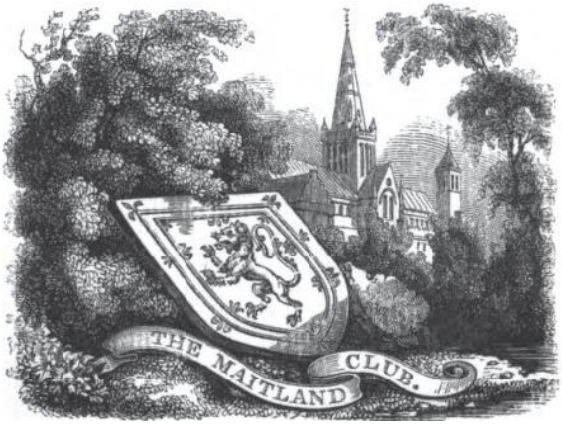
NARRATIVE
OF

CHARLES PRINCE OF WALES' EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND
IN THE YEAR 1745.

BY JAMES MAXWELL OF KIRCONNELL, ESQ.



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PREFACE.

MR. MAXWELL, the Author of this Narrative, was an officer in Prince Charles' Army, but what rank he held is not known. After the unfortunate affair of Culloden, he escaped, with several other Scotch gentlemen, to the Continent, and resided for five or six years at St. Germains. It was soon after he began to reside there that he wrote his Narrative, partly by his own hand, and partly by that of a Secretary. MR. MAXWELL returned to Scotland prior to the year 1755, for in that year he appears as a witness to the marriage of his sister Marion to John Menzies of Pitfoddels, Esquire. In 1758, he married Miss Riddell of Felton, by whom he had three sons, and died at Kirkconnell in the year 1762, aged 54. Though now printed for the first time, his Narrative is not altogether unknown to the public, extracts from it being given in Sir Walter Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, and one or two other popular works.

The Narrative is composed with a remarkable degree of precision and taste—insomuch as rather to appear the production of a practised *litterateur* than the work of a private gentleman who merely aimed at giving memoranda of a series of remarkable events which he had chanced to witness. There is abundant evidence, however, of a design on MR. MAXWELL'S part to publish his Narrative, and that immediately after it was written. How this design was relinquished, does not appear.

The Narrative presents, upon the whole, a correct view of Prince Charles's enterprise. There are a few mistakes in point of fact; but, excepting in the instance of a considerable over-statement of the numbers of the two armies at Preston, they are all of an unimportant nature. Allowing for some prejudice with respect to Secretary Murray, the work is also remarkably correct in its estimate of characters and motives. The author certainly attributes the expedition of the Prince too much to Murray, and too little to the irrepressible ardour or rashness of the Prince himself. He is also open to some suspicion when he complains so much of a little party which surrounded Charles, and kept equally able and well affected men at a distance; such being the common language of men who do not think their own merits done justice to. But MR. MAXWELL is exempt from many prejudices and short-sightednesses to which his party were liable. He generally takes rational views of the means at the command of the Prince in the various stages of his extraordinary career. The defence which he presents for the stay of the Highland army in Edinburgh, carries truth and reason so entirely with it, that it is not easy to see how the opposite view can ever again be candidly taken. He brings forward some new and valuable light respecting the condition of affairs immediately before Culloden; and though he makes the story of that disaster tell a little less unfavourably than it has hitherto done for the young commander, he is not unsuccessful in showing grounds for his opinion. It is clearly to be discerned, that MR. MAXWELL entertained a high opinion of the character of the Prince, a circumstance at which we may be the less surprised, as, at the time when the Narrative was composed, Charles was fresh from an enterprise in which he had shown many qualities entitled to admiration, particularly a magnanimous clemency contrasting most singularly with the conduct of some of his enemies. But, the tone of MR. MAXWELL is at all times that of a man of the world; and even on this subject, which usually carried his fellow-partizans beyond all moderate bounds, he delivers himself with a degree of caution and reserve highly praiseworthy.

MAXWELL'S NARRATIVE OF

THE PRINCE'S EXPEDITION,

1745.

The Expedition of Charles Prince of Wales, begun in the year 1745, is one of the most memorable events that has distinguished the times we live in. Every body knows that this Prince, with a handful of undisciplined men, made himself master of Scotland;— penetrated into the heart of England;—vanquished armies of regular troops in pitched battles;— and for several months engaged the attention, and kept in suspense the fate not of Great Britain only, but of Europe. But such as are affected with great events and extraordinary characters, are not satisfied with a general notion of these things; they would gladly know upon what foundation that expedition was undertaken, how it was begun and conducted through so many difficulties, by what means it was supported so long after it began to decline, and by what mismanagement or misfortune all was irrecoverably ruined at Culloden. It is partly to gratify their curiosity that I have undertaken this little work, though I am very sensible that I have none of the qualifications that are requisite in a Historian, except a competent knowledge of the subject, and a sincere love of truth. I wish these may atone for the want of language, style, and method. I was eye witness of the greatest part of what happened in the field; and though I was not a member of the Council, I had access to know the most material things that were transacted there; and the first leisure I had was employed in committing to paper all I knew, while things were fresh in my memory. As for what is not consistent with my own knowledge, I shall state nothing but upon the authority of such as I think may be most depended upon. I shall industriously avoid invectives and panegyricks, and leave the reader to draw peoples' characters from their actions. The Prince's personal adventures, from the battle of Culloden to his arrival in France, shall conclude the whole. Here the reader will see a Prince, so lately victorious and triumphant, reduced to fly to those very mountains where he set up his standard and began to assemble his army. He will see him closely pursued by sea and land—hunted from covert to covert —frequently surrounded—always in danger—and long disappointed in every scheme that was laid for his escape. Those that went about seeking whom they might devour, were not the only enemies that invested him during this last period: besides these, he had to struggle with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and every other hardship imaginable. Whatever may be his fate hereafter, he has been very early trained up in the school of adversity, and knows, by his own experience, the greatest vicissitudes of fortune.

It will, perhaps, be expected that I should give some account of the Prince's birth and education—of the strong inclination he discovered from his infancy to arms, and all those exercises that tend to make men strong and vigorous—of his first campaign, and behaviour at the siege of Gaeta—of his inclination to make a campaign in Hungary, and the mortification that followed his disappointment in that favourite scheme. These things, indeed, belong to the Prince's history, but I have not undertaken it. All I propose is, to relate his late expedition; and shall confine myself to what is necessarily connected with my subject. I shall begin, therefore, abruptly with his departure from Rome, in the beginning of the year 1744. It was not curiosity, nor the prospect of learning the art of war in a French camp, that principally induced him to undertake a journey to France; his views were much more extensive,—he was in hopes he should soon find an opportunity of attempting the recovery of the ancient inheritance of his family; he was invited in

the name of the French ministry; and was assured by some of his father's agents at Paris, that the Court was disposed to give him all the assistance he would stand in need of. But to form a just notion of this project, we must take a view of the situation of Europe, and particularly of Great Britain, at that time. Most of the powers of Europe were engaged, either as principals or auxiliaries, in a war about the succession to the Austrian dominions. France and England were hitherto only auxiliaries, but so deeply concerned and so sanguine, that it was visible they would soon come to an open rupture with one another; and Spain had been at war with England for some years, nor was there the least prospect of an accommodation. For these circumstances, it seemed highly probable that France and Spain would concur in seconding the Prince's views. However, this was not enough, it was not in the power of France and Spain together to make a revolution in England, unless things were ripe for it in that country. But the Prince was informed that the Hanoverian yoke was now severely felt, and that the people were disposed to lay hold of the first opportunity to shake it off. To account for the general discontent that appeared among all ranks, we need only consult the genius of the people of England, and observe the encroachments made upon the constitution.

The English, as far as we can trace them, have been all along passionately fond of their liberty, which consists in this, that they are governed by laws of their own making. Magistrates of what denomination soever, have their bounds prescribed them for the execution of these laws; and the people have by themselves or their representatives a share in the legislative power. Without the consent of King, Lords, and Commons, no old law can be repealed, no new one enacted, and no money levied from the subject. As the Commons are chosen by the people to represent them in Parliament, and are entrusted with the guardianship of their persons and estates, it is presumable that they will consent to nothing but what tends to the common good of their constituents. This was, generally speaking, the case in ancient times; the representatives and guardians of the people were faithful in the discharge of their weighty office,— hence that veneration for Parliaments so remarkable in every period of the English history.

From the union of the two crowns in the person of James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, down to the revolution in 1688, there had been frequent and great misunderstandings betwixt Kings and Parliaments. It must be acknowledged, that sometimes the Kings attempted to stretch the prerogative beyond its due bounds, and to encroach upon the liberties of the people; but it is undeniable, too, that, upon certain occasions, that Parliament, animated by a private rather than public spirit, became subservient to the factious purposes of designing men, and was twice instrumental in overturning the Constitution, which the majority of those who at first joined in the opposition had never intended.

The intruders of the family of Hanover, conscious of the lameness of their title, and the precariousness of their tenure, seem to have had nothing in view but increasing their power, and gratifying their insatiable avarice; by the former, they proposed to get above the caprice of the people; and by the latter, they made sure of something, happen what would. However, unlimited power was principally aimed at, as for its own sake, and as the only means to glut the other: but the shipwreck of some of their predecessors was too recent not to make impression upon them, and deter them from taking the same route. They had observed the attachment of the people of England even to factious Parliaments. They resolved, instead of quarrelling with them about the prerogative, to sooth them by expressing the greatest deference for them. Instead of laying them aside, if they should not prove complaisant enough in money matters, to gain them by allowing them to share in the spoil. This plan proved easier in the execution than it appeared in theory.

Bribery and corruption had been tried with success in some preceding reigns. Sometimes a leading man in the opposition had been bought off at an exorbitant price, but nobody had ever thought of corrupting a majority of both houses, and bringing them into regular pay; much less of carrying one half of the elections by downright bribery. This, nevertheless, was brought to bear, and reduced to a regular system during the administration of one artful man. Several things concurred to second the minister and delude the people while this project was carrying on. The honeymoon, of the accession was scarce over when an insurrection broke out in the year 1715. It was, indeed, soon quelled; but it proved of great and lasting advantage to the family of Hanover in the execution of the above plan. For many years afterwards the people enjoyed some of the advantages and sweets of peace in common with the rest of Europe. They saw few overt acts of oppression, and almost every thing done by authority of Parliament. There were, indeed, some men of penetration and probity who soon discovered the tendency of the pernicious measures that were carrying on, opposed them in Parliament, and took every other method of putting the people on their guard; but these were outvoted within doors, and little regarded without. Great care was taken to represent them as disaffected or interested men, that aimed at a change of government, or wanted to force themselves into place,—men that had nothing less at heart than what they professed. Meanwhile corruption had taken deep root, and began to rear its head; but such was still the veneration the people had for Parliament, it was long before they could be roused from their lethargy,—they could frame no idea of a corrupt majority. However, towards the end of the year 1733, they were prevailed upon to open their eyes and look about them; they were amazed and shocked to see that they were downright sold by those they had chosen to be their guardians and protectors; they beheld with horror the brink of the precipice to which they had been conducted blindfold. Still they thought they had in their power to atone for their past negligence, by exerting themselves at the elections. But when the new Parliament met in 1734, they found their affairs were quite desperate, that court influence was not confined within the walls of the two Houses of Parliament, but that it had reached every corner of the island; for, notwithstanding all the pains that had been taken to oppose the Ministry at the elections, the court had a determined majority in that Parliament. It was now evident that the Constitution was in reality changed, though the exterior form remained; there was hardly any remedy imaginable but a popular revolution, which was not equally relished by all; some had not got the better of family prejudices, others dreaded the misfortunes inseparable from a civil war; and the court was become so powerful that nothing less than a general conspiracy could succeed, and the success even of that was doubtful. In fine, it was thought expedient to try the elections once more, and make a last effort for the Parliament that was to sit in the year 1741. There was, indeed, great appearance that the court would be baffled on this occasion. The common danger, still increasing, had put an end to, at least suspended, all other divisions, and reunited all parties against the common enemy;—the contest was now, properly speaking, between the country and the court: on one side was almost every independent man in the island, and on the other placemen and pensioners, with their kinsmen and dependents. One would have thought the Patriots, as they were called, had it all to nothing, that they must carry it by a vast majority; but the system of corruption had been so well laid and carried on, or, in other words, places and pensions—prodigiously multiplied of late years—had been so judiciously bestowed on those, and the friends of those, that had greatest interest in elections, that when the Parliament met, the Patriots carried the first decisive point by three votes only; it was, indeed, enough to send the corruptor-general out of the House of Commons, but was not sufficient to bring him to justice, and proved of no use at all to redress national grievances, and guard against the encroachments of future ministers; for no sooner was it certain that the Prime Minister, and some of his

understrappers, must be laid aside, but our Patriots, hitherto unanimous in appearance, began to grow jealous and diffident of one another, and some even of those whose steadiness was most depended upon, jumped at the first crust that was offered, undertook to screen the late minister, to rally his scattered troops, and pursue the very same measures the nation had been complaining of, and they themselves inveighing against for so many years. This infamous defection gave the court a determined majority, disappointed the real Patriots in their present expectations, and cut off all future hopes. It was now but too plain that Parliamentary remedies were mere chimeras; it was not to be expected that at any period the spirit of patriotism would be more general, and exert itself more vigorously, than in these last elections, all which had availed nothing. There was no remedy left but a revolution of some kind or other, which would be the more difficult and dangerous the longer it was delayed.

This was pretty much the situation of Great Britain about the end of the year 1743. Two whole years had intervened, and produced nothing but fresh grievances added to the former,—further encroachments upon the liberty and property of the subject, and additional strength to the court. In these circumstances, the Prince's project was by no means chimerical. It was not improbable, from the situation of Europe, that France would venture eight or ten thousand men, was it only to make a diversion in England, and oblige the court to call home the national troops from Flanders; and it was highly probable, from the situation of England, that if the Prince landed any where in the island with arms, ammunition, and a body of regular troops, he would be joined by a great many, and opposed by none but such as, being entirely devoted to the court, were already become the object of the hatred and contempt of their fellow-subjects.

Abundance of the Tories had still a warm side for the family of Stewart; and as for the old stanch Whigs, their attachment and aversion to families had no other spring but their love of liberty, which they saw expiring under the family of Hanover; they had still this, and but this chance left to recover it: in fine, there was little opposition to be dreaded from any quarter but from the army,—gentlemen of that profession being accustomed to follow their leaders and obey orders without asking questions. But there were malecontents among them too, such as were men of property, whose estates exceeded the value of their commissions, did by no means approve of the present measures; some of them who had opposed the court, both in the elections and in Parliament, had been balked in their preferment for doing their duty, which, indeed, had been of use to deter others, but had exasperated the injured sufferers. Others were in their hearts well-wishers to the family of Stewart, though the narrowness of their circumstances, or a military genius had engaged them in the service at a time when the family of Stewart seemed to be quite out of the question; besides, it was to be hoped the thing would be decided before that part of the army that was abroad could be brought over; and it was a part of the Prince's scheme to carry along with him such a number of regular troops as could make head against those that were at home. By this means the regular troops, supposed to be pretty nigh equal on both sides, would only keep the balance even, and leave the inclinations of the people to determine the scale.

