungranted land in the Province fit for immediate cultivation, besides large tracts that may be redeemed when the lands become generally settled.

By referring to a map of the Province it will be seen that New-Brunswick is watered by a number of rivers. The rivers flow in opposite directions, into the Gulph of Saint Lawrence to the North and into the Bay of Fundy to the South. Their sources frequently meet each other or terminate in large lakes. These rivers with their numerous tributaries and lakes afford the first channels of communication before roads can be constructed, and there is scarcely any tract of land in the whole Province which may not be approached in a small boat or canoe. These navigable streams and lakes are of immense advantage to the first settlers on any tract, as they not only afford openings of communication, but abound in salmon, trout, and other kinds of fish, and therefore supply no inconsiderable quantity of food.

The Saint John is the largest stream in the Province, and ranks among the most important rivers of America. It is upwards of 400 miles in length, and is navigable for different kinds of vessels and boats along the greater part of that distance. At its mouth there is a City containing 28,000 inhabitants, and along its banks are situated the towns of Fredericton, Woodstock, and Gagetown, besides numerous flourishing villages and new settlements. At present steam-boats ascend as far as Fredericton, eighty miles from the mouth of the river. Boats of a proper construction may be propelled by steam 150 miles into the interior of the country. Two hundred miles from its mouth the Saint John is broken by a great fall; above this the water becomes tranquil, and offers a safe passage for boats and canoes.

The banks of the River are skirted with rich intervale. Between Woodstock and the Great Falls there are a number of fine villages, and above the Cataract at Madawaska there is a large settlement of French Acadians who are proverbial for their orderly conduct and industry.

The tributaries of this great river are large and numerous. There are fine settlements along the sides of the Kennebecasis, Belleisle, and Washademoak.—The latter stream is navigable for large boats to the distance of thirty miles, and for canoes to the distance of fifty miles. And there is still a quantity of good ungranted land bordering upon this branch of the Saint John. There are also some excellent tracts in the vicinity of the Grand Lake, and the streams emptying into the main river, between Fredericton and Woodstock.

### iii.

One of the most extensive tracts of wild land fit for settlement I have seen in the Province is intersected by the Tobique River. There is in this quarter of the Province an area, not less than sixty miles in length and fifty in breadth, capable of being immediately cultivated. The river is navigable for large tow-boats to the distance of seventy miles, and the water abounds in salmon and other kinds of fish.

The soil is a red sandy loam, and limestone and gypsum are abundant. In the opening of large settlements by immigrants, this river deserves the most attentive consideration; as the stream itself may be considered a turnpike, over which the immigrants and their first supplies may be transported.

This river and its branches are also skirted with rich "intervalles" or alluvium, upon which there is not to the distance of fifty miles a single inhabitant. It is only along the banks of the main Saint John and at the mouths of its tributaries that settlements have been made. The interior of this part of the Province still remains an unbroken wilderness, notwithstanding it contains vast tracts of excellent soil. The good lands are not confined to the borders of the streams; and there are many fine tracts watered only by brooks and small rivulets.

Between Woodstock and the Great Falls there is some ungranted land of a superior quality, situated from one to five miles from the main river. A new tract has recently been surveyed between the main post road to Fredericton and Gagetown, called the Victoria Settlement, and another on Eel River. Other tracts might be selected for immigrants, eastward of the Nashwaak, at the upper part of the Magaguadavic, and at other places.

The rivers on the North side of the Province offer similar advantages, although in magnitude they are inferior to the St. John. The Richibucto is a fine stream. Along its banks and in the neighbourhood of its tributaries there is some good land, although in general the soil is rather light and sandy. The same kind of soil extends westward to the Miramichi, a large and beautiful stream, whose branches are spread over a wide extent of country. Between the main South-west branch of this river and the Saint John there is a very large tract of good land, where thousands of immigrants might be advantageously located.

The Nepisiguit is a rapid stream, being only navigable for light canoes. The soil in this quarter is strong and productive, but much more stony than that of Northumberland County.