Upon the whole, the conjuncture seemed favourable; and it is not to be wondered that a young Prince, naturally brave, should readily lay hold of it. There was a prospect of recalling his father from an exile almost as long as his life—saving his country from impending ruin—and restoring both to the enjoyment of their respective rights. His expedition in 1745 was indeed very different; he went to Scotland without troops, and very ill provided with arms, ammunition, and money;—but of that in its proper place, I must at present attend him in his journey from Rome. It was extremely difficult to conceal his departure from that city, and yet absolutely necessary to

prevent his being stopped on the road before he got to Genoa, or taken at sea in his passage to France. The Romans are curious to know every thing that passes, and there were particular persons at Rome appointed to watch all his motions. He gave out he was going to Cisterna to hunt for some days with his brother and the Duke of Simoneta. Cisterna was a place he frequently resorted to take that diversion; and the Duke of York and the Duke of Simoneta went actually thither the night the Prince began his journey. But as there are people going every day from Cisterna to Rome, whereby it would be soon known there that the Prince was not at Cisterna, it was given out that a fall from his horse had obliged him to remain some days at Albano; but this was to be only whispered about and carefully concealed from the King his father, who, as was pretended, was not to be let into the accident that had happened; so much the more that the fall was not dangerous, and the Prince proposed to join his brother and the Duke of Simoneta in a few days. When these were elapsed, it was given out at Cisterna that the Prince had altered his resolution, and had given his brother a rendezvous at Fogliano. These things were so well carried on, and every person concerned acted his part so exactly, that his route was not publicly known in Rome till eleven days after his departure. He began his journey the 9th of January, about three o'clock in the morning, with one servant, and arrived at Inassa the 11th in the evening; whence he set out directly, and got to Genoa the 13th about noon. Here he stopped, and went to bed for the first time since he left Rome. He went the next morning to Savona, where he was detained six days by contrary winds. The 21st the wind was favourable, but it was extremely hazardous to put to sea. It was more than probable by that time that Admiral Mathews had intelligence of his journey, and was lying in wait to intercept him; but that made no impression; he went on board a felucca that was ready for him at Final, and a brisk gale carried him to Monaco that night the 23rd; he set sail from Monaco, and arrived safe at Antibes the same night, and thence to Paris in a few days. He kept himself as private as possible; and when he got notice that all was ready at Dunkirk, he set out for the sea-coast, happy beyond expression with the thought of restoring the King his father, and delivering his people from the foreign yoke they had long groaned under. But he soon met with an instance of the uncertainty of human affairs. Upon his arrival he had the pleasure of seeing every thing getting ready with the utmost diligence for his intended expedition. Most of the troops were already embarked, when a furious storm dispersed the ships of war, and drove the transports on the coast: the troops already embarked were glad to gain the shore, having lost some of their number. It is hardly possible to conceive a greater disappointment than that which the Prince met with on this occasion. How severely soever he might feel it, he did not seem dejected; on the contrary, he was in appearance cheerful and easy; encouraged such of his friends as seemed most deeply affected, telling them, Providence would furnish him with other occasions of delivering his father's subjects, and making them happy. Immediately after this disaster the expedition was given up; and the Prince returned to Paris, where he lived incognito till he set out for Scotland. Not long after his return to Paris, war was declared betwixt France and England, which gave him fresh hopes that something would be undertaken. But after several months, seeing no appearance, he grew very impatient, and began to think of trying his fortune with such friends as would follow him;—he was quite sick of the obscure way he was in;—he thought himself neglected by the Court of France, but could not bear the thoughts of returning to Rome. He had heard much of the loyalty and bravery of the Scotch Highlanders; but the number of those clans he could depend upon was too inconsiderable to do any thing effectual: while he was thus perplexed and fluctuating, John Murray of Broughton arrived from Scotland. This gentleman, whom I shall have frequently occasion to mention, had been all his life a violent Jacobite. He had been of late very busy in the King's affairs in Holland. I don't know what commission he had from the King, but he went about and acted as the King's agent. He

brought assurances from several persons of distinction in Scotland of their readiness to join the Prince upon his landing, but they entreated his R. H. not to think of coming without a body of regular troops, a considerable sum of money, and a great store of ammunition and arms. Murray finding there was no appearance of obtaining these things from the Court of France at present, and impatient of delay —from reasons best known to himself—advised the Prince, in his own name, to come to Scotland at any rate;—it was his opinion that the Prince should come as well provided and attended as possible, but rather come alone than delay coming; that those who had invited the Prince, and promised to join him, if he came at the head of four or five thousand regular troops, would do the same if he came without any troops at all; in fine, that he had a very strong party in Scotland, and would have a very good chance of succeeding. This was more than enough to determine the Prince. The expedition was resolved upon, and Murray despatched to Scotland with such orders and instructions as were thought proper at that juncture. The Prince's friends in Scotland were extremely uneasy, when Murray, upon his return, told them that the Prince was coming without troops. They looked upon the success as doubtful even with some thousands of regular troops, but impossible without that support. Most of those who had invited the Prince over, and promised to join him, wrote him their sentiments on the occasion in very strong but respectful terms, and sent the letter by a gentleman who did not arrive at Paris till the Prince was gone: so that the Prince never received this letter, nor any certain accounts from Scotland after John Murray's return. Abundance of people condemn the Prince on this occasion. They say he was too easily persuaded by Murray to engage himself and his friends in an attempt so unlikely to succeed; and which, if it did not succeed, must be attended with the most fatal consequences. It is not my province to decide on things of this kind, but to lead the reader into the spring and motives of actions that he may be able to judge of them by himself. I have already hinted that the Prince was meditating an attempt of some kind or other, before Mr. Murray came to Paris. Besides the encouragement he had from that gentleman, he had frequently been assured that the Court of France was as willing to assist him as ever, but was become more diffident of success; that the French Minister began to suspect that he had no party, or a very inconsiderable one, in Great Britain. In that case, such a number of troops as they could send over would be thrown away to no purpose. While the Court of France lay under this mistake, there was nothing to be expected from them, and the Prince could see no way of undeceiving them, but by going over in person and making an insurrection, which Murray had assured him would happen upon his appearance in Scotland. But what weighed most with the Prince, and gave the greatest encouragement, was the behaviour of the Elector of Hanover during the last campaign, and the consequences it might be presumed to have. The attachment that family had shewn ever since their accession to their Electorate of Hanover, had been long one of the grievances complained of in England. It had been often asserted, and indeed made very plain in speeches in Parliament, and in numberless pamphlets, that the interest of England had been on every occasion sacrificed to the security and aggrandizement of that little state; though this, like other grievances, had made impression on the people, it had been little regarded by the gentlemen of the army, who make up a different society; but they had of late had their share too in their own station, and could not conceal their resentment of the glaring preference given to the Hanoverians during that whole campaign. It seems the Elector's heart got quite the better of his understanding for that time, for his partiality was beyond all measure, and inconsistent with common sense. The general discontent it had occasioned among the British troops, seemed very favourable to the Prince's scheme. He had little to fear but from the army, and it was to be hoped these gentlemen had not quite forgotten the outrageous affronts so lately put upon them. These reasons will, perhaps, not appear so strong to other people as they

appeared to the Prince; however, they determined him to what he was otherwise much inclined to. Nobody was let into the secret but those few that were to accompany him, or employed in getting things ready. Mr. Wailsh of Nantes undertook to carry him to Scotland; and while he was getting ready a vessel, and such a quantity of arms and ammunition as the Prince's small stock of money could reach, his R. H. went to Navarra, a country seat belonging to the Duke of Bouillon, under pretext of enjoying the country air and diversions. When he got notice that all was ready at Nantes, he, and those few gentlemen that were to go along with him, passed thither by different routes to avoid suspicion. The Prince embarked the 1st of July 1745, N. S. It was a small frigate Mr. Wailsh had prepared for him, but he was to be escorted by the Elizabeth man of war, which Mr. Rutlidge had fitted out for a cruize. He cast anchor under Belle Isle, and lay waiting for the Elizabeth, which was to join him from Brest, but was detained by contrary winds. At length she arrived, and they sailed the 15th for Scotland. The first days they saw nothing but small ships that seemed to avoid them, but the 20th, in the morning, they discovered a large ship making towards them. It happened to be the Lyon, Captain Bull, of 60 guns. The Elizabeth and the frigate made the best of their way to avoid an action, but the Lyon being a light clean ship, gained ground, and came very near about 2 o'clock. They lay by sometime and reconnoitred the Elizabeth, who lay by likewise and prepared for action, which she saw was unavoidable if the Lyon had a mind to it. At length the Lyon bore down upon the Elizabeth. The Prince had called a council of war upon the first appearance of an action, and it had been resolved that the Elizabeth should receive the first broadside and endeavour to board. But Captain D'O, who commanded the Elizabeth, went up and give the first broadside. It was soon returned by the Lyon, who tacked about immediately and gave another, which raked the Elizabeth fore and aft, killed abundance of men, and among them Capt, D'O and his brother, who was second Captain. Notwithstanding this misfortune, the Elizabeth maintained the [fight] 4 hours, till the night coming on put an end to one of the most bloody and obstinate actions that ever happened at sea. The loss of men was considerable on both sides; the ships very much damaged; they parted as by mutual consent, and neither was in a condition to pursue the other. The Prince's frigate, which was too small to have any share in the action, came up and spoke with the Elizabeth as soon as it was over. She was quite disabled, and henceforth she could be of no use to escort the Prince, so she was ordered to make the best of her way to Brest; and the Prince, aboard the Dutilly, continued his voyage to Scotland, without meeting any ship till he came upon the coast, when he was perceived and pursued by a large ship, which obliged him to sail in betwixt the Islands of Barra and South Uist; the wind being contrary and violent, the English ship could not follow him, though she endeavoured it all that day and the next. The Prince made for the little Island of Erisca on the south end of South Uist, and went ashore. He sent immediately for a gentleman of South Uist, who came next morning to the hut where the Prince had passed the night. This gentleman told the Prince that Sir Alexander M^{c}Donald and McLeods, whom he had seen very lately, had let know that his R. H. was coming: that they, for their parts, were determined not to join him if he came without troops, and were of opinion nobody else would; and had desired him to let the Prince know this, their resolution, if he had occasion to see him, and to advise him in their name to return directly to France; and to assure him, at the same time, of their loyalty, and readiness to venture their lives and fortune for the Royal cause upon reasonable prospect of success. He said these were likewise his own sentiments; and added, that he did not believe any man of consequence in that country would join, or if some did, he was sure it would end in their destruction. The Prince was astonished at this reception in a country he thought devoted to the interest of his family. It was indeed very different from what Mr. Murray had told him at Paris, and what he expected. Some of those that came along with the Prince, gave into this gentleman's sentiments, and thought the

Prince ought not to proceed any further, but return directly to France. But the Prince could not bear the thoughts of it; he carried the gentleman aboard, talked over the affairs again, but found him inflexible and positive in his opinion that nobody would join him: however, the Prince was determined to proceed to Scotland and leave nothing untried. In the meantime, the English ship and a tender that had joined her, were advancing and likely to get into the strait. The Prince set sail for the coast of Scotland in the evening; at daybreak he found himself upon the coast of Skye, and about noon got into Lochlinoch in Arisaig, where Angus M^{c}Donald, brother to M^{c}Donald of Kinloch Moidart, went ashore and brought his brother to the Prince, who immediately despatched him with letters to Lochiel, the Duke of Perth, and Mr. Murray of Broughton.

M^{c}Donald, younger of Clanronald, came next day to wait upon the Prince, and frankly offered his services; the Prince sent him to acquaint Sir Alexander M^{c}Donald and M^{c}Leods with his arrival, and concert matters with them. Clanronald found these gentlemen positive not to engage in an affair they had a very bad opinion of. I must do that justice to the memory of Sir Alexander M^{c}Donald, to say, he was not guilty of breach of promise by refusing to join the Prince upon this occasion, for he had never promised to join but upon a condition that was never performed. I am far from excusing what he did afterwards, though I impute it rather to weakness than villany; but he is not to be classed with such as were under the strongest engagements to join the Prince if he came over with a single footman, and not only refused to join, but exerted all their art and strength against him. In the meantime the Prince landed his arms and ammunition, though every body in that country endeavoured to dissuade him from an undertaking they thought could not succeed. He seemed positive not to return to France without attempting something. But nothing was so discouraging as a letter Sir Thomas Sheridan received from Mr. Murray, in answer to what he had sent by Kinloch Moidart. He too seemed surprised that the Prince had come alone, and advised him to return to France. Sir Thomas wrote back immediately to Mr. Murray, that it was upon the encouragement he had given that the Prince had undertaken the expedition in this manner, and consequently he, in particular manner, was bound to join the Prince. It would appear that Murray had at this time some notion of honour, and could bear the thoughts of death while it was uncertain and at a great distance; for he set out upon the receipt of this letter, and arrived in a few days, having seen the Duke of Perth, M^{c}Donald of Keppoch, and Cameron of Lochiel, in his way. Lochiel had already sent his brother, Archibald Cameron, to the Prince, to persuade him to return to France; but to no purpose. Soon after he came himself, and gave the same advice he had sent by his brother, but the Prince could not be prevailed upon, though hitherto no chief had engaged to join but Clanronald younger, who, from the beginning, had promised to join with such men as he could raise in that country, which were not the half of what belonged to his family; but the rest were in South Uist, and other smaller islands, where he could not promise to get them in due time. The Prince had all along dealt very candidly with these gentlemen; he had given them a true account of his situation; he had let them know that he had but a small quantity of arms, and very little money; that he. had left France without concerting any thing, or even taking leave of that Court; but that he had written to the King and Ministers to acquaint them with this expedition, and solicit succours, which he was persuaded they would send as soon as they saw that he really had a party in Scotland, and that he had appointed the Earl of Marischal his agent at the Court of France; and he depended much upon the zeal and abilities of that nobleman, who would himself conduct the succours he was soliciting. There was indeed room to hope that the French would support the Prince, so much the more that it seemed evidently to be their interest to do so at this juncture; but still this was but a slight foundation. These gentlemen seemed unwilling to rise in arms against an established government, till they saw a body of regular troops actually landed; wherefore, finding

the Prince utterly averse to their first proposal, they made another, that he might remain concealed in the country, where they could answer for the safety of his person, and send back his attendants, who would give out that he was returned, but let the Court of France know how things stood; that the Prince was actually in Scotland, and his friends ready to take arms upen the first news of a landing, without which there was nothing to be done. Though this proposal was less shocking to the Prince than the former, he rejected it likewise. He said the Court of France would never be thoroughly convinced that he had a considerable party in Scotland, till there was an actual insurrection; and without that he was afraid they would not venture their troops. In fine, he told them, he was resolved to set up the King's standard, and, with such as would follow it, push the thing as far as it would go. Upon which Lochiel said, since that was his R. H.'s fixed resolution, he would join him with what men he could raise, and shew his fortune whatever it might be.—Upon this depended the whole undertaking; for had Lochiel stood out, the Prince must either have returned to France on board the same frigate that brought him to Scotland, or remained privately in the Highlands waiting for a landing of foreign troops. The event has shewn that he would have waited for a long time. It was now resolved to set up the royal standard. The Prince and all his attendants went ashore at Borrowdale, where he remained till Clanronald got together about a hundred men to guard his person; upon his landing he dismissed the frigate, which had been at anchor almost three weeks in Loch Nua, and sent letters to the French King and Ministers by Mr. Wailsh, and they advanced to Kinloch Moidart, where he received a letter from Mr. Wailsh, acquainting him that he had taken three sloops laden with barley and oat meal. Nothing could be more seasonable, for there was a great scarcity in the Highlands that year, and without this accidental supply, the Prince would have found it extremely difficult to assemble his little army. Great pains had been taken to conceal the Prince's arrival, and with wonderful success; it was hardly suspected at Fort-William, till Lochiel and Keppoch began to assemble their men on all sides of that Fort; then indeed it was certain that there was some commotion in the Highlands, but still it was doubtful whether the Prince was there in person. However, those that commanded for the government in these parts, began to take such precaution, and as they thought necessary, among others, Capt. Swithenham was sent to Fort-William to examine the strength of that Fortress, and order what reparations might be wanted; but he was taken on his way by some of Keppoch's men, and soon after a detachment of 60 men, with four or five officers, had the same fate. They had been sent to reinforce the garrison of Fort-William, but a few Highlanders followed them close, firing continually upon them, which retarded their march, so that a body of Lochiel's men, that was in the neighbourhood, had time to come up, upon which they surrendered: and now the day fixed for a general rendezvous drew nigh. The Prince ordered what arms and ammunition he had, to be carried to Glenfinning, the place appointed for setting up the standard, and came thither himself the day before.

The 19th of August, old stile, which I shall follow henceforward, the royal standard was set up, and joined by Lochiel at the head of 700 men, Clanronald at the head of 300 men, and Keppoch at the head of 300. The King's declaration and the Prince's commission were read, and the King was proclaimed, and the Prince acknowleged Regent, with all the solemnity the place and circumstances would allow of, amid the greatest demonstrations of joy, and the strongest expressions of zeal and alacrity. This was, properly speaking, the beginning of the Prince's expedition. From his departure from Rome to this day, he had kept a kind of incognito; all his motions had been concealed as much as possible; at Glenfinning he appears publicly at the head of 1300 men, and enounces open war to the Elector of Hanover, and all his adherents. Before I proceed farther, it will not be amiss to give the reader some notion of the Highlanders. I shall

confine myself to a short description of their country, and some peculiarities in their manners, which distinguish them from the rest of the inhabitants of Scotland.

By the Highlands is generally understood the north western part of Scotland; imagine a line drawn from Dumbarton to Dunkeld, and another from Dunkeld to Elgin, these two lines will separate the Highlands from the rest of Scotland. All that part of Scotland that lies northward and westward of these lines is reckoned Highlands, except the eastern coast of Caithness and the coast from Elgin to Inverness. This country is in general very mountainous, particularly towards the western coast, and the inhabitants different in many respects from the other inhabitants of Scotland. Their language is originally the same with the Irish, which has no affinity with the English, but their dress is peculiar to themselves. Light, clever, and easy, and adapted to their country and manner of living, they are not encumbered with breeches, instead of which they wear a kind of petticoat or shirt, which reaches from their middle to their knees. Their plaid is the most useful part of their dress; it is a piece of woollen stuff from a yard to 1½ yard in breadth, and six yards in length, when folded; this they wear in sundry shapes as a kind of cloak, and wrap themselves up in when they lye down to rest. Their offensive arms are a fusil and side pistol, a broad sword and dagger, or dirk as they call it; and for their defence they have a target or buckler, made of wood covered with leather, which, though by no means musket proof, is of singular use in a close engagement. A Highlander with a broad sword and target, has a great advantage over a soldier with a screwed bayonet, when his fire is spent, so that the advantage regular troops have over Highlanders, consists in their fire and discipline, and if these don't prevail, a body of Highlanders, completely armed and in good spirits, will get the better of an equal number of regular troops. The Highlanders are divided into sundry clans or tribes; the individuals of each clan have the same sirname, and are generally supposed to be descended from the chief family of the clan. The Representative of this family, whom they commonly call their Chieftain or Chief, has a sovereign power over his clan. Laws were made long ago to moderate the authority that naturally flows from hereditary jurisdictions, which are frequent in Scotland; but the effect of these laws has hardly reached the western coast and Isles. These parts are remote from any tribunal, and very difficult of access. This has contributed to enable the Chiefs to keep up their authority, but the principal source of it is a real attachment of the people to the persons of their chiefs. Each clan looks upon itself as one family, and the chief is the common father. As they have no manufactures among them, and their country is not fit for tillage, the common people have little to do, a few being sufficient for the care of their cattle, which are the chief produce of their lands. It is perhaps owing to this idleness that the lower sort are more curious and inquisitive about news and politics, and better versed in their own history and genealogies than the common people of other countries. Whatever be the cause, it is certain, the thing is so, which connects them together and gives them that Esprit de Corps, so remarkable in some old regiments, that have, generally speaking, behaved well. The Highlanders have been always fond of arms, and handle them with great dexterity. They are accustomed from their infancy to wear them, and tho' there was, not many years ago, an Act of Parliament to disarm them, they did not deliver up the best of their arms. They have likewise some notions of a military discipline, peculiar to themselves, but the most simple and obvious; they march in a column, 3 men abreast, and form by facing about and closing their files. The Highlanders were always brave, but have been more remarkably so since war ceased, being the trade and principal occupation of the Scotch nation. Since the Union of the two Crowns put an end to the hostilities that were so frequent betwixt the two nations, the inhabitants of the southern and eastern parts of Scotland, have been wholly employed in cultivating the arts of peace, agriculture, and manufactures, while the Highlanders have followed the same kind of life as before that Union.

It is certain that national courage is not at all, or in a very small degree, the effect of a climate: almost every nation we read of, has at some period or other been conspicuous, and, I may say, had the ascendant in point of courage. It is then chiefly, if not solely, owing to education and custom, that any race of people is brave. This supposed, what little I have said of the manners of the Highlanders will account for that bravery, of which the reader will see several instances in the sequel of this History.

The Prince set out the next day after he had set up the standard, and marched his little army to Lochiel, where he halted a few days: he was forced to leave in this country a great part of his ammunition, pick-axes, shovels, &c. The Highlanders could not be prevailed upon to carry them on the shoulders, but there was no other method of transporting them in this rugged country. The garrison of Fort-William sallied out, when the Prince was gone, seized what had been left here, burned some of the people's houses, and carried off their cattle. The Prince marched from Lochiel to Moiiy, and from Moiiy to Highbridge, and from thence to Glengary, where Gordon of Glenbucket waited to receive his orders. The army lay encamped some days between Glengary and FortAugustus, while Macdonald, second son to M^{c}Donald of Glengary, was assembling the clan, and Stewart of Ardshiel was getting together the Stewarts of Appin. It was there the Prince got the first certain accounts of the motions of Sir John Cope, Commander-in-Chief of the government's forces in Scotland. Cope, who, upon the first news of an insurrection in the Highlands, had assembled what troops were in the southern parts of Scotland, and marched them to Stirling, was now in full march to the Highlands. The Elector of Hanover had gone again this summer to visit his favourite dominions and subjects of the Continent. The Lords of the Regency, upon the first alarm, had despatched courier after courier to hasten his return, and had sent orders to Cope to march into the Highlands with what forces he could muster up, and crush the insurrection in the beginning, or at least stop its progress. Cope was already considerably advanced on his march on the Highland road, when M^{c}Donalds of Glengary, about 500 or 600 in number, and the Stuarts of Appin, betwixt 200 and 300, joined the Prince. He set out immediately upon their arrival, and made what despatch he could to Corrieroch; he apprehended it was Cope's intention to occupy that post and dispute the passage, which would have obliged the Prince to fight him at great disadvantage. However, the Prince got the start of Cope, and arrived at Corrieroch the night Cope was to encamp at Garviemore. The Prince set out next morning in full expectation of meeting the enemy on his march that day, but found that Cope, instead of advancing, had turned off to the right, and taken the road to Inverness. The Prince had now no obstacle in his way to Edinburgh; but the Highlanders were bent upon pursuing Cope; the common men could hardly be contained within bounds; they had all along expressed the greatest ardour to come to an action, and Cope's declining it had augmented their confidence. But the Prince thought the success of his expedition depended in a great measure upon the celerity of it, that a good deal of time might be spent before he could bring Cope to an engagement in a country full of difficult passes. But what made it absolutely necessary for him to get into the south without loss of time, was, that he had very little money left, and there was no supply to be had in that country. His whole stock when he landed did not exceed 4000 pounds. He hoped that would suffice to assemble a few Highlanders, and march them into the low country, where he depended upon the public money and private contributions of his friends, till the Court of France should send him over abundant supplies of money and men to finish his undertaking. It must appear very strange that the Prince should begin such an expedition with such a trifling sum as 4000 pounds. People will imagine that he was certain of finding large sums previously collected and ready for him: by no means: he was certain of nothing in particular, and even his hopes were general. I have already told what determined him to make an attempt at this

time, he depended much upon what Murray had told him of the disposition of the people of Scotland, and he was convinced that the Court of France would support him, when they found he had a considerable party in that Kingdom. Till then he had reason to believe they would risk nothing, and he was impatient of delay. There had been all along negotiations for peace, if these happened to succeed, his hopes were at an end. The Prince, having halted a day to refresh his men and get certain intelligence of Cope's route, resolved to march directly into Athol. He sent a small detachment into Ruthven to surprise that barrack; but the attempt miscarried. The place was of little consequence, and not worthwhile to retard the march of the army. So he continued it, and arrived at Blair Castle, one of the seats of the family of Athol. The Duke of Athol, who had been in exile since the year 1715, was now restored to the possession of his estates, and set about raising his men. The Prince made a general review of his army, and found a great many of his men were wanting. Officers were immediately sent back to bring them up; they gave no other reason for their discontent but that they had not been allowed to pursue Cope. The Prince, seeing the Insurrection in Athol in a hopeful way, advanced to Dunkeld by the pass of Killecranky, and thence to Perth, where he was joined by the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, brother to the Duke of Athol, Lord Ogilvie, Lord Strathallan, Mr. William Murray, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, Robertson of Strowan, Oliphant of Gask, and several other Gentlemen. It was necessary to make some stay at Perth to give time to some of those who had joined to raise their men, but above all to get supply of money. When the Prince came to Perth, he had but one guinea left, which he shewed to Mr. Kelly, and told him it was all he had in the world, adding, with an air of confidence, that the army was paid for a fortnight to come, and a fortnight would produce fresh supplies; and in this the Prince was not mistaken. Besides the excise and other public money that was collected at Perth, and every where within reach of the army, he began in this country to receive private contributions from people that were well affected, but did not declare openly for him. While he staid at Perth, he endeavoured to discipline and model his army, but he was much at a loss for want of officers. Of seven or eight Gentlemen that he brought along with him from France, there were only three that had ever served, and none of them in a higher rank than that of a captain, and of these three Mr. Sulivan only had had an opportunity of learning something of the detail of an army, having been AideCamp to M^{r}. de Maillebois. He was appointed to act as Major General and Quarter-Master-General to the army, and Sir John M^{c}Donald, formerly a Captain in the Carabineers, had the charge of disciplining such as were to serve on horseback.

The Prince having got what supplies he could expect in this country, resolved to march to Edinburgh. Nothing could give so great reputation to his arms, as making himself master of the capital. Besides that advantage, he would certainly get money there, and perhaps arms, both of which he would soon stand in need of. What money he got in Perthshire would soon be expended. Some of the men he had already, wanted arms, and the Athol men, Lord Ogilvie's, and others, that were to join in a short time, tho' they might have some, would still want a considerable quantity to arm them completely.

He set out from Perth the 11th of September, and intended to encamp at Dumblane; he arrived there that night with the van of his army, or rather with a few of each of the clans. They for the greatest part lagged behind, and did not get up till next day, and in general the men seemed extremely fatigued with this march, which could only he imputed to the good quarters and plentiful diet which they had had at Perth, and their being so many days without exercise. Upon which it was resolved, that henceforth they should encamp in the open fields, and be kept constantly in motion. While the Prince was at Dumblane, the Duke of Perth brought up about 150 men. This was almost the only reinforcement the Prince had got since he left Glengary, except 200 men which

Robertson of Strowan had brought to Perth. But the rest of the Athol men were in motion, and it was hoped they would be up in a few days. He thought those he had were sufficient to take possession of Edinburgh, and marched from Dumblane the 13th, passed the river Forth at a ford called the Frew, and encamped at a small distance from Stirling. Sir John Cope had left two regiments of dragoons, Hamilton's and Gardener's, to guard the passage of that river, but they retired at the approach of the Highlanders. He continued his march next day, and passed by Stirling. The Castle fired several guns, which did no harm, did not even discompose the Highlanders, though hitherto unaccustomed to the noise of cannon. The Prince halted at Bannockburn, and encamped at Callender, on the south side of Falkirk. Upon information that the dragoons were encamped at Linlithgow, the Prince sent Lord George Murray with 800 men to surprise them in their camp, but they had abandoned it that evening, and retired towards Edinburgh. The Prince came next morning to Linlithgow, when, having refreshed his men, he continued his march to Edinburgh. He came once within sight of the dragoons, who seemed resolved to make a stand, but went off before he could come up with them. They passed by the walls of Edinburgh in great hurry and disorder, and went on to Musselburgh. The Prince marched on, and encamped within a mile of the capital. He had now traversed Scotland from sea to sea, and met with no resistance: but he found the gates of Edinburgh shut against him. He knew he had a great many friends in the town, but it was very doubtful whether they would venture to declare for him. They were overawed by the garrison of the Castle, which commands the town, and nothing had been previously concerted: in appearance, every body was against him. The militia was under arms, and seemed determined to defend the town to the last extremity. There were no regular fortifications, but a stone wall which surrounds the town was thought sufficient to defend it against such an army as the Prince had along with him. They had repaired the wall in several places, where it was thought deficient; and got several pieces of cannon mounted at convenient distances. Nevertheless, upon the Prince's approach, the citizens began to be divided in their opinions. Some were for admitting him. They said, the place was not tenable; and to hold out, was to expose the city to be plundered by the Highlanders, who would certainly take it at last. That the retreat of the dragoons was a proof of the weakness of the fortifications; had set them an example, and would plead their excuse. This sentiment was violently opposed by a hotheaded party, composed chiefly of the lower sort, who had nothing to lose, in case the town was taken by storm, and who were perhaps the more forward that they saw they would be overruled by their betters; it was getting a little reputation for bravery, and making a merit with Government, at a very cheap rate. There had been several meetings and conferences, but nothing could be agreed upon. Archibald Stewart, Esquire, was Lord Provost, and Member of Parliament for the City, but he would not take upon him to decide amidst this perplexity and confusion, which increased as the danger drew nigh. At length it became necessary to come to some resolution. The Prince summoned the town to surrender, upon which Mr. Stewart called the Council, to deliberate upon what was to be done. He desired every member might give his opinion frankly, and began by giving his own, which was, that the place was not tenable, and, consequently, they ought to submit, to prevent the dreadful consequences of a town taken by storm; but he assured them, at the same time, that if they took a contrary resolution, he would make the best defence he could. After abundance of wrangling, it was carried by the majority to capitulate; and a deputation was immediately sent to the Prince's camp to make proposals. The Prince would hearken to no terms but an entire submission; they must lay down those arms they had taken up against him, and receive him into the town. He let them know, nevertheless, in general, that, if they submitted, he would maintain them in the full enjoyment of all their privileges; that he was come to vindicate their rights, as well as those of the

King, his father. The Deputies went back with this answer, and promised to return in a few hours; which being elapsed, and no answer from the City, the Prince judged they were determined to stand out, and took his measures accordingly. He resolved to begin by attempting a surprise; as that method, if it succeeded, would be attended by fewer bad consequences than an assault. If the Highlanders met with little resistance, they would be less exasperated, and easily restrained from acts of violence. The Prince was confident he could carry the town: all he apprehended was, the dangers the inhabitants might be exposed to after it was taken. The scheme for surprising the town was laid thus:—A detachment of 900 men was to advance in the night time towards the Netherbow Port or Gate, as far as they could, without being perceived; 24 men were to advance as silently as possible, and take post on each side of the gate; about 60 men were to advance half way up St. Mary's Wynd, and be ready to support them; these were to be supported by another party; and that by the whole detachment. When these dispositions were made, a Highlander, dressed in Lowland clothes, was to personate a servant of some officer of dragoons, who had forgot something, and was to demand entrance at the wicket. If it was opened, those that were posted at each side were to rush in immediately, seize that guard, and make themselves masters of the gate. Though the march had been performed, and the different posts occupied with so much secrecy and silence, that the garrison had no suspicion of what was intended, nevertheless the guard would not consent to open the wicket, and the sentinels upon the walls, threatened to fire upon the man that begged admittance if he did not instantly retire. His commanders, informed of this, were at a loss what to do; the night was far spent, and the stratagem not likely to succeed, when fortune gave them as favourable an opportunity as they could desire: while they were despairing of success, and thinking of calling off their parties, they heard the noise of a coach driving at a great rate down the High Street. It was an officer of dragoons that had gone up to the Castle the day before, and was going to join his regiment. The captain of the guard had orders to open the gate for this coach, which he did as soon as it arrived. The Highlanders were very alert, seized the gate, and disarmed the guard in an instant; they were immediately supported by those that were posted for that purpose, and followed by the whole detachment: all this was executed with the utmost silence. As soon as the van of the detachment got to the gate, those that had entered first marched on to the main guard, which they likewise seized and disarmed without resistance; other parties were sent immediately to take possession of the other gates and posts, which were abandoned as soon as it was known that the Highlanders were in the town. The whole was conducted with the greatest order and regularity, nor was the least violence offered to the persons or effects of the inhabitants. When all was quiet and secure, the principal officers assembled at the cross, and sent for the heralds in their robes, and made them proclaim King James the 8th in the centre of the capital. It began now to appear that the family of Stuart, notwithstanding their long exile, had still reigned in abundance of the hearts of their subjects. The joy seemed universal. God save the King was echoed back from all quarters of the town. The ladies particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion. There were about 1200 stand of arms found in the town. Nothing could be more seasonable, for not above one-half of the Highlanders was completely armed.

The Prince being informed of this success, left his camp, and marched the rest of his army towards the town: vast crowds went to meet him, and conducted him in triumph to the Palace of Holyrood-house, where he took up his quarters. There were never seen anywhere stronger expressions of unfeigned joy than on this occasion. By the time the Prince arrived at the Palace one would have thought the whole inhabitants of Edinburgh were assembled there, and all seemed to join in the loudest acclamations. This revolution in the capital of Scotland happened on the 17th September.

In the meantime, Sir John Cope, whom we left on the road to Inverness, continued his march thither. He soon became sensible of the blunder he had committed in letting the Prince getting south of him, and resolved to do what he could to repair it. He marched with all expedition to Aberdeen, where he embarked his troops, and landed them at Dunbar; tho' he came too late to defend Edinburgh, which the Prince was already in possession of, he resolved to prevent his penetrating into England, which he apprehended was his intention. He was now resolved to venture a battle: he had got some small reinforcements in the north; and the two regiments of dragoons were a great addition of strength to him. The Prince hearing that Cope was landed at Dunbar, and was marching towards Edinburgh, resolved immediately to go and meet him. He set out from Holyrood House the 19th; went to his Camp at Duddiston, where he lay that night, and next morning early began his march towards the enemy. His army consisted of the Highlanders already mentioned, the Duke of Perth's regiment, and the Athol-men whom Lord Nairn had brought up the day before, in all about 3000 foot, and about 40 gentlemen on horseback. At two o'clock in the afternoon the Prince came in sight of Cope's army. He sent off immediately some of his officers to reconnoitre the situation and countenance of the enemy, and marched on himself at the head of the Highlanders. Cope had advanced himself from Dunbar to Preston, with his right to the village, and his left stretched towards Seaton. He had in front the village of Tranent, and betwixt him and the village a morass and ditch that ran parallel to his camp, Port Seaton and the sea were behind him, and lay encamped. When the Prince's army came up, the men were in high spirits, and very eager to engage, but as it was late, it was thought proper to spend the rest of the evening in reconnoitring the ground, and examining which side of the camp was most accessible. There was indeed but one way of coming to an equal engagement. Betwixt Cope's left and Seaton House there was a large field, bounded on one side by the sea and on the other by the morass; there was likewise a road thro' the morass that led into the field. When the Prince and his friends had viewed the ground from the height of Tranent, and got information of this road, they had little left to deliberate upon, but tho' the resolution was taken, no motion was made that night that could discover it, on the contrary, the army retired behind Tranent till they were out of sight of Cope's camp, leaving that general in doubt what was become of them. Next day, 21st of September, the Prince's army was in motion before it was light, and by break of day had already passed the defile above mentioned. As they passed they stretched along towards the enemy, and facing about, were in order of battle. This obliged Cope to make a similar motion to face them. These motions were attended with some confusion on both sides, particularly on the Prince's, where the Duke of Perth, who led the column, going inadvertently too far to the right, left a gape in the centre, which the Prince perceiving, immediately called to those that were about him to follow him instantly, and run up to fill the vacant space; but the Duke of Perth had already perceived his error, and repaired it. The hurry and confusion of Cope's troops occasioned by this sudden change of their posture, perhaps prevented them taking advantage of this little disorder. The armies were now in battle facing one another, and a small distance betwixt them. In the Prince's army the first line consisted of M^{c}Donalds on the right, the Camerons and Stewarts of Appin on the left, and the Duke of Perth's regiment in the centre. The Athol men made a second line, or *corps de reserve*, at the head of which the Prince was with a few gentlemen. The Duke of Perth commanded the right wing, and Lord George Murray the left. They were both on foot, at the head of the first line. Cope's army was drawn up in one line, with a regiment of dragoons on each wing, and seven field pieces in the front of the right. It consisted of about 2300 foot and 600 horse; there were four companies appointed to guard the camp. When the signal was given, the Highlanders advanced with great alacrity, but they were once or twice obliged to stop for a moment to recover their ranks, which had been

discomposed by marching too quickly. When they came nigh the enemy, they could not be prevented from giving the first fire, which was still at too great a distance to do much execution. Their fire was immediately returned by the enemy, who began by a discharge of their field pieces, which were taken by the Camerons, before they could be loaded again. The foot gave one good fire from right to left; but, before they could give a second, the Highlanders were upon them sword in hand. The dragoons began first to reel and give way, and their example was soon followed by the foot, who likewise took to their heels. If any endeavours were used to rally them, it was to no purpose. The village of Preston, and stone walls belonging to it, that had been a great security to the camp, were now an invincible obstacle to the flight. As the foot made little or no resistance after they were broken, they would have been cut to pieces in a moment, but for the interposition of the Prince, and the gentlemen of his army, who all exerted themselves upon this occasion, and got more honour by their humanity than even by their bravery. The Prince, in the beginning of the *deroute,* mounted his horse, gallopped all over the field, calling out to his men to spare the lives of his enemies, whom he no longer looked upon as such. In fine, 83 officers were saved, and some hundreds of private men, who were all made prisoners; the greatest part of the dragoons got *off*, but few or none of the foot. On the Prince's side there were not above 40 men killed, among whom three or four officers, and about 60 or 70 men wounded, and among these five or six officers. Nothing could be more complete, or more important, than this victory; nevertheless, the Prince did not seem to be much elated with it: he had a livelier sense of other people's misfortunes than his own good fortune; and he thought of nothing at first but having the wounded taken care of, of his enemies as well as his own. Having given strict injunctions about that, he gave what other orders he thought necessary, and went to Pinkie House, where he lay that night; and returned the next day to Edinburgh, where he was received with all the demonstrations of joy and affection imaginable.

The Prince was now, properly speaking, master of Scotland. The Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling were, indeed, in the hands of his enemies: but the garrisons were confined within their respective walls, and durst not stir abroad. He had no enemy in the field: Cope and what was left of his army were retired to Berwick; and the militia that had been raised in some parts of Scotland, for the service of the Government, was dismissed. The Prince's orders were obeyed in places far distant from his army, and by people that were in their hearts very ill-affected towards him. But all this was rather glaring than solid. Unless he could make himself master of England, all that he had done in Scotland would avail nothing. It was a serious and important question what step was to be taken in consequence of the late victory. Some were for marching straight into England with a victorious army, without giving the Hanoverians time to recover from their consternation, and it was the Prince's own inclination and sentiment. But the greatest part of those the Prince consulted on that subject, thought the army too small for such an undertaking. They represented that this success would infallibly engage an abundance of his friends, who either had not hitherto had an opportunity of joining, or had delayed it, because they saw little or no appearance of success, and that French succours might now be depended upon, since the Prince had given convincing proofs of his having a party in Scotland. That at any rate it was better to stay some little time at Edinburgh, till they saw what prospect there was. In the meantime, they would gather some strength, and the army would be better modelled and accoutred. The Prince yielded to this opinion of the greatest part of his counsellors, and resolved to make some stay at Edinburgh. Those that judge of things only by the event will condemn this measure, and decide positively that if the Prince had marched on from the field of battle, he would have carried all before him. As the Prince's affairs were ruined in the end, it is natural to wish he had done any thing else than what he did: things could hardly have turned out worse, and there was a possibility of succeeding. But to judge fairly of the

matter, we must have no regard to what happened, but consider what was then most likely to happen. The Prince had but 3000 men at the battle, where he had 100 at least killed and wounded; he might reckon upon losing some hundreds more, who would go home with the booty they had got, so that he could not reckon upon more than 2500 men to follow him into England, whence he had no intelligence, no hopes of being joined, no resource in case of a misfortune. But what would the world have said of such an attempt had it miscarried?

As soon as it was determined to remain in Scotland, until the Prince's army was more considerable, all hands were set to work, and every thing was done that could he thought on for that purpose. Letters and messengers were sent to those that were known to be well affected, and M^{r}. Kelly was sent to France to represent the state of the Prince's affairs, and solicit succours at that Court. Officers were appointed to beat up for volunteers, and abundance of people enlisted themselves, as did several of the prisoners, who were useful in training the rest. Several low country gentlemen came from different quarters, and joined the standard, and the white cockades soon began to make a considerable figure in the streets of Edinburgh. But the Prince's chief dependence was upon the north of Scotland, where the common people, as well as the gentlemen, are well inclined generally, the Highland clans, very few excepted, are unanimously so, and are soldiers at first setting out. He had great hopes that his late victory would induce them to rise in arms and join him. In the meantime he began to form a regular army of such as he had. The camp, which was at Duddingston as before the battle, began now to have somewhat the air of a camp. There were tents at least, tho' not very regular; but it was with difficulty the Highlanders could be prevailed upon to make use of them. Hitherto they had lain under the canopy of heaven, and the weather was still mild; but when they knew it was the Prince's pleasure, they began to comply. The Prince went almost every day to the camp, frequently ate, and sometimes slept there. Nothing else could have kept the Highlanders together, while they had nothing to do, which was the case while they were in this camp. The Prince's court at Holyrood House soon became very brilliant. There were every day from morning till night a vast affluence of well dressed people. Besides the gentlemen that had joined, or come upon business, or to pay their court, there were a great number of ladies and gentlemen that came either out of affection or curiosity, besides the desire of seeing the Prince. There had not been a court in Scotland of a long time, and people came from all quarters to see so many novelties. One would have thought the King was already restored, and in peaceable possession of all the dominions of his ancestors, and that the Prince had only made a trip to Scotland to show himself to the people and receive their homage. Such was the splendour of the Court, and such the satisfaction that appeared in every body's countenance. There was indeed a Camp in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and a Garrison in the City. The tradesmen were employed day and night in preparing military accoutrements; but all was quiet and orderly in the City, and people had the pleasure of seeing the whole apparatus of war without feeling the effects of it. Lochiel had obtained of the Prince the guard of the City, which he was more acquainted with than the rest of the Highland chiefs, and his discipline was so exact that the City guns, persons, and effects, were as secure as in time of sound peace. There was indeed some pilfering in the country, but no more than what was unavoidable in the neighbourhood of the most regular armies, and much less than what was to be expected from an army of undisciplined Highlanders.

Every body was mightily taken with the Prince's figure and personal behaviour. There was but one voice about these. Those whom interest or prejudice made a runaway to his cause, could not help acknowledging that they wished him well in all other respects, and could hardly blame him for his present undertaking. Sundry things had concurred to raise his character to the highest pitch. Besides the greatness of the enterprise, and the conduct that had hitherto appeared in the execution

of it, there were several instances of good nature and humanity that had made a great impression upon people's minds. I shall confine myself to two or three. Immediately after the battle, as the Prince was riding along the ground that Cope's army had occupied a few minutes before, one of the officers came up to congratulate, and said, pointing to the killed, " Sir, there are your enemies at your feet." The Prince, far from exulting, expressed a great deal of compassion for his father's deluded subjects, whom he was heartily sorry to see in that posture. Next day, when the Prince was at Pinkie House, a citizen of Edinburgh came to make some representation to Secretary Murray about the tents that city was ordered to furnish against a certain day. Murray happened to be out of the way, which the Prince overhearing, called to have the Gentleman brought to him, saying, he would rather dispatch the business, whatever it was, himself, than have the Gentleman wait, which he did, by granting readily every thing that was asked; so much affability in a young Prince flushed with victory drew encomiums even from his enemies. But what gave people the highest idea of him was the negative he gave to a thing that very nearly concerned his interest, and upon which the success of his enterprise perhaps depended: It was proposed to send one of the prisoners to London, to demand of that Court a cartel for the exchange of prisoners taken, and to be taken during this war, and to intimate that a refusal would be looked upon as a resolution on their part to give no quarters: it was visible a cartel would be of great advantage to the Prince's affairs; his friends would be more ready to declare for him if they had nothing to fear but the chance of war in the field, and if the Court of Lon don refused to settle a cartel, the Prince was authorised to treat his prisoners in the same manner the Elector of Hanover was determined to treat such of the Prince's friends as might fall into his hands; it was urged that a few examples would compel the Court of London to comply. It was to be presumed that the Officers of the English army would make a point of it. They had never engaged in the service but upon such terms as are in use among all civilized nations, and it could be no stain upon their honour to lay down their Commissions, if these terms were not observed; and that owing to the obstinacy of their own prince, though this scheme was plausible and represented as very important, the Prince could never be brought into it: it was below him to make empty threats, and he would never put such as those in execution; he would never in cold blood take away lives which he had saved in heat of action at the peril of his own. These were not the only proofs of good nature the Prince gave about this time; every day produced something new of this kind. These things softened the rigour of a military government, which was only imputed to the necessity of his affairs, and which he endeavoured to make as gentle and easy as possible.

The Prince, suspecting that provisions might be scarce in the Castle of Edinburgh, had, upon his return from the battle, ordered all communication to be stopped betwixt the Castle and the City. Notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, as the army was too small to form a regular blockade, the garrison got frequently little supplies, and there was no great prospect of reducing the Castle by famine. Nevertheless, as the Prince had no other method of taking a place of great importance, he thought worth while to take that chance for it while his army lay in and about the town.

Accordingly, a proclamation was issued out forbidding, under pain of death, to carry any provisions to the Castle, and the sentinels had orders to fire upon every body that attempted it. This was attended with no consequence for several days but exchanging a few shots, which did little or no execution; but at length the Governor sent a message to the Lord Provost early in the morning, acquainting him that he had orders to lay the town in ashes if the blockade was not raised; he gave him till noon to prevent it. Nothing could be more absurd than this threat. The citizens had it not in their power to raise the blockade; they were as little able to remove the Highlanders out of the town

as to remove the town itself out of its seat, and yet they would be the only sufferers if the threat was put in execution: for the Highlanders would only be obliged to change their quarters, and the destruction of the town could be of no benefit to the Castle. This was represented to the Governor by the Provost and the Magistrates, who seemed to think it impossible that such an order could be gfven, but the order was shewn them; it was in peremptory terms, signed Tweddale, by his Majesty's command. Every body was amazed and confounded; they began to recollect what they had read in history. The Turkish history in particular was revolved, but no example of this kind was to be found any where. The more people reasoned, the more they were convinced that it was a sham order, and never meant to be put in execution; but the common people and abundance of others were in the utmost consternation and confusion; the streets were crowded with women and children running towards the gates, and the citizens were all ready beginning to remove their most valuable effects. When it struck twelve, the hour fixed in the Governor's message, they began immediately to fire from the Castle along the great street, the Highlanders were all in places of shelter, and nobody was hurt but some few of the poor inhabitants; but every mortal was highly exasperated against those that had given such orders, as well as against those that seemed disposed to put them in execution. However, the firing soon ceased, at least was intermitted; and whether they had private orders to threaten only, or became sensible that no orders could justify such an unprecedented piece of barbarity, they did not endeavour to set fire to the town, or beat down the houses, but still continued to fire upon any part of the town where they fancied they saw a Highlander. At length the Prince, in compassion to the inhabitants, ordered the blockade to be raised, which, however, had not the effect intended, for they still continued firing wantonly and at random, and did more harm after the blockade was raised than they had done before.

About a fortnight after the battle, there arrived at Montrose a ship from France with arms and ammunition and a small sum of money. Aboard this ship came Boyer, Marquis D'Equilles, sent by the Court of France. I don't know what kind of credentials he had, but his arrival was represented as a thing of great consequence, and he passed for a public minister. This ship was soon followed by another, that, besides the same cargo, brought a few Irish officers, and then by a third, with much the same cargo as the two former. These succours, tho' trifling, were welcome, as they were looked upon as an earnest of more substantial ones, of which Monsieur D'Equilles gave the strongest assurances. An officer that came from France said, that every thing was getting ready at his departure for a great embarkation of troops. One of the French ships brought over some cannoniers and six field pieces, which, with the seven pieces taken from Cope, made a fine train of artillery.

All this time the Prince's army was increasing every day. My Lord Ogilvie, who had joined at Perth, and remained in the country to raise and bring up his men, was arrived with betwixt three and four hundred men. Gordon of Glenbucket had brought up about three hundred. John Roy Stuart had a commission to raise a regiment of foot, and had got together two hundred. A hundred and fifty horse arrived in a body from the shires of Banff and Aberdeen, all gentlemen and servants, well armed and accoutred. Lord Pitsligo was at the head of his corps. The Macphersons were within a few days march. The Duke of Athol was likewise upon the road at the head of the rest of the Atholmen. The officers that had been sent to the West Highlands to bring back such of the men as had returned after the battle sent very good news of their success. Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of that name, had joined the Prince, and was gone north to raise the followers of that family, who were generally well inclined, but wanted one of that family to head them; and there were certain accounts that the Frazers and Mackintoshes were in arms and ready to set out to join the Prince; the former had been raised by Lord Lovat's eldest son, and the latter by the Lady

Mackintosh, whose husband, chief of that name, was actually in the service of the Government, but it was through the influence of this heroine, endowed with spirit and vigour of our sex, and all the charms and graces of her own, that the Mackintoshes took arms, not only without the countenance of their chief, a thing very rare among the Highlanders, but what is perhaps without example against him. Though this was not such an insurrection as was expected after so complete a victory, there was, nevertheless, a prospect of having soon a pretty good army, and indeed, in all appearance, there would be occasion for it. Four or five thousand Dutch had landed on the coast of Northumberland soon after Cope's defeat, and the Court of England had ordered over all the national troops from Flanders. Mr. Wade had already begun to form an army at Newcastle of the Dutch and English that were arrived; and it was confidently given out that he was to march to Edinburgh as soon as he was strong enough: he was already much stronger as to numbers than the Prince. But the late battle had given the English army, officers as well as soldiers, such a terrible impression of the Highlanders, that they thought they had no chance with them unless they were greatly superior in numbers, and they were mistaken as to the real strength of the Prince's army. Fear generally magnifies a terrible object; and it's certain a general panic prevailed all over England, but it's not to be wondered that people at a distance were ignorant of what those that lived at Edinburgh did not know: abundance of people there, friends as well as enemies, had made it their business to find out the real numbers of the Prince's army, but to no purpose; great pains had been taken to conceal it's weakness. Tho' the Prince was almost every day reviewing some of his men, he never made a general review. There were always troops at Leith, Musselburgh, or some villages adjacent, when he reviewed the camp, besides the garrison that remained constantly in the city, and, lest people should reckon them in their different cantonments, they were eternally shifting their quarters, for no other reason than to confound the over-curious. This uncertainty as to the strength of the Prince's army, and the general presumption that it was much stronger than it really was, made the Court of England very cautious and slow in sending Wade to Scotland, and gave the Prince abundance of time to assemble and form his army. But towards the end of October the Prince was resolved to march into England without waiting any longer for a French landing, or even for the arrival of those that were upon their march from the north.

This step will seem somewhat strange, but there were reasons for it, and such as were generally approved of in the council, for the thing was unanimously agreed to there; the chief reason was, that money would soon fail, which would at once ruin the whole affair. The public money that could be come at was not sufficient to pay the army, and private contributions were now at an end; they had indeed been pretty considerable, and a great resource, but people had given in the beginning what they could afford, or were inclined to give, and the supplies from France had been very inconsiderable. Besides, there was such a desertion among the common soldiers, that the army was not in reality so much augmented as people generally imagined, and it was thought nothing but action would put an end to this desertion, which was imputed to idleness and the leisure they had to think on their families they had left, and contemplate the dangers and hardships they had to undergo. Having mentioned the Council, the reader will expect some account of it. The Prince, from the beginning of this expedition, had always consulted the principal people of his army upon every emergency, and nothing of consequence had been done but with their consent. But at Edinburgh a regular Council was formed, and met every day at ten o'clock. The members that composed it in the beginning were the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, Lord Elcho, the Secretary, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr. Sullivan, and the Highland chiefs; by degrees all the colonels of the army were admitted. I must acknowledge that very few of the Members of this Assembly were either able statesmen or experienced officers, but as those that knew least were generally led

by the opinions of those they thought wiser than themselves, and they in their turns had private conferences with the ablest of the Prince's secret friends in Edinburgh, things might have been well enough conducted, had there been as much harmony and union as the importance of the affair required; but an ill-timed emulation soon crept in, and bred great dissension and animosities; the Council was insensibly divided into factions, and came to be of little use when measures were approved of or condemned, not for themselves, but for the sake of their author. These dissensions begun at Edinburgh, continued ever after, and their fatal influence was not always confined to the Council: by degrees it reached the army; and though the Prince's orders were ever respected and punctually obeyed by the army, there was nevertheless a certain discontent and diffidence, which appeared on sundry occasions, especially towards the end, and was very detrimental to his affairs.

The source of this discord, and of all the misfortunes that flowed from it, was the unbounded ambition of Secretary Murray, who from the beginning aimed at nothing less than the whole direction and management of every thing. To this passion he sacrificed what chance there was of a restoration, though that was the foundation upon which all his hopes were built. He had an opportunity of securing the Prince's favour and confidence long enough before he could be rivalled; he was almost the only personal acquaintance the Prince found in Scotland. It was he that had engaged the Prince to make this attempt upon so slight a foundation, and the wonderful success that had hitherto attended it was placed to his account. The Duke of Perth, whose character indeed was well known to the Prince, judging of Murray's heart by his own, entertained the highest opinion of his integrity, went readily into all his schemes, and confirmed the Prince in the esteem he had already conceived for Murray. After Mr. Kelly was gone, there was only Sir Thomas Sheridan and Mr. Sullivan of those that had come along with the Prince that had any thing to say with him, and then Murray had gained entirely of all those that had joined the Prince. Lord George Murray was the man the Secretary dreaded most as a rival. Lord George's birth, age, capacity, and experience would naturally give him great advantage over the Secretary, but the Secretary had got the start of him, and was determined to stick at nothing to maintain his ground; he began by representing Lord George as a traitor to the Prince; he assured him that he had joined on purpose to have an opportunity of delivering him up to the Government. It was hardly possible to guard against this imposture. The Prince had the highest opinion of his Secretary's integrity, and knew little of Lord George Murray. So the calumny had its full effect. Lord George soon came to know the suspicion the Prince had of him, and was affected as one may easily imagine; to be sure nothing could be more shocking to a man of honor, and one that was now for the third time venturing his life and fortune for the royal cause. The Prince was partly undeceived by Lord George's gallant behaviour at the battle, and had Lord George improved that opportunity, he might perhaps have gained the Prince's favour, and got the better of the Secretary; but this haughty and overbearing manner prevented a thorough reconciliation, and seconded the malicious insinuations of his rival. Lord George did not altogether neglect making his court; upon some occasions he was very obsequious and respectful, but had not temper to go through with it. He now and then broke into such violent sallies as the Prince could not digest, though the situation of his affairs forced him to bear with them. The Secretary's station and favour had attached to him such as were confident of success, and had nothing in view but making their fortunes. Nevertheless, Lord George had greater weight and influence in the Council, and generally brought the majority over to his opinion, which so irritated the ambitious Secretary, that he endeavoured all he could to give the Prince a bad impression of the Council itself, and engaged to lay it entirely aside. He had like to have prevailed at Carlisle, but the Council was soon resumed, and continued ever after to be held upon extraordinary emergencies. It was not in this particular only that Murray's ambition was

detrimental to the Prince's affairs. Tho' he was more jealous of Lord George Murray than of any body, Lord George was not the only person he dreaded as a rival. There were abundance of Gentlemen in the army in no respect inferior to Mr. Murray, but his early favour gave him an opportunity of excluding most of them from the Prince's person and acquaintance. All those Gentlemen that joined the Prince after Murray were made known under the character he thought fit to give them, and all employments about the Prince's person, and many in the army, were of his nomination. These he filled with such as he had reason to think would never thwart his measures, but be content to be his tools and creatures, without aspiring higher. Thus, some places of the greatest trust and importance were given to little insignificant fellows, while there were abundance of Gentlemen of figure and merit that had no employment at all, and who might have been of great use, had they been properly employed. Those that Murray had thus placed seconded his little dirty views; it was their interest, too, to keep their betters at a distance from the Prince's person and acquaintance. These were some of the disadvantages the Prince laboured under during this whole expedition; but I shall have frequently occasion hereafter to take notice of them. I must now relate his expedition into England.

As soon as it was resolved upon, a Gentleman was despatched to France to acquaint that Court with the resolution, and hasten the succours already demanded. The plan, when this Gentleman set out, was to march to Newcastle, and give battle to Mr. Wade; if the Prince was victorious, he was to March to London by the east coast, to favour the landing of the French, who were desired to endeavour to land somewhere upon that coast, and with the utmost expedition; there was no time to be lost; if they did not land soon after the Prince entered England, the affair would be decided, and they would come too late.

But this resolution, tho' unanimously taken, was overturned by Lord George Murray, who proposed and carried in the Council sometime after, to take the western road. Perhaps from later accounts of Wade's army, he judged the Prince was not strong enough to seek a battle, and had already in his view to retire out of England if there was no appearance of a French landing, or an insurrection in that country; he that as it will, his opinion prevailed, and it was resolved to take the western road.

The 31st of October was appointed for the army to begin its march. The Prince set out from Holyrood House in the evening; there was an infinite crowd of people assembled to bid him a long farewell. Their concern was now as remarkable for the Prince's departure as their joy had been formerly for his arrival; they were affected with the dangers they apprehended he might be exposed to, and doubtful whether they should ever see him again. The Prince slept that night at Pinkie House, and went next morning to Dalkeith, where one column of his army assembled that day, while the other was on the road to Peebles. It's now time to give the reader a detail of the army and the order of its march.

To begin with the cavalry:—The first troop of his horse guards, commanded by Lord Elcho, consisted of sixty-two Gentlemen and their servants, under five officers; they made in all a hundred and twenty horse: the second troop, commanded by Arthur Elphinston, afterwards Lord Balmerino, was not complete; there were not above forty horse. The Earl of Kilmarnock commanded a little squadron called the horse grenadiers, with whom were incorporated some Perthshire Gentlemen, in absence of their own commander, Lord Strathallan, left Governor of Perth; the whole did not amount to a hundred. Lord Pitsligo was at the head of the Aberdeen and Banffshire Gentlemen, who, with their servants, might make about a hundred and twenty, and there were betwixt seventy and eighty hussars. Secretary Murray, who would have a share at least

of every thing, was their colonel, and they were commanded under him by Mr. Baggot, one of the Irish officers arrived lately from France.

The infantry consisted of thirteen little battalions. As the Highlanders will be commanded by none but their own Chiefs, who will not serve under one another, there must be as many regiments as Clans in a Highland army. There were three regiments of M^{c}Donalds, Clanronalds, Glengarys, and Keppochs, one of Camerons, and one of Stewarts. These five regiments were considerably diminished since the battle by desertion, and their reinforcements were not come up. Three hundred M^{c}Phersons made another regiment. The Athol men were divided into three regiments, which were commonly called the Athol Brigade. The Duke of Perth's regiment, Lord Ogilvie's, Glenbucket's, and Roy Stuart's, made up the thirteen. There were in all about four hundred horse, and four thousand five hundred foot, at setting out upon the English expedition.

This little army marched in two columns, by different roads, to Carlisle. The Athol Brigade, the Duke of Perth's regiment, Lord Ogilvie's, Glenbucket's, and Roy Stuart's regiment, and the greatest part of the horse commanded by the Duke of Perth and Athol, went by Peebles and Moffat, and had along with them the artillery and heavy baggage. The other column, consisting of the Guards and the Clans, set out from Dalkeith the 3rd of November, with the Prince at their head, and was commanded under him by Lord George Murray. The Guards led the van, and the Prince marched on foot at the head of the Clans. People thought it was only for a mile or two to encourage the soldiers at the beginning, and were surprised to see him continue all day, but it was the same every day after, during the whole expedition; in dirty lanes and deep snow he took his chance with the common men, and could seldom be prevailed upon to get on horseback to pass a river. It's not to be imagined how much this manner of bringing himself down to a level with the men, and his affable behaviour to the meanest of them, endeared him to the army. He came to Lauder that night, when hearing that some of the Highlanders had lagged behind, with a view, as was thought, of deserting, he got on horseback next morning, before it was light, went two or three miles back, and brought most of the stragglers up with him. He marched that day to Kelso; the following, while the Clans halted at Kelso, he sent the Guards across the Tweed, not so much to reconnoitre as to amuse the enemy: they went some miles into the country, pointing towards Newcastle, and when they came to a village on English ground, they asked a great many people questions about the quarters and accommodation the army might expect in marching thither. The desire of this motion was to keep Wade in suspense, and prevent his marching to Carlisle, and taking post there. Next day, 6th November, the army crossed the Tweed. The river was hardly fordable, but the men were in high spirits, and when they were up to the middle in water, expressed their alacrity by shouting and discharging their pieces.

The Prince went that night to Jedburgh, and the next day to Haggiehall; the 8th, the Prince entered England, and lay at Ridding. The horse that belonged to the Prince's column went by Hawick and Langholm, and arrived at Longtown the same day. Next morning the Prince marched to Rowchiff, where he crossed the river Eden, and quartered his troops in villages on the west side of Carlisle. The day following the other column arrived, and Carlisle was invested, but the siege was put off for that time, upon a rumour that Wade was marching from Newcastle towards Carlisle.

The Prince immediately resolved to go and meet him, and marched next day to Brampton. The 12th was employed in chusing a field of battle beyond Brampton, on the road to Newcastle; and a party was sent to Haltwissel to get intelligence. By all accounts Wade was still at Newcastle; however, a correspondence was settled at Haltwissel to get early information of his motions, and

the party returned that night to Brampton, where a Council was held, and the siege of Carlisle was resolved upon. The town was again invested the 13th, by the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray with the horse and Lowland regiments. The Prince remained at Brampton with the Clans, to cover the siege. Carlisle is situated on the confines of the river Eden, and a smaller river that runs into it below the town. It is famous in history for the frequent sieges it has sustained. In former times it was reckoned a place of great strength, and one of the keys of England. It's surrounded with a strong wall, flanked with towers, and on the north side of the town is a kind of citadel, seated upon a little eminence, which commands the town and country round. It's a triangular fortification, separated from the town by a good ditch and rampart. Upon the east angle, which is cut off by a good ditch from the Parade, is built the Castle, properly so called, tho' the whole goes generally by that name: It's a large building, and as strong as the thickness of stone walls can make it.

As the Prince had no battering cannon, it was hardly possible to reduce this place if it was well defended; however, as it was a place of great importance in many respects, it must be attempted. The Duke of Perth opened a trench on the east side of the town the same night he returned from Brampton, and in two days began to erect a battery, at sight of which the town desired to capitulate. The Duke of Perth sent their deputy to Brampton to know the Prince's pleasure. The Prince would not accept of the submission of the town, unless the castle surrendered at the same time. He gave them a reasonable time to deliberate upon it, and give an answer, and in the meanwhile the trench begun before the town was carried on towards the castle. But before the time allowed was expired, the castle, as well as the town, surrendered, upon the following conditions:—" That the liberty and property of the inhabitants, and all the privileges of the town, should be inviolably preserved, and that the garrison, consisting of several hundreds of militia, and some invalids, should be allowed to retire, having promised, upon oath, not to carry arms against the Prince for a twelvemonth; on the other hand, that all the arms and ammunition then in the place, and all the horses belonging to the militia, should be delivered up to the Prince. This capitulation was signed by the Duke of Perth, and Colonel Durand, who had been sent from London to command at Carlisle upon this occasion, he made but a sorry defence. If he was master of the garrison he might have held out a long time.

The Prince's artillery consisted, indeed, of thirteen pieces of cannon, but they were only from two to four pounders, and could never have made a breach; but such was the reputation of the Prince's army and councils at that time, that it was enough for him to undertake a thing briskly to make every body believe he knew how to compass it. Though there was a constant fire from the town while this little siege lasted, there was but one man killed, and another wounded, in the Prince's army. The 17th, the Prince made his entry into Carlisle, under a discharge of all the artillery; and the King was proclaimed the day following. The people of Carlisle seemed generally disaffected, but all expressed their sense of the great civility and amity with which they had been treated by the Duke of Perth, who commanded in the town till the Prince arrived. This command of the Duke of Perth's had like to have had bad consequences. It was not so much relished by some of the Prince's friends as it had been by his enemies. It seems it had not gone well down with Lord George Murray, for about the time Carlisle surrendered he had resigned his commission of Lt General, and acquainted the Prince that henceforth he would serve as a volunteer. It would be rash in me to pretend to determine whether ambition or zeal for the Prince's service determined Lord George to take this step, or if both had a share in it, which was predominant: it belongs only to the Searcher of hearts to judge of an action which might have proceeded from very different motives. The Duke of Perth was an older Lt General than Lord George Murray. Hitherto they had had separate commands, and did not interfere with one another till this siege, where the Duke of Perth acted as principal commander, having directed the attack, signed the capitulation, and given orders

in the town till the Prince arrived. This was a precedent for the rest of the campaign. It was perhaps not agreeable to Lord George to serve under the Duke of Perth, who was certainly much inferior to him in years and experience. He thought himself the fittest man in the army to be at the head of it; and he was not the only person that thought so. Had it been left to the gentlemen of the army to choose a general, Lord George would have carried it by vast odds against the Duke of Perth. But there was another pretext, which was more insisted upon as less offensive to the Duke of Perth, who was much beloved and esteemed even by those who did not wish to see him at the head the army, and that was his religion which they said made him incapable of having any command in England. It was upon this the greatest stress was laid by those that complained of the Duke's command. They said that in England Roman Catholics were excluded from all employments, civil and military, by laws anterior to the revolution; that these laws, whether reasonable or not, ought to subsist, until they were repealed; that a contrary conduct, without a visible necessity for it, would confirm all that had been spread of old from the pulpit, and from the press, of the Prince's designs to overturn the Constitution both of Church and State; that indeed the Prince, in his present circumstances, could not be blamed for allowing a Roman Catholic the command of a regiment he had raised, or even a more extensive command, if a superiority of genius and military experience entitled him to it; but these reasons could not be alleged for the Duke of Perth. A good deal to this purpose was commonly talked in the army, and by some people with great warmth. A gentleman who had been witness to such conversation, and dreaded nothing so much as dissension in a cause that could never succeed but by unanimity, resolved to speak to the Duke of Perth upon this ungrateful subject. He had observed that those that were loudest in their complaints were least inclined to give themselves any trouble in finding out a remedy. The Duke, who at this time was happy, but not elevated upon his success, reasoned very coolly on the matter. He could never be convinced that it was unreasonable that he should have the principal command, but when it was represented to him, that since that opinion prevailed, whether well or ill founded, the Prince's affairs might equally suffer, he took his resolution in a moment, said he never had any thing in view but the Prince's interest, and would cheerfully sacrifice every thing to it. And he was as good as his word, for he took the first opportunity of acquainting the Prince with the complaints that were against him, insisted upon being allowed to give up his command, and to serve henceforth at the head of his regiment. A plain narrative of the Duke of Perth's behaviour on this delicate occasion is the best encomium that can be made of it. By this means Lord George Murray, who had resumed his place, became general of the army under the Prince; for his brother, the Duke of Athol, who was in a bad state of health, took nothing upon him. But the misunderstandings in the council did not end with the Duke of Perth's command; the rancour betwixt Lord George and the Secretary still continued, though it did not break out upon every occasion, and sometimes gave way to the common cause, particularly when the whole seemed to be at stake.

After the reduction of Carlisle, it was resolved, in a Council held there, to set out for London by the Lancashire road. It was a bold undertaking. The army was now reduced to four thousand four hundred men. Two or three hundred were to be left in Carlisle, under the command of John Hamilton, who was made governor, and about as many had deserted since the army marched from Edinburgh. There were at this time in England above sixty thousand men in arms, including the militia and new raised regiments; but the Prince had hitherto a wonderful run of success. He had great hopes of a French army landing, and of an insurrection in his favour. It would perhaps have been the wisest course to remain at Carlisle, and order up his reinforcements that were now got the length of Perth; but I don't find that any body insisted upon this in the Council.

The 21st, the Prince began his march from Carlisle, and came to Penrith that night. He had

certain intelligence that Wade had marched from Newcastle, and was encamped at Hexham, upon which he halted a day at Penrith, determined to go and fight him, if he advanced towards Carlisle; but Lord Kilmarnock, who was posted with his horse at Brampton, sent word that Wade was gone back to Newcastle, upon which the Prince marched to Kendal the 23rd. The van of the army had come thither the day before, and went that day to Burton. The 24th, the Prince came to Lancaster, where he halted. The 25th, the van of the army went that day to Garstong. The 26th, the whole army came to Preston. It was absolutely necessary to divide this little army for the convenience of quarters. The tents that had been provided at Edinburgh had been left on the road from Moffat to Carlisle, and lost. But the season was so severe, that it was impossible for the men to lie abroad in the open fields; so that the army could never be together but in towns that were large enough to afford quarters; it marched generally in two divisions, the second sometimes occupying the quarters of the first; but where the country would admit of it, there was but half a day's march betwixt them. The order of marching from Carlisle to Derby was as follows:—Lord George Murray commanded the first division, consisting of the low country regiments, such were generally called all except the clans, tho' the greatest part were Highlanders by their language, and all by their dress, for the Highland garb was the uniform of the whole army. Lord Elcho's guards marched always at the head of this division, and the foot regiments had the van by turns. The Prince commanded the second division in person, it consisted of the rest of the horse and the clans, who likewise had the van by turns. A part of the horse marched at the head of this division, and the rest brought up the rear of the whole army. The Prince halted a day at Preston, where he was joined by Mr. Townly, Mr. Vaughan, and Mr. Morgan, and a few common men. He had been informed on the road betwixt Lancaster and Preston that the enemy had broken down Warrington Bridge, and it was an argument of their weakness, at least of their fear, and gave great encouragement; but I don't believe it was what determined him to go to Manchester, as he could have forded the river a good deal lower. I rather think he took that route, because he had been assured that Manchester was well inclined, and that an insurrection was as likely to begin there as in any town in England.

The Prince left Preston the 28th, and marched with the main body to Wiggan; a part of what made generally the first division took the road to Leigh, and next day the whole army entered Manchester, while acclamations, bonfires and illuminations expressed the good wish of the inhabitants. The Prince had met nothing like this since his reception at Edinburgh. When the Bang was proclaimed at Preston, some of the inhabitants joined in the acclamations begun by the army; but nothing looked like a general concurrence till he came to Manchester. The Prince halted there the 30th, and was joined by some young men of the most reputable families in the town, several substantial tradesmen and farmers, and above a hundred common men; these and the few English that had joined before were formed into one corps, which was called the Manchester Regiment, and the command of it was given to Mr. Townly, who had been formerly in the French service. Though the Prince's reception at Manchester and this new regiment gave great encouragement to the army in general, there were nevertheless a few who had still a very bad opinion of the affair. I have been very well informed that a retreat was talked of at Manchester, and I believe Lord George Murray had it all along in his view, if there was no insurrection in England and no landing from France. One of his friends, that knew his mind, told Lord George Murray at Manchester, that he thought they had entered far enough, since neither of these had happened. Lord George said they might make a farther trial, and go the length of Derby, and if there was not greater encouragement to go on, he would propose a retreat to the Prince.

The first day of December, the Prince marched from Manchester to Macclesfield. He halted there next day, while Lord George Murray advanced with his division to Congleton. Lord George

sent Colonel Ker that night with a party towards Newcastle-under-line to get intelligence of the enemy, supposed to be thereabouts. Colonel Ker came to a village within three miles of Newcastle, and had almost surprised a party of dragoons, who got the alarm just time enough to get off. He took only one Weir, a noted spy, who had been at Edinburgh all the time the Prince was there, and had always kept at a small distance before the army in its march, to give intelligence of all his motions; he was immediately known to be the same fellow that had been employed in that business in Flanders the year before. It was proposed to hang him immediately in punishment of what he had done, and to prevent the mischief he might do in case the Prince did not succeed; but the Prince could not be brought to consent; he still insisted that Weir was not strictly speaking a spy, since he was not found in the army in disguise. I cannot tell whether the Prince on this occasion was guided by his opinion or by his inclination; I suspect the latter, because it was his constant practice to spare his enemies when they were in his power. I don't believe there was one instance to the contrary to be found in his whole expedition. Colonel Ker got certain intelligence in this village that at least a considerable body of the enemy was at Newcastle. General Ligonier had been for sometime assembling an army in these parts. He had fallen sick, and was retired; upon which Prince William of Hanover, commonly called Duke of Cumberland, and whom hereafter I shall call by that name, was come to command. Upon the third, that part of the Prince's army that had been at Congleton marched by Leeck to Ashborn, and the Prince with the rest came from Macclesfield to Leeck, where, considering the distance of the two columns of his army, and the neighbourhood of the enemy, he thought his situation somewhat ticklish. It was possible for the enemy, by a night march, to get betwixt the two columns: to cut off all possibility of that, he set out from Leeck, about midnight, and arrived in the morning at Ashborn, whence the whole army marched in a body to Derby. From Manchester to Derby the country seemed pretty well affected. As the army marched along, the roads, in many places, were lined with numbers of country people, who showed their loyalty by bonefires, acclamations, white cockades, and the like. One would have thought that the Prince was now at the crisis of his adventure; that his fate, and the fate of the three kingdoms, must be decided in a few days. He was within ninety miles of London, and within a day's march of the Duke of Cumberland, who was then at Lichfield, whither that part of his army that had been at Newcastle had retreated. Mr. Wade was moving up with his army along the west side of Yorkshire, and was about this time about Ferry Bridge, within two or three days march; so that the Prince was, with a handful of brave, indeed, but undisciplined men, betwixt two armies of regular troops, one of them above double, and the other almost double his number. Upon his arrival at Derby, he resolved to halt next day to give some rest to his men, who had made a forced march, and take the advice of his Council about what was to be done in this critical juncture. It was observed that the army never was in better spirits than while at Derby. When the Council met next morning, Lord George Murray represented to the Prince and his Councillors that they had marched so far into England depending upon French succours, or an insurrection in the country, neither of which had happened; that the Prince's army, by itself, was by no means a match for the troops the Elector of Hanover had got together; that, besides Wade's army, that was coming up in the rear, and was ten thousand strong, and the Duke of Cumberland's, which was in front, and was said to consist of between seven and eight thousand, there was a third army forming about London, and that the smallest of the three exceeded the Prince's army in numbers, and they were all veteran troops; that suppose the Prince should beat the first of these armies he should engage, he might be undone by a victory; should he lose a thousand or fifteen hundred of the best of his men, the rest would be altogether unfit to engage a fresh army, which must happen a few days after; that if he was routed in that country, he and all his friends must unavoidably be killed or taken: he observed

that the Prince had still a good after game if he retired to Scotland, where Lord John Drummond was landed with his own regiment and some Irish troops from France; that these, with the Highlanders already assembled at Perth, made an army at least as good as that which the Prince had along with him; that since the Court of France had begun to send troops it was to be hoped it would send considerable succours, but since the first had landed in Scotland it was probable the rest would take the same route; that if the Prince was cut off, all the succours France could send would avail nothing, and the King's affairs were ruined for ever; that the Prince had no chance of beating an enemy so vastly superior to him, but by the English troops being seized with a panic, and running away at sight of the Highlanders, which was barely possible, but was not to be depended upon; in fine, that success itself would hardly justify such an undertaking, but that retreat, which was still possible, and of which he offered to undertake the conduct, would give the Prince a much better chance of succeeding than a battle in these circumstances, and do him as much honour as a victory. The Prince, naturally bold and enterprising, and hitherto successful in every thing, was shocked with the mention of a retreat. Since he set out from Edinburgh he had never had a thought but of going on and fighting every thing he found in his way to London. He had the highest idea of the bravery of his own men, and a despicable opinion of his enemies: he had hitherto had reason for both, and was confirmed in these notions by some of those that were nearest his person,—these sycophants, more intent upon securing his favour than promoting his interest, were eternally saying whatever they thought would please, and never hazarded a disagreeable truth.

Nevertheless, the Prince, finding the far greatest part of the Council of Lord George's opinion, yielded at last, but with great reluctancy; and the retreat was resolved upon. After the Council was dismissed, some of those that had voted against the retreat, and the Secretary, who had spoken warmly for it in private conversation with the Prince, condemned this resolution, and endeavoured to instil some suspicion of the courage or fidelity of those that had promoted it. The Prince was easily persuaded that he had been too complaisant in consenting to a retreat, but would not retract the consent he had given, unless he could bring back those to whom he had given it over to his own sentiments, which he hoped he might be able to do, since the Secretary had altered his. opinion. With this view he called another meeting of the Council in the evening, but found all the rest to a man firm in their former sentiments, upon which the Prince gave up a second time his own opinion and inclination to the advice and desire of his Council. From this time the Secretary ceased to be in odour of sanctity with those that were not highly prejudiced in his favour. The little knave appeared plainly in his conduct on this occasion. He argued strenuously for the retreat, because he thought it the only prudent measure, till he found it was carried by a great majority, and would certainly take place, and then he condemned it to make his court to the Prince, to whom it was very disagreeable, and lay the odium upon other people, particularly Lord George, whom he endeavoured to blacken on every occasion. Some people will wonder that this barefaced conduct did not open the Prince's eyes as to the baseness of Murray's heart; but, if we consider that Murray was in the highest degree of favour, the steps by which he rose to it, and the arts he used to maintain himself, and exclude every body that could come in competition with him, he will easily conceive how he got the better of any suspicions his behaviour might have created at this time. Peoples' sentiments have been much divided about this retreat. There are not a few who still think the Prince would have carried his point had he gone on from Derby; they build much upon the confusion there was at London, and the panic which prevailed among the Elector's troops at this juncture. It's impossible to decide, with any degree of certainty, whether he would or would not have succeeded,—that depended upon the disposition of the army and of the city of London, ready

to declare for the Prince. What could he do with four thousand four hundred men, suppose he got to London, whatever were the dispositions of the army and the city? It's certain the Prince had no intelligence from either. This leads me to examine the conduct of the Prince's friends in England. The cry was general against them about this time in the Prince's army, and they are still exclaimed against by foreigners, who having but a very superficial knowledge of these affairs, conclude that either the English are all become Hanoverians, or, if there are still some that have an English heart, they must be strangely degenerated, since they did not lay hold of this opportunity of shaking off the German yoke. Tho' I am convinced the Prince had a great many well-wishers in England, and tho' it's my opinion that he would have succeeded had they all declared for him, nevertheless, I cannot join in the cry against them, no more than I can condemn abundance of his friends in Scotland who did not join him. I have told elsewhere upon what a slender foundation this Expedition was undertaken. Murray had imposed upon the Prince, and hurried him into it, without concerting any thing with England. The English had always insisted upon a body of regular troops, not under seven and not above twelve thousand effective men. They saw the Prince in England with a handful of militia, which, they could never think a match for thirty thousand regular troops. It's true the English have, in former times, taken arms upon less encouragement and less provocation than they had met with of late, but in those days the common people in England were accustomed to arms, and the insurgents were as good soldiers as any that could be brought against them. Under the Hanoverian government the people had been disarmed and overawed by armies of well disciplined troops. There is artificial or acquired courage, as well as natural; the latter is confined to a small number, and the former is only got by the use of arms and practice of war, both which the common people of England are utter strangers to. When I said it was my opinion that a general insurrection of the Prince's friends in England would have done the business, I did not mean that they would, in the beginning, have had an equal chance against regular troops, but it's probable that it would have had great influence upon the army itself, perhaps have occasioned a considerable defection there, and been a vast resource in case the war had continued. But such an insurrection was almost impossible without being previously concerted. Before they could guess what was the Prince's plan, the militia was armed in every county for the service of the Established Government, all passes guarded, and suspected persons narrowly watched; by this means an insurrection would have been crushed before it was well begun. As for these counties through which the Prince's army passed, there was certainly too little pains taken. Some schemes were given in to get both men and arms very early, but the Secretary and his assistants had already too much business with the management of the army, small as it was. They had no leisure to pursue methods of increasing it, and they dreaded nothing so much as the assistance of other people. But to return to the Prince and his army.

The retreat was begun the 6th. To conceal it from the enemy as long as possible, a party of horse was ordered to advance some miles towards them, while the army took the road to Ashborn, and to keep the army in suspense, powder and ball were distributed as before an action, and it was insinuated that Wade was at hand, and they were going to fight him; but when the soldiers found themselves on the road to Ashborn, they began to suspect the truth, and seemed extremely dejected. All had expressed the greatest ardour upon hearing at Derby that they were within a day's march of the Duke of Cumberland; they were at a loss what to think of this re treat, of which they did not know the real motives; but even such as knew them, and thought the retreat the only reasonable scheme, could hardly be reconciled to it. When it was question of putting it in practice, another artifice was thought of to amuse them: It was given out that the reinforcements expected from Scotland were on the road, and had already entered England; that Wade was endeavouring to

intercept them, and the Prince was marching to their relief; that as soon as they had joined him, he would resume his march to London. This pretext was plausible. A gentleman had been sent from Carlisle to order them to follow, and nobody knew any thing certain to the contrary, for there were no news directly from Scotland. It was insinuated that they would probably meet these reinforcements about Preston or Lancaster, and this prospect kept up their spirits. The hopes of returning immediately made them somewhat easy under their present disappointment, but still all was sullen and silent that whole day. The army lay that night at Ashborn, and came next day to Leek, which being too small to lodge the whole, Lord Elcho's and Lord Pitsligo's horse, and Ogilvy's and Roy Stuart's regiments of foot, went on to Macclesfield. The 8th, the army came to Macclesfield, and those that had been there went to Stockport. The 9th, the two divisions met on the road to Manchester, and entered that town in a body. There had been a good deal of mobbing and confusion in Manchester the day before. The Hanoverian mob, reinforced by great numbers of country people in arms, had been very outrageous to the Prince's friends, and seemed determined to dispute his passage; but upon the first appearance of the Prince's van, the mob was dispersed, and all was quiet when he entered the town. This insolence had been occasioned by the first news of the Prince's retreat, which the common people imputed to a defeat, or some sudden panic that had seized the army. They imagined all was over, that the whole army was turning homewards a la debandade; but the order and regularity of the retreat soon undeceived them. A gentleman's servant that had gone aside was barbarously murdered nigh Stockport by some of the militia, who had ventured out of their lurking holes. But the army met with no farther disturbance till the Duke of Cumberland came up with the rear guard at Clifton, near Penrith; what happened there shall be told in its proper place. From Manchester the Prince marched to Wiggan, and then to Preston, where he halted the 12th. Though he had consented to a retreat, he had not lost sight of his first project; but finding no accounts of his friends from Scotland, he was afraid they had not received the orders he sent them from Carlisle, and had not begun their march from Perth. Upon his arrival at Preston, he despatched the Duke of Perth to Scotland to bring them up with the utmost expedition. He was resolved to retire no further than till he met them, and then march directly for London, be the consequence what it would. In the meantime, a safe retreat was the object, and every body's attention. Hitherto there had been little or no danger; it was impossible for the enemy to come up with the Prince's army before it reached Preston, unless the militia of the county had broke down or defended Ribble Bridge, there was no danger, but betwixt Preston and Carlisle it was possible for the enemy's cavalry to come up with the Prince's army during that march, and what was still easier and more to be apprehended, Wade and his whole army might get to Penrith before the Prince. Nevertheless, this retreat into Scotland was not so hazardous as it may appear to those that consider the V Prince's position at Derby, without knowing his resources, though it required great conduct and circumspection to make the right use of them. To have a just notion of the whole of this affair, the reader must have some idea of the situation of the country. The north of England is divided by a ridge of mountains that reach from Scotland almost to Derby. This mountainous track separates Cumberland from Northumberland, and Lancashire from Yorkshire, and comprehends almost the whole country of Westmoreland. There is no high road along these mountains from north to south, and but a few passages from east to west, and those not very easy in winter for the train that attends a regular army. By the measures that were taken at Derby, the Prince was sure of at least one day's march before Wade could come to any resolution; it was even probable he would wait the Duke of Cumberland's orders before he would move, so that the Prince would get to Lancaster before Wade could pass the mountains, if he marched by Skipton or by Settle; by either of these passages he would lose two day's march in crossing the country. The only

thing that was to be apprehended from Wade was, that he might march his army straight to Penrith, in Cumberland. As the road was exceeding good, and hardly any detour, he might have got to Penrith at least a day before the Prince, and by taking an advantageous post, laid the Prince under great inconveniences. But even in that case, the Prince would have it in his option either to fight his way through Wade's army, or at worst abandoning his cannon and heavy baggage, betake himself to the mountains, where he could not be followed by regular troops, and carry his men at least safe into Scotland. Cumberland and his army there was little to be dreaded from them; the Prince had so much the start of that army, that the foot could not come up with him before he got to Carlisle, where he could make a stand, and act according to the news he got of his friends in Scotland. As to the horse of the Duke of Cumberland's army, they could never hurt foot that retired in good order, and were not afraid of them. If I have dwelt a little on this subject, it's to give the reader a general plan of this retreat, which is one of the most remarkable parts of the Prince's expedition. I come now to the execution of it. The Prince marched from Preston the 13th, and arrived at Lancaster, where he halted likewise a day. This halt was unnecessary, and perhaps imprudent; it was represented to the Prince that if Wade's army had taken the road to Lancaster, it would have time to come up, and he might be forced to a battle, which ought now to be avoided, till he was reinforced; but the Prince was inflexible in this point, he would show the world he was retiring and not flying, and if the enemy came up he would give them battle; and to be ready for it, he sent Lord George Murray and some other officers to chuse a field for it. That whole day the Prince had reconnoitring parties on the road to Preston; some of them fell in with some of the enemy, who fled at first sight of them; but they were closely pursued, and two of them were taken and brought to Lancaster; they were of those they called Rangers, clothed in green. It was from them the Prince had the first accounts of the enemy's motions; he learnt that part of Wade's cavalry had entered Preston a few hours after he had left it, and had advanced to Garstang the same day; that the whole cavalry of both armies was in full march, and would be up in a day or two. This made the Prince pretty secure against the greatest danger. I mean the danger of being intercepted at Penrith; for if that had been Wade's intention, he would not have sent his cavalry into Lancashire, whence it could not come to join him but through the Prince's army. The 15th, the Prince continued his march. The rear of his army had hardly got out of Lancaster when some of the enemy's horse entered it; they followed two or three miles, appeared frequently in small parties, but attempted nothing; and the army got to Kendal without any other disturbance than being obliged once to halt, and the rear guard to form, upon the approach of the enemy. That night the Duke of Perth rejoined the army. I have mentioned his being sent from Preston, and the business he was sent upon. He took along with him an escort of seventy or eighty horse. He was attacked as he passed through Kendal by a mob, which he soon dispersed by firing on them, and continued his journey, till he was attacked in a more serious manner, not far from Penrith, by a considerable body of militia, both horse and foot, and being vastly outnumbered, was obliged to retreat back to Kendal. From the information the prisoners had given, and the appearance the enemy had made, it was easy to judge that their whole cavalry would come up with the Prince's army before it could reach Carlisle at the ordinary rate of marching, and for any thing any body knew the infantry of both Wade's and Cumberland's armies might be following; in that case it was to be apprehended that the cavalry might so harass and retard the march of the Prince's army as to give the infantry time to come up. Lord George Murray represented these dangers, and proposed to avoid them, by sacrificing the cannon and all the heavy baggage to the safety of the men, which was now at stake. He observed that the country is mountainous betwixt Kendal and Penrith, and the roads in many places very difficult for such carriages; but the Prince was positive not to leave a single piece of his cannon; he

would rather fight both their armies than give such an argument of fear and weakness. He gave peremptory orders that the march should be continued in the same order as hitherto, and not a single carriage be left at Kendal. The 16th, the army came to Shap, and was quartered there and in the neighbouring villages; but the rear being encumbered with the artillery and heavy baggage, got no further than a farm-house four miles from Kendal. The 17th, the army came to Penrith, and the rear guard to Shap. During the Prince's march from Kendal to Penrith no enemy appeared, except some parties of militia, which kept at a considerable distance. They had got advice that the Prince's army was quite dispersed in the south; that there were not a hundred men in a body together; and orders had been sent them to assemble, and take or destroy all they could find. It was this had encouraged them to oppose the Duke of Perth and his escort, whom they took for the Prince, and now their numbers were much increased. But they were soon undeceived, and dispersed at sight of the Prince's army. The 18th, Lord George Murray marched from Shap to join the Prince at Penrith. That whole day there were parties of the enemy's light horse hovering about the rear as it marched along. Once a considerable body formed and seemed resolved to attempt something, but galloped off when the Highlanders faced about and began to advance towards them. When Lord George got to Clifton he sent the artillery and heavy baggage on to Penrith, and a battalion of foot, with a few horse, to scour Lowther Park, in hopes of finding some of the light horse about Lord Lonsdale's house: this party made two prisoners, one of them a footman belonging to the Duke of Cumberland. The prisoners told Lord George that the Duke was within a mile, with betwixt three and four thousand regular horse, besides light horse and militia. Lord George finding himself in a pretty good post, was in no hurry to retire. He had along with him the McDonalds of Glengary, the M^{c}Phersons, and the Stuarts of Appin, with a part of his men: he occupied the village, and placed the rest along the lane that leads to it: he sent advice to the Prince, who ordered out some battalions to sustain him in the meantime. The enemy began to appear and form upon an open moor facing Clifton. They seemed to be a very considerable body, but not so many as the prisoners had said. As soon as they were all arrived and drawn up, some troops of dragoons dismounted and advanced towards the post of the Highlanders, and a smart fire ensued on both sides. Lord George Murray was very sensible that regular troops must have the advantage of Highlanders in the use of fire arms, but he thought fit to let them advance among the lanes and hedges till they could not be supported by their friends on horseback, then he ordered the Macphersons, with whom he was, to attack, sword in hand, which they performed with great bravery and success. In an instant they brushed through a hedge that separated them from the dragoons, who at first made some resistance, but were soon driven, with great slaughter, out of the lane they occupied, and closely pursued, till they got to the moor, where their main body was drawn up. In this scuffle the Macphersons lost but twelve men. It was thought there were no less than a hundred of the enemy killed or wounded, and among them some officers. Lord George Murray remained upon the spot till it was quite dark, when, finding there was no appearance of a second attack, he marched off in good order, and joined the Prince at Penrith, whence the whole army set out that night, and got to Carlisle next day before noon. No enemy appeared that whole day, save only a few light horse, who kept at a great distance from the parties the Prince had patrolling on the road to Penrith. It seems the Duke of Cumberland did not at that time incline to come to a pitched battle, but only to take advantage of the disorder he supposed would be in the rear of a retreating army of militia. He had tried their mettle at Clifton, and his curiosity was satisfied. The Prince found letters at Carlisle from Lord John Drummond and Lord Strathallan. The former gave great encouragement from the court of France, and the latter a very good account of the army assembled in that country, which he said was certainly better than that which the Prince had along with him. Lord John Drummond told the

Prince, among other things, that it was the King of France's desire that his R. Highness should proceed with great caution, and, if possible, avoid a decisive action till he received the succours he intended to send him, which would be such as would put his success beyond all doubt; that, in the meantime, he had brought over a few troops and a train of artillery sufficient to reduce all the fortresses in Scotland. These letters were of an old date when the Prince received them, and as there were no late accounts from those parts, he hoped these troops and artillery had not been idle. There was even a rumour at Carlisle that Stirling Castle was taken, but there were no certain accounts of any thing. A Council was called, and it was unanimously determined to march into Scotland, and join all the Prince's forces together. The encouragement given from France was an argument against all desperate measures. Nevertheless, the Prince was still full of the thoughts of returning to England as soon as he had assembled all those that were actually in arms for him; and he resolved to leave a garrison in Carlisle to facilitate his entry into that kingdom. The Manchester regiment, and about two hundred more draughted ones of other corps, were appointed to remain at Carlisle. The government of the Castle was continued to Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Townley was made Commandant of the town. This was perhaps the worst resolution the Prince had taken hitherto. I cannot help condemning it, though there were specious pretexts for it. It was, to be sure, much for the Prince's reputation, upon leaving England to keep one of the keys of it; and he was in hopes of returning before it could be taken; but he could not be absolutely sure of that; and the place was not tenable against a few pieces of battering cannon, or a few mortars. It's true he had a good many prisoners in Scotland, and might look upon them as pledges for the lives of those he left in garrison; but that was not enough. He did not know what kind of people he had to deal with, and he ought to be prepared against the worst that could happen. The lives of so many of his friends ought not to have been exposed without an indispensible necessity, which was not the case; for blowing up the castle and the gates of the town would have equally given him an entry into England. I might have spared this reflection, and would have done so, had I been writing the Prince's panegyric, but as I am writing history I must be allowed to blame as well as to praise those I have occasion to speak of, be they princes or private men. It was thought proper to leave Carlisle the day after the Prince arrived there, though the Duke of Cumberland could attempt nothing without infantry. The river Esk was in the Prince's way to Scotland. It was fordable at this time; but a few hours rain might render it impassible for several days, and there is no bridge, so that the least delay might confine the Prince at Carlisle till his enemy became superior to him; besides, he was impatient to know the exact state of his affairs in the North, and particularly whether his friends had passed the Forth, upon which his next operations depended. He set out from Carlisle the 20th, and passed the Esk with great difficulty, but without losing a man. There the army separated. Lord George Murray, with the Athol brigade, Ogilvie's and Roy Stuart's regiments, went to Ecclefechan that night, and next day to Moffat. The Prince, at the head of the Clans, marched to Annan. The horse of the Prince's division, after a short halt at Annan, were sent to take possession of Dumfries, which they did early next morning, and the Prince, with the Clans, came up from Annan in the evening. The Prince having halted a day at Dumfries, marched to Drumlanrigg, and thence by Leadhills to Douglas, and from Douglas to Hamilton, where he halted a day, waiting for the stragglers, and made his entry into Glasgow, the 26th, on foot, at the head of the Clans. Lord George Murray, with his divisions, had taken possession of the town the day before. Here the Prince resolved to give some days rest to his army, which really stood in need of it, after such a long march performed in the severest season; though the fatigue had been sometimes excessive, few complaints were ever heard. The Prince's example contributed not a little to the alacrity and cheerfulness the common men expressed on all occasions. After a few days

the Prince reviewed his army on Glasgow Green, and had the satisfaction to find he had lost very few men during this expedition. It was the first general review he had made since he left the Highlands. Hitherto he had carefully concealed his weakness; but now thinking himself sure of doubling his army in a few days, he was not unwilling to let the world see with what a handful of men he had penetrated so far into England, and retired almost without any loss. It was indeed a very extraordinary expedition, whether we consider the boldness of the undertaking, or the conduct in the execution.

Two days after the Prince left Carlisle, the Duke of Cumberland invested it, and having got from Whitehaven some eighteen pounders, began to batter that part of the wall that is towards the Irish Gate. There was as yet no breach, when the Governor desired to capitulate; but the Duke of Cumberland would grant no terms, they must submit to his father's clemency, to which he would recommend them. The Governor called a council of all the officers to deliberate upon what was to be done. Townley and several others were for defending themselves to the last extremity, rather than give themselves up prisoners at discretion; and they were in the right. They might have held out several days, perhaps obtained terms, and would at any time have been allowed to lay down their arms; but the Governor, and a few that adhered to him, presumed upon the clemency of the father, to which the son was to recommend them, and surrendered upon this condition only, that they should not be stripped by the soldiers. Thus the Prince lost Carlisle, with upwards of three hundred men, among whom were some good officers and a great many brave fellows. The accounts of this misfortune was brought to him before he left Glasgow, by two officers of the garrison, who had made their escape over the walls after the capitulation was signed. The army would have been more affected with this loss, but for the news of a victory gained by Lord Lewis Gordon over McLeods at Inverury, which came to Glasgow a few days before the other. The first accounts of this action made it more considerable than it really was; but even when the truth was known, it was found to be a thing of some importance in itself, and the reputation of a victory is always of great consequence, particularly in civil wars. To understand the situation of affairs in the north, and what gave the occasion to the action at Inverury, we must look back to the time the Prince marched out of the Highlands. About that time, Duncan Forbes, Esquire, Lord President of the Session, proposed to Sir John Cope to send some notable man to Inverness, who might, under the protection of that fort and garrison, assemble a body of forces for the service of the Government. He knew the people of that country were generally friends to the family of Stuart, and that abundance of them would rise and join the Prince, if they were not overawed by a strong party at Inverness. Sir John Cope approved of the proposal, but being at a loss to find a proper person, the President offered his service, which being accepted of, he went to Inverness. Sir J. Cope left him there when he marched south. The President was soon joined by the Earl of Loudon, who had a commission to raise a regiment in that country. In a short time they got together about two thousand men, of which the M^{c}Leods made part, with their chief at their head. It's certain this body was of vast service to the established government. While it was at Inverness, it was impossible for those that lived beyond that town to rise; they must be crushed before they could assemble and be in a position of defence. I cannot help taking notice, by the bye, that the Earl of Loudon and the President, who were more useful to Government than any two men in that Island, behaved all along like men of honor, and their attachment to their cause never made them forget the duty of humanity. I am sorry that the behaviour of so many of my countrymen has given room for this observation. While Lord Loudon was busy at Inverness, Lord Lewis Gordon had been very active in Aberdeenshire, raising men and money for the Prince's service. He had got together about eight or nine hundred men, and had taken up his quarters at Aberdeen. Lord Loudon, at the desire

of some of the inhabitants of that town, sent M^{c}Leods with a strong detachment to dislodge Lord Lewis Gordon, who hearing he was come to Inverury, marched from Aberdeen with great expedition and secresy, and had like to have surprised him in his quarters. However, McLeods got notice, and had time enough to get his men under arms, and occupy some advantageous posts in the town, from which they were very soon driven, and all took to their heels; the night coming on stopped the pursuit, and favoured the escape of the runaways, who never halted till they got to the other side of Spey, which had been before and still continued to be the boundary betwixt Lord Loudon and Lord Lewis. There were but a few killed or wounded on either side, and not many prisoners; but the name of victory gave great encouragement to the Prince's friends, and the facility with which it had been obtained gave every body a despicable opinion of his enemies.

The Prince, upon his arrival at Glasgow, had despatched a gentleman to Perth to get a particular state of his affairs in that country. When he found that his forces were so widely scattered that it would be a considerable time before they could all join him, he altered his plan, and laying aside for some time the project of returning to England, he resolved upon the sieges of Stirling and Edinburgh Castles; he depended upon the artillery and engineers Lord John Drummond had brought along with him, and upon repeated assurances he gave him of French succours. Having determined to begin with Stirling, he sent orders to Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord John Drummond, the Earl of Cromarty, Lord Strathallan, and other commanders in these parts, to assemble their men and join him.

He marched from Glasgow the fourth of January 1746 to Kilsyth, and the day following to Bannockburn, where he took up his quarters. A part of the army was cantoned in that neighbourhood. Lord George, with the Clans, took possession of Falkirk. Lord Elcho was posted at Elphinstone, Lord Pitsligo at Airth, and Lord Kilmarnock at Callender. The town of Stirling made show of standing out, till a battery of a few field pieces was erected, and began to fire, which determined the Magistrates to submit and open the gates, upon which that part of the army that had been cantoned in the adjacent villages was quartered in the town. There was some dispute among the engineers about the manner of attacking the Castle; at length it was resolved to carry a trench from the southern side of the town up to the Gowan-hill, and there raise a battery against the curtain or stone wall where the rock seems to be deficient. The situation of this Castle is very like that of Edinburgh; at the upper end of the town, upon a steep rock, and hardly accessible on any side but towards the town, where it's fortified with several works, and on this where the attack was resolved. In the meantime, the artillery was on the road from Montrose. There was no way of getting it to Stirling, the enemy having broken down that bridge long ago, but by Alloa, where it might be embarked, carried up the river, and landed on the other side. With this view a vessel had been seized at Airth, and carried up to Alloa, where there happened to be no ships at that time. There were two more at Airth, but they could not be launched before the spring-tides, and in the meantime a couple of long boats well manned were sent up from Leith to burn them, which they executed almost, without opposition; there was so much water that none of the Prince's men could get to their relief, though too little to set them afloat. All that could be done was to fire from the shore, which had no effect. It was to be apprehended that those that commanded in the road of Leith and would send up some of their small craft to Alloa, and set fire to the only vessel the Prince had, or could now get to transport his artillery. To prevent this misfortune, he ordered a battery of four of his field-pieces to be raised at Elphinstone Pans, to command the river, which is not broad there. This was begun, and luckily finished the 10th, for an attempt was made the very next day. The spring-tide being favourable, seven vessels came up the river with the tide, the two largest that appeared to be of about twenty guns each, advanced farthest up the river, cast anchor opposite to

the battery that was at the upper end of the villages, and attacked it immediately. Three of them anchored in a convenient place to play upon the village and the road that leads from Elphinston town to Elphinston Pans, while the two smallest hovered along and seemed inclined to land the soldiers with which they were crowded. There were not above a hundred men in the village when the attack was begun, and there were six or seven hundred soldiers aboard the ships; but they saw nobody retire from the village, on the contrary, the number was continually increasing. Those that were quartered in that neighbourhood came to the assistance of their friends, and marched along that very road which three of the ships were stationed to command, and upon which they kept a constant fire, thus uncertain of the numbers of those they had to deal with, and convinced of their resolution and steadiness, they durst not make a descent. When the attack had lasted three or four hours, without any effect either against the battery or those that guarded it, this little fleet thought fit to retire with the tide. The 12th, the trench was opened before the Castle of Stirling, and some of the artillery was got over from Alloa. Nothing could prevent now the transport of the rest of the artillery and ammunition; but by this time Lt General Hawley had got together a considerable army at Edinburgh, and was to set out immediately to raise the siege. Lord George Murray, who was still at Falkirk with the Clans, hearing that there was a provision made of bread and forage at Linlithgow for Hawley's army, resolved to surprise the town and carry off the provisions. For that purpose he set out from Falkirk the 13th, by four o'clock in the morning, with the Clans, and being joined on the road by Lord Elcho's and Lord Pitsligo's horse, as he had ordered, marched straight to Lithgow, which was quite invested before sun rising. Having taken possession of the town, and apprehended a few militia that were there, he sent patrols on the road to Edinburgh, while the Highlanders were employed in seizing what was prepared for the enemy. About eleven o'clock four of the guards that were patrolling were met by an officer and twelve dragoons a mile beyond Lithgow, two of them came off full speed to give notice; the other two retired as the dragoons advanced. The horse that were at Lithgow marched out immediately that way, and found this advanced party had pushed the two guards almost to the town. The dragoons retired in their turn, and fell back on a party of sixty or seventy dragoons, with whom they made a stand till the Prince's horse formed and began to advance; then the dragoons made off with precipitation, but in good order. Lord Elcho, who commanded the Prince's party, pushed them about a quarter of a mile further, and seeing he could not come up with them, stopped till the dragoons were out of sight, when he returned to Lithgow, leaving only a small party to reconnoitre. Lord George Murray, upon the first alarm, had marched the Highlanders out of the town, and drawn them up upon the side of the hill that's on the right hand of the road to Edinburgh; but hearing that it was only a few dragoons, and that they were quite retired, he returned to Lithgow. In less than an hour one of the reconnoitring party came to tell that the dragoons were again in sight, and soon after another assured that there was a large body of horse and foot in full march to Lithgow. Lord George Murray had intelligence from Edinburgh that Hawley was to march out next day. He judged immediately that this must be at least the first division, if not the whole army, and resolved to retire back to Falkirk. It was sometime before he got the Highlanders together, and before they got out of town it was almost surrounded by the dragoons, and the foot was at hand. The dragoons followed on to the river, and had they been very enterprising, they might cut off Lord George's rear at the bridge; but they attempted nothing, and followed no farther than the bridge. Next morning Lord George marched to Stirling, and the Clans were quartered in the villages thereabouts. By this time most of the reinforcements were arrived from the North, or so near that they could not fail of being up before an action could happen. They looked mighty well, and were very hearty. The MacDonalds, Camerons, and Stuarts, were almost double the number that had been in England.

Lord Ogilvie had got a second battalion much stronger than the first. It was commanded by Sir James Kinloch, L^{t} Colonel. The Frazers, Mackintoshes, and Farquharsons, were reckoned three hundred men each. The Irish piquets, and a part of Lord John Drummond's regiment, were already at Stirling; the rest of the regiment, and Lord Lewis Gordon's men, were within a day's march. The Earl of Cromarty, and his son Lord M^{c}Leods, were at Alloa, at the head of their own men. In fine, all were at hand in high spirits, and expressed the greatest ardour upon the prospect of a battle. The Prince employed the 15th in chusing a field of battle, and the 16th in reviewing his army. That evening he got advice that Hawley had advanced to Falkirk, and had encamped his whole army on the plain betwixt that town and the river Carron: upon which he called a Council, and it was unanimously resolved to march next day and attack the enemy. The field that had been pitched upon was of no use now that Hawley was within six miles. As the Prince had no tents he could not keep his men together above four-and-twenty hours, and if Hawley did not come up in that time they must be sent back to their cantonments; in that case Hawley might beat up the quarters, one after another, and destroy the whole army without a battle. Though orders were despatched on all sides that night, it was almost twelve o'clock next day before the men were got together from their different cantonments, and ready to begin their march. The Prince having left about a thousand men in Stirling, to guard the heavy artillery and the whole works that were begun, and ordered the field-pieces to follow in the rear of the army, began to move from Bannockburn about mid-day. This army did not amount to seven thousand fighting men, but they were all in fine spirits, and confident of victory. They marched in three columns, which made three lines of battle. I have explained elsewhere the method of marching and forming among the Highlanders. The first and second column, or line, went along the moor, on the west side of the Torwood, whence they could not be seen from Hawley's camp; the third marched along the high road, and joined the other two at Dunipace, where they all passed the Carron, and immediately began to stretch along the moor, on the other side, in lines parallel to the summit of the hill that was betwixt them and the enemy's camp. When they had gone as far as was necessary they faced about to the left, and marched up the hill in battle. The first line was composed of the Clans; the M^{c}Donalds had the right, and the Camerons the left: in the second line the Athol brigade had the right, Lord Lewis Gordon's men the left, and Lord Ogilvy's the centre: in the third Lord Elcho's and Lord Balmerino's guards, with the huzzars, had the right, Lord Pitsligo's and Lord Kilmarnock's horse the left, and the Prince was in the centre, with Lord John Drummond's grenadiers, a piquet of his regiment, and the three Irish piquets. As the first line was much more than double of either the other two, there were very large intervals betwixt the centre and wings of the second and third line. It was the Prince's intention to gain the summit of the hill, and thence march directly down upon the enemy, if there remained enough of day-light; if not, the army was to remain there under arms all night, and begin the attack at daybreak next morning. Mr. Hawley knew nothing of the Prince's march till the first column was passing the Carron, within two miles of his camp. Though he had notice that the Prince was assembling his army at Bannockburn that morning, he supposed it was only for a review, as the day before; and tho' he could, from his camp, discern the third column that came along the high road, it was too inconsiderable to give him any uneasiness. He presumed upon the superiority of his own army, and far from suspecting that he would be attacked, he was surprised that the Prince had not already raised siege, and retired behind the fort at his approach. As soon as he knew the truth, he marched out of his camp, and put his army in battle upon the plain that lay betwixt his camp and the foot of the hill that separated the two armies. His infantry consisted of thirteen battalions of regulars, and divided into four brigades, and drawn up in two lines. Three regiments of dragoons were upon the left, and behind the dragoons the Lothian and Glasgow militia. The

Campbells were drawn up at a little distance on the right of the regular infantry. The whole must have made betwixt ten or twelve thousand effective men.