The Restigouche is a large river, navigable for heavy tow-boats to the distance of 100 miles from its mouth. One of its branches nearly meets a tributary of the Saint John, in the neighbourhood of the Madawaska Settlement. This river passes through a mountainous district, where there are many tracts of land so broken and stony that they cannot be advantageously cultivated. On the slopes and in the valleys the land is good, and there is room for 10,000 inhabitants where at present the surface is covered with a thick and unfrequented forest. All these rivers and their branches have more or less "intervalles;" they also abound in fish, and when they are frozen up in winter, the ice affords at once a safe and easy road.

Along the north or Gulph side of New-Brunswick there are a number of excellent fishing stations, and the ungranted lands approach and often terminate on the seaboard.

The land in these instances is frequently capable of cultivation. At such situations immigrants might be settled who were brought up on the sea coast, and

consequently trained to fishing; for it is a matter of much importance that every settler from Great Britain should depart as little as possible from his former employment. A fishing population should be transplanted on the seaboard, while persons from agricultural districts should occupy the interior of the Province.

I might mention many more tracts of land offering encouragement to emigrants, but this is scarcely necessary as no large settlement can be established until the lands are carefully examined and surveyed, and every necessary preparation is made to receive its first inhabitants.

The fisheries of the Province are good, notwithstanding they are greatly encroached upon by the Americans.

New-Brunswick is almost surrounded by the sea, and it is therefore of easy access. The rivers, from flowing in opposite directions, and being large and navigable, afford the greatest facilities for internal communication even with the remotest districts. The soil in general is very fertile, and there are extensive forests of valuable timber. The rivers and lakes abound in salmon, trout, alewives, perch, &c. In the bays and inlets there are valuable fisheries for cod-fish, pollock, haddock, halibut, herring, &c.; lobsters and oysters are also abundant. The forests contain much game: cariboo and deer are plenty. The moose is more rarely killed. There are also bears, wolves, foxes, wild-cats, otters and other small wild animals. The Province also contains an abundance of coal, iron, copper, manganese, lead, and other ores, with deposits of limestone, gypsum and salt; all of which will in time add greatly to the resources of the country.

The climate is healthy, and very congenial to the natives of Great Britain.

Heretofore the tide of emigration has been directed towards Canada and the United States, while the advantages New-Brunswick possesses have been overlooked, or have not been known in the mother country. I could produce hundreds of instances where emigrants from the old country have landed at some of the ports, and with their families have wandered pennyless into the interior, where, in the term of five years, they purchased small lots of land, and rendered themselves perfectly independent and comfortable. Other settlers, who possessed only a few pounds, have cleared large farms, and are now seen driving their own horses and waggons to market.

Any industrious man who can obtain fifty acres of land, the cost of which is only £8 5s. currency, and secure a year's provision until the first crop is gathered, is certain to obtain a livelihood, to live comfortably, and, under ordinary circumstances, to render himself independent.

There are no tithes, and taxes in the country villages are very inconsiderable.

These remarks apply equally to Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick.

The productions of the soil are numerous, and, under proper cultivation, it yields good crops of bread stuffs. Wheat, rye and barley ripen well, even in the most northerly districts; oats are considered a certain crop, and buckwheat succeeds well, even on the poorest land. Maize, or Indian corn, will grow well in warm seasons. Potatoes yield a large crop, and the quality is superior. Peas, beans, carrots, parsnips, beets, onions, cucumbers, cabbages, cauliflowers, and almost all the culinary vegetables of England grow to perfection. Apples, pears, peaches, plums, currants, raspberries, and a variety of wild fruits, ripen at different periods through the summer. Hemp and flax also flourish well. Indeed there is scarcely a plant of the middle climates of Europe that may not be successfully cultivated, besides those peculiar to North America. The crop of hay is

generally certain, especially on the "intervalles." Wild flowers are abundant; and, taken altogether, the scenery of the country, its productions, and every object that can render the situation of the immigrant pleasant and agreeable, are as numerous as they can be found in any part of the world. It is true that the winters are long, and require a substantial stock of fodder for cattle. Spring and summer may be considered short, but vegetation is remarkably rapid, and the earth yields her bounties in the space of a few months. The length of the winter is compensated by a relief from the prevailing epidemics of Upper Canada and Southern States. Let no man, however, suppose from these remarks, that the immigrant will find much leisure upon his hands; every season brings with it and requires its peculiar labour, and without patience, industry, and perseverance, no agriculturist can expect to be successful.

During many past years, the chief export from New-Brunswick has been timber, and agriculture has been neglected; but the man who would be successful as a settler on wild land must neither be a lumberman nor a hunter, nor must he pursue the business of a fisherman, unless he follows it altogether. He must cut down the trees and cultivate the soil—he must go to work with a cheerful heart, and success will crown his labours.

I am, dear Sir,

Very sincerely and truly, your's,

A. GESNER.

Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. MacDONALD, of the Castle }  
Tioram Regiment of Highlanders, Chief of the High- }  
land Society of Nova-Scotia, &c. &c. &c.

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#### LETTER II.

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*Saint John, New-Brunswick, 15th August, 1813.*

DEAR SIR,—Having given you in my first letter a few hints in regard to the Province of New-Brunswick with reference to its topography and productions, I will now advert to those means whereby immigrants are settled upon wild lands. Persons who migrate into the British Provinces may be ranked in two classes, one belonging to the middle division of society and the other to the labouring class. Few of the latter possess sufficient means to establish themselves in the woods after they have arrived in the country, and from the lack of a national system of immigration they frequently wander about the towns seeking for employment, or they go to the United States, where their hopes are most frequently disappointed.

Thousands of immigrants have been annually brought to New-Brunswick by the returning lumber ships. Of these, only a few have remained in the Province. This circumstance has arisen from their entire ignorance of the country and the glowing descriptions they have received of the United States, where land is much

dearer, taxes incomparably higher, and the difficulties presented to the agricultural settler far more numerous than they are in the British Provinces. Thousands of these immigrants are finally driven to seek employment upon the great public works going on among the Americans, and the number of graves along the great canals and rail-roads testify how fatal their employment has been. From being destitute of the means of returning to their native country, or removing to Canada or the "far West," they drag out a miserable existence, or they are carried off by hard labour, disease and intemperance. On the other hand, it is difficult to find an instance among those who have remained in the British Provinces, and undertaken the clearing of wild lands, where such men have not been successful in obtaining a good livelihood.

I need not dwell upon the necessity that exists for some general system of emigration to the Colonies. By a judicious management, Great Britain might be relieved of her overflowing population, and her Provinces across the Atlantic might be greatly improved.

The space of a single letter is too narrow to give full directions to individual settlers; I therefore pass on to the consideration of the opening of new settlements by parties or associations. It may here be remarked, that previous to sending out any number of families from the old country, or the forming of new townships upon a large scale by public companies, the requisite quantity of land should be carefully selected, and its outlines defined by some person who is well acquainted with the Province. Application might then be made to the Provincial Government to obtain the land upon the most favourable terms, and to have the payments made by instalments—a practice that formerly prevailed, and has recently been introduced again, in order to accommodate actual settlers. After these preliminary arrangements have been made, a part or the whole of the land should be surveyed by a competent person, and the tiers of lots should be laid out with due regard to the physical features of the country, rivers, future roads, &c.; and with the greatest economy. An improper plan of survey will retard the improvement of a whole settlement, and expose the immigrant to great inconvenience. The quality of the soil—its timber—the future prospect of a market—the situation of the tract in regard to water carriage, by rivers, lakes, &c.—its proximity to a seaport—advantages for mills—and many other circumstances, must be fairly weighed. Even the quantity of sugar-maple upon the land is worthy of consideration, as from that tree the early settler obtains a luxury, or exchanges the sugar (which is readily made) for such other articles as he may require.—Above all, the quality of the land must be good, and this cannot always be determined by the timber growing upon it, as the primitive wood has been at many places destroyed by fire and succeeded by trees quite different from the original growth.

The situation of the settlement having been determined upon, the land obtained from the Government, and surveyed in lots of 100 acres each, a party of emigrants may be sent out, under the direction of a qualified agent, by whom arrangements for their reception will be made, to assist them in going to their lands,—provisions, and the necessary quantity of seed, grain, and potatoes, having been economically procured, according to the circumstances of the immigrants.