Before the Prince's army was quite formed, some dragoons appeared upon the top of the hill. It was but a small party at first, and supposed to be sent only to reconnoitre; but the number still increased, and by the time the Highlanders began to move up the hill, the dragoons occupied as much ground as one-half of the first line of the Prince's army. The sight of an enemy gave fresh spirits to the Highlanders, and it was hardly possible to restrain their ardour, but they still kept their ranks, and marched up in the finest order imaginable, though at a prodigious rate. When they were within musket shot of the enemy, the dragoons made some feints towards the M^{c}Donalds, who were opposite to them, to draw off their fire, or at least to retard their march; but finding it was to no purpose, they made a motion to the left, as intending to flank them. The Highlanders eluded that motion by a similar one; they stretched a little to the right, where they found a morass, which secured them on that side, and straight resumed their march towards the summit of the hill. The dragoons finding all their feints useless, and having repeated orders to keep possession of that ground at all rates till their foot came up, resolved at last upon a serious attack, while they had still the advantage of the ground, came down it in full trot upon the Highlanders, who were still advancing, and never fired a shot, till Lord George Murray, who was on foot before the first rank, presented his piece, which was the signal; then they gave a general discharge, so near and so well levelled, that the dragoons were entirely broken, a great many were killed or wounded, and those that advanced sword in hand could make no impression upon the line, though some of the Highlanders that were in the first rank were trod down. The dragoons went off to the right, where they received the fire of the rest of the line as they galloped along it. It was a fine beginning; but the first success had like to have cost very dear, for the left of the Prince's army having spent their fire upon the dragoons, found the enemy's whole foot before them, and by this time the rain, which had begun with the battle, was become so violent, that it was impossible for Highlanders, who do not use cartridges, to load again; nevertheless, they drew their broad swords, and went on with abundance of resolution. They received the fire of those that were opposite to them, and attacking them sword in hand, forced them immediately to give way. But they were out-lined by one-half of the enemie's infantry, and some of those battalions wheeling to the right about, gave the Highlanders a flank fire, which threw them into great disorder. They retired up the hill, till they were rallied by their commanders, and reinforced by some of the 2nd line; but before they were ready to make a second attack, the enemy had abandoned the field of battle, and were retiring towards their camp. Some of their commanders had made very good use of the time the disorder among the Highlanders had given them; they had rallied the runaways, and begun an orderly retreat. It was the only thing could be done, as they could not prevail upon their men to stand a second attack of the Highlanders. While the foot was engaged, a large body of dragoons that had rallied on the right of their army, turned the left of the Highlanders, and made directly for the Prince, who was advancing with the pickets to sustain the Highlanders; but the countenance of this little corps checked their impetuosity. They stopped short, and perceiving the confusion that was among their own infantry, they soon rejoined, and made the rear guard of the retreating army; and now the pickets had joined the left wing, which was formed again, and ready to charge, but the critical minute was lost, the enemy had had time to recover their ranks, and get a good way off. Had the Prince's whole army been at hand to rush headlong upon them the instant they turned their backs, few of the infantry would have escaped being killed or taken; but there was but a handful of men, if compared with the enemy, ready to pursue in that moment. The greatest part of the right wing never saw the regular foot; after they had beaten the dragoons, they broke their own ranks,

and run on without knowing whither. Some pursued the dragoons, others fell a plundering the dead; a considerable body that kept a just direction in their march, fell in with the Glasgow militia, and were employed in dispersing them. While the left wing was en gaged with the regular foot, the excessive wind and rain, and the darkness of the night, that came on about this time, made it impossible to get the right wing formed again. In the meantime, Mr. Hawley had got to his camp without having lost much in his retreat. The Prince was in possession of the field of battle and the artillery which the enemy had abandoned, and was using all his endeavours to get his men together to make a general attack upon the camp and town of Falkirk, whither a good number of the enemy had retired; but before he could get one-half of his army forward, Hawley had abandoned his camp, and begun his retreat towards Linlithgow. The Prince could observe some motion in the camp, but could not distinguish whether they had gone clear off or retired into the town of Falkirk. He was much at a loss what to do. If the enemy was in the town, and resolved to make a stand there, it would be extremely difficult to force them that night; and unless he got into the town, what would become of his army, without tents and without fire, the whole length of a cold winter's night? The men had been under arms and in motion from seven o'clock in the morning, were all wet to the skin, and nothing but wet ground to lay upon. It was to be apprehended they would not be prevailed upon to remain there, but would straggle away on all sides to shelter themselves in villages. This might make the victory appear doubtful, and encourage the enemy to retake their artillery next day, and even attempt something further, before the Prince would be ready to oppose them. In this perplexity, he resolved at all hazards to get into the town with what men he could muster up. Some whole corps and a great many stragglers were already gone quite off the field for shelter. Those that remained of the right wing were divided into small corps on the declivity of the hill towards Falkirk. They continued where the night had overtaken them very alert, uncertain whether they were in the neighbourhood of friends or enemies, but sending on all sides to reconnoitre. By degrees the army got together, and marched to Falkirk. Lord John Drummond entered in on the east side, and Lord George Murray on the west; they found nothing but a few stragglers of the enemy; the camp was taken and plundered; about the same time the Prince entered the town. It was proposed to follow the enemy to Linlithgow, but the men were all excessively fatigued, and in great want of rest and refreshments; it was as much as could be done to establish sufficient guards for the town and the Prince's person that night. The loss of the enemy appeared next day to be betwixt four and five hundred men killed upon the spot, and some hundreds taken prisoners. There were among the killed several officers of distinction, who had behaved very gallantly, particularly Mr. Robert Monro, in the rear of the foot that was first put to flight. The Prince's loss did not exceed forty killed, and among them three officers, and about sixty wounded, among whom were Lord John Drummond, Lochiel, and his brother Archibald, all three slightly. The enemy imputed their defeat to the violence of the storm, that was full in their faces during the action. It must be allowed the wind and rain were favourable to the Prince in the beginning, but it must be likewise acknowledged that if the weather contributed to the cheapness of his victory, it deprived him of the fruits of it; it was owing to the storm as well as to the obscurity that the right wing could never be recovered after it broke loose in pursuit of the dragoons and the Glasgow militia, and the disorder saved Hawley's army from a total *deroute*. However, the victory was complete; besides the field of battle, the enemy lost their artillery, at least seven out of ten pieces they had, with all their ammunition, and the greatest part of their baggage. Next morning, after the battle, Mr. Hawley continued his retreat to Edinburgh. The Prince took the advice of his friends about the use that was to be made of his victory;— several were for following the blow, and driving Mr. Hawley out of Scotland; some were for marching directly to London, without giving

the enemy time to recover from their consternation,—it was not to be supposed that Hawley would face the Prince and his victorious army till he met with strong reinforcements, and even then the troops that had been beaten would communicate terror to the rest,—the Prince's army was flushed with victory, and could never fight with greater advantage. Those that were against this measure said that Stirling was the object at present; that it was never heard of that an army employed in a siege, having beaten those that came to raise it, had made any other use of their victory than to take the fortress in the first place; that any other conduct would argue a great deal of levity; that it was of the utmost importance to have the Castle, as it opened an easy and safe communication betwixt the Prince, wherever he might happen to be, and his friends in the north. In fine, this opinion prevailed so much the more readily, that Monsieur Mirabel, the chief engineer, had given the strongest assurance that the Castle would be forced to surrender in a few days, and if the Prince went immediately upon another expedition, his heavy artillery, which he could not carry about with him, would be lost.

The Prince continued at Falkirk that whole day. He gave particular orders that the enemy's officers that had fallen in the field should be decently interred, and the prisoners as well used as the circumstances would allow. The 19th, he returned to Bannockburn; Lord George Murray remained with the clans at Falkirk, which had been their post before Hawley marched from Edinburgh; and the rest of the army retired to their respective quarters. Upon the first news of the victory, the Duke of Perth, who acted again as Lt General, and commanded the siege of Stirling, summoned Blackney to surrender. He made answer, that he had hitherto been looked upon as a man of honor, that he would always behave himself as such, and would hold out as long as the place was tenable: upon which, the works already begun were continued.

But I must interrupt the siege to give an account of the elopement of the prisoners taken at Prestonpans, which happened about this time. These gentlemen had been saved with difficulty in the heat of the action, and had been treated all along with utmost civility; they had been allowed the liberty of the city of Edinburgh upon their parole till two or three of them made their escape, upon which most of those that were not wounded were sent to Perth, and had the liberty of the town, where they continued till the Prince went into England. While he was there, some of these officers were detected sending intelligence to Edinburgh, and after Lord John Drummond's arrival, they endeavoured to debauch his men. As these particulars were contrary to the word of honor they had given, no punishments could be too severe for those that were guilty, nevertheless, such was the lenity of those that commanded for the Prince at Perth, that they inflicted no punishment at all, and only endeavoured to put it out of their power to do any further mischief, by removing them to Glamis, Leslie, and Cowper, where they could want for nothing, and were under no restraint but their parole. About the time Hawley marched from Edinburgh some country people, assembled in a tumultuary manner, came to each of these places, made a shew of saving the prisoners, and conducted them to Edinburgh. Though these gentlemen all pretended violence, it was shrewdly suspected from some circumstances, that it was a farce concerted by some of them: be that as it will, I can't imagine that it was a general conspiracy, some of them must have been compelled. It is true, the decay of virtue and honor in our Island since the Accession is very remarkable, and the progress and barefacedness of vice astonishing; nevertheless, amidst the general depravation of manners, the most profligate pretend still to a sense of honor, tho' they frequently misplace and of late confine it within very narrow bounds. It's some time since perjury became familiar, and since a man might sell his country without public infamy, but hitherto a gentleman's word of honor has been looked upon as sacred. Every body acknowledges this tie; those that differ in all other nations agree in this; how is it possible that so many gentlemen of an

honourable profession, and many of them well born, should be privy to a design of violating, or, which is at least as bad, of eluding their parole,—it was an injury done to any gentleman to suppose him guilty without evident proofs, and this imputation can light upon none of those officers but such as accepted of the Duke of Cumberland's dispensation, and actually served afterwards against the Prince. These I leave to the judgement of the indignant reader, and return to the siege.

The trench was carried on the top of the Gowan hill, and a battery was begun there, as had been projected. The Prince lost at the rate of four or five men a-day in the trenches, but he was in hopes a few days would make him master of the Castle.

In the meantime he had intelligence that Hawley, who still continued at Edinburgh, was reinforced with two regiments of dragoons and a regiment of foot, and the Duke of Cumberland was on the road from London to take the command of that army. There was no doubt but he would make another attempt to relieve Stirling, if he arrived before it was taken: wherefore orders were given to carry on the works with the greatest vigour; and as it was surmised that a great many of the Highlanders were gone home with booty they had got at Falkirk, the Prince reviewed his army the 26th, to know his strength: there were about 500 missing, but the Prince was not in the least dejected; he was persuaded he had enough left to fight any army that could be brought against him, before the Castle was taken: and I believe he was right, had things continued thus; for so recent a victory added more to his side, than three regiments and the Duke of Cumberland's person to the other: but the desertion of the Highlanders was observed to continue after the review; besides the booty, there happened an unlucky accident, that contributed considerably towards it. Glengary's second son, who had brought up the reinforcements of that regiment, and commanded it, was killed by a random shot in the street of Falkirk. The Highlanders were eternally handling their fire-arms, and frequently discharging them; no prohibition had hitherto been able to prevent" that abuse It was unlucky that a young gentleman of merit and consequence in the army should be the first to suffer by it. This misfortune disheartened the M^{c}Donalds of Glengary, and was the occasion of the desertion that was among them, and their example was thought to have infected others.

I am now come to the second retreat that was forced upon the Prince; this from Stirling has been more generally condemned than that from Derby. 1 shall on this occasion, as on that, relate the fact precisely as it happened, and give the substance of what was argued for and against this retreat.

The 28th the news came to Bannockburn that the Duke of Cumberland was to be at Edinburgh in a day or two at farthest, and that the army was ready, and only waited his arrival to march again to the relief of Stirling Castle, the reduction of which was not likely to be so sudden as Monsieur Mirabel had promised. The Prince sent his Secretary Murray that day to Falkirk, to acquaint Lord George with his intentions, which were to go and attack the Duke of Cumberland when he advanced as far as Falkirk, where Lord George was to remain till the Duke of Cumberland came to Linlithgow. Lord George seemed to approve of every thing, drew up a new plan of battle with some improvements upon the former, and sent it next day to the Prince for his approbation; the Prince was extremely pleased with the plan, and in the highest spirits to think he was to have to do with the Duke of Cumberland in person. But this joy was very short; for that very night he received a representation signed at Falkirk, by Lord George Murray and all the commanders of Clans, begging his Royal Highness would consent to retreat, on account of the great desertion that had happened since the battle. These gentlemen set forth that there were above two thousand men gone off already, and that the desertion increased every day, nay every hour, which must not only reduce the army as to numbers, but dishearten those that remained, while the enemy, by the reinforcement they had got, were become stronger than before the battle; that the remaining part of the winter

might be honourably and usefully employed in driving my Lord Loudon from Inverness, and even out of Scotland, and in taking the forts in the North, which would open a communication with Ross-shire and Caithness, where the Prince had many friends, who wanted only an opportunity to join him, and who, together with those of his own army that were gone home, and whom the chiefs undertook to bring out again, would make a much better army than he had been master of hitherto. Another argument for retiring at this time, rather than waiting for an enemy so vastly superior, was, that there was no prospect of taking the Castle of Stirling, for besides the inclemency of the weather, which the soldiers could hardly bear in the trenches, that very morning the battery, which was at last got ready, had been silenced in a few hours after it began to play; some of the guns were dismounted, and one of the sixteen pounders so bruised, that it could not be of farther use.

These reasons were plausible, but there were very strong arguments on the other side, such as the loss of reputation the Prince would sustain by retiring at the approach of the Duke of Cumberland, the various impressions this retreat would make upon the minds of his friends and enemies, and above all, the real dangers that attended such a retreat. It was to be apprehended that an irregular army would not keep together in a retreat so nigh their own country, and that it would be impossible to assemble it again in the Highlands, where the Prince had no magazine, and the country affords no kind of provisions in the winter and spring seasons, and the army could be assembled no where else but in the Highlands, if the Duke of Cumberland followed closely and occupied the low country along the coast. There was certainly a great deal to he said on both sides of the question, and supposing the desertion as great as it was represented, it was hard enough to determine which of the two evils was most eligible. The Prince could never be brought to relish the retreat, nevertheless he yielded at last to the importunity of those that urged it. As soon as it was resolved upon, that it might be attended with as little loss as possible, horses and carriages were ordered in from all quarters, on pretext of carrying the field artillery and ammunition towards Edinburgh, whither it was given out that the army was to march instantly, and, in the meantime, the siege was carried on seemingly. But the country people were very resty on this occasion; perhaps they read in the countenances of those that gave the orders, the true meaning of them; the resolution taken at Bannockburn was immediately suspected in the army, and every body looked dejected; thus the 30th was spent with a great deal of motion and bustle in the country, and had very little effect. 31st the Duke of Cumberland marched from Edinburgh, and came to Linlithgow with eight battalions, two regiments of dragoons, and the Argyleshire men. The rest of his army came the same day to Boroughstoness. Lord George Murray retired that evening with the clans, leaving Elcho's, Pitsligo's, and Kilmarnock's horse to patrol betwixt Falkirk and Linlithgow till ten o'clock at night. Though all was quiet on the road betwixt Falkirk and Linlithgow when the horse retired, nevertheless Lord George, to prevent any surprise, and to have early notice of the enemies' motion, sent the horse back from Bannockburn that night, to take post at Larbour, within a mile of Falkirk, with orders to remain there till called off or overpowered, and send him an account of the first appearance of the enemy.

In the meantime it had been concerted at Bannockburn to make a general review of the army next morning, and if desertion