Settlers should arrive in New-Brunswick about the first of May; for, by clearing away some of the large trees and underbrush on their lands in that month, crops of potatoes, turnips, oats, buckwheat, &c., may be raised during the same season.



A kitchen garden will also do well; and time is afforded to build comfortable log houses, before the approach of winter.

In some districts, wild hay may be procured to supply a few cows with fodder, after the earth is covered with snow and the frost "sets in." It is to judicious management that the pioneer of the forest is indebted for many of the necessaries and comforts of life. In opening a settlement, it is desirable that only a certain number of immigrants should arrive, say fifty; and after the village is fairly opened, they may arrive either in the spring or autumn. Single men, or young men with small families, should be sent in advance; after these have made a beginning, large families may follow. In all cases the settlers are a mutual advantage to each other, and all must cultivate feelings of kindness and hospitality towards those around them. Immigrants who are in possession of £50 Sterling may arrive during any of the summer months. The principal ports where they should land, in this Province, are Saint John and Saint Andrews, on the South; and Miramichi, Dalhousie, Bathurst, and Richibucto, on the North. The port most convenient to the lands selected should be chosen for them to arrive at, and they should start for their new colony without any delay after they are landed.

The prices of passages, from England, Ireland, and Scotland, to the Provinces, are somewhat variable; they may, nevertheless, be stated thus:—

For a man, - - - - -	£4 to £5
For a woman, - - - - -	£3 to £4
For children under 15 years, - - - - -	£1 10 to £2

These rates include provisions. Steerage passengers who find their own provisions, beds, fuel, and water, are brought over for £3 and £2 each, and children at half price. I would recommend immigrants not to supply their own provisions, &c., and ships should be chosen whose masters will pay due attention to the passengers. From the rate of exchange on England, a British pound in the Provinces is worth 25s. currency. The price of wild land when sold to individual purchasers, is 3s. 3d. per acre, survey included. Large tracts could probably be obtained at a cheaper rate.

The immigrant, having arrived at the most convenient port, must proceed forthwith to his intended home, under the direction of an active agent. (This is intended to apply only to those sent out by public companies.) Persons who possess sufficient means will always be guided by their own fancy.

When a number of families are to embark for the woods, it is necessary that they should be preceded by a few active men of the country, who will in four days cut down the trees and build two or more log-houses, to be covered with bark, or broad cedar shingles, when they can be obtained.—These log-houses serve as general receptacles for the provisions, women and children. Bark wigwams, or camps covered with bark, are readily erected,—large families sometimes live a whole season in such camps. Each man will take up his lot and build a shanty, or camp, sufficiently large to accommodate his family, until his log-house is completed. The log-houses are soon built by felling the trees, cutting them into blocks from twelve to twenty feet in length, and laying them together. Ten men, who are acquainted with the business, will build a log-house in a day and cover it, and by "changing works," as it is called, one neighbour assists the other until all are accommodated. At this season of the year cooking may be done

in the open air. Each settler will proceed to erect a fire-place and chimney in his house; the latter is built of clay and short sticks. The floors of the log-houses are made, in the first place, of pieces of wood hewed on the upper side; openings are cut through the logs for a door, and one or two windows, and it is surprising how soon a family may be placed in a comfortable situation in the midst of the wildest forest. As soon as this object has been gained, the emigrant commences clearing a piece of land, by felling all but the largest trees, rolling the logs into piles, and to the sides of his field. The smaller branches of the trees, and even the logs may be burned. Upon the patch thus prepared, potatoes and other vegetables are to be planted. Wheat, Indian corn, oats, and buckwheat may also be tried, if the season is not too far advanced. If an emigrant take possession of his lot on the first of June, and labour diligently, he will be able to clear and plant an acre of potatoes, besides a garden, and patches of Indian corn, and turnips. My limits will not allow me to describe the situation of the settler as he advances from year to year; suffice it to say, that thousands of families who have settled upon wild lands in this manner, have, in a few years, moved into framed houses, neatly painted;—and their barns and other out-houses, their live stock, &c. are testimonials of their industry, comfort, and independence. Every log-house and cottage should have its garden; and a few pretty trees should be allowed to stand to add to the beauty of the premises. In travelling through these new villages, it is common to see a small log-house, and upon the same farm a large barn. You will also often see five springs of water—home-made cloth put out to bleach—stocking-yarn hung out to dry—a large wood-pile for fuel—a grindstone, harrow, carts, &c., all indicating that the inhabitants are people of business, “in-doors and out,” to use their own language. I have here followed the course of the humblest emigrant, or those that commence with small means.

The articles most required by the new settler are a comfortable supply of clothing, a few culinary utensils, a spade, shovel, sickle, scythe, the iron part of a plough, twenty-five harrow teeth, two axes, one plane, three chisels, one draw-knife, one hand-saw, one gouge, three augers from  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches bore, one hammer, four gimblets, ten pounds of nails, assorted, a supply of leather, a few awls and tacks, a pair of pincers; and, above all, the settler must have ingenuity enough to make shoes and moccasins. He must be a carpenter, blacksmith, and tanner, and his wife should know how to spin, weave, knit, and make clothes, besides being an economical cook and a tidy dairy-maid. The watchword of all should be, cook economically, eat heartily, sleep soundly, and work industriously. For every six houses there should be a cross-cut saw, and in every village there should be a whip-saw. A few guns may be useful, but a hunting farmer is always a poor farmer. Shoot for the pot, and fish for the pot. Good fences make good neighbours. In a Highland settlement a set of bagpipes and a player should not be forgotten. I have known many a low-spirited emigrant to be aroused from his torpor by the sound of his national music.

In every settlement lots of land should be reserved for schools and houses of worship. The schoolmaster may be introduced without delay. I have seen a school of twenty scholars taught in a bark camp.

Cows and other cattle will find pasture enough in the woods during the summer. A large bell is usually hung on the neck of one of the herd. Swine will keep themselves alive upon the fern roots. In the winter, the settler is engaged in cutting down and “junking up” the trees. And after his crop is planted in the

spring, he prepares a piece of land for the succeeding year. The sound of the axe or the flail, the cow-bell, and the dinner-horn, should be heard in the village six days in the week.

I have thus endeavoured to give you a few hints for the settler upon wild lands. Many more might have been added, but I fear that I have already exceeded my limits. Wishing you every success in your philanthropic undertaking, and with the best wishes for the success, prosperity and happiness of every emigrant

I am, dear Sir,

Very sincerely and truly, yours,

A. GESNER

Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. MacDONALD, of the Castle }  
 Tioram Regiment of Highlanders, Chief of the High- }  
 land Society of Nova-Scotia, &c. &c. &c.

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## ADDENDUM.

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In the hurry of preparing for the press, the author regrets to observe that a paragraph respecting the Highland Society at Miramichi has been inadvertently omitted.

This Society has been established by Charter from the parent Association in London for nearly a year, and its officers and members, consisting of the most respectable Scotchmen and their descendants, residing at Chatham, Newcastle, and the vicinity, have evinced the most praiseworthy zeal in forwarding the laudable objects of the Association in reference to education and emigration.

The pious and learned Presbyterian Minister of Miramichi, the Rev. Mr. Souter, is now on a visit to his friends in Scotland, and we sincerely hope that his efforts in promoting emigration from Scotland may be as successful as his labours have been useful in this Province in promoting the general welfare of his fellow-men.

The River Miramichi stands next in importance to the noble Saint John. It abounds in salmon and other fish. The Timber Trade is here carried on to a large extent, and affords employment to a great number of the inhabitants. The Miramichi is about 220 miles in length, and its banks rise to a moderate height, having occasionally stripes of intervale in front.—The soil is light and sandy, and under proper cultivation yields abundantly. The Miramichi has several important tributaries stretching into the interior of the country, which to a very large extent as yet remains unreclaimed from its wilderness state, and offers most eligible locations for the settlement of thousands of agricultural immigrants, for whose surplus produce the various settlements on the river, which are annually visited by a large number of vessels for fish and timber, offer tolerable markets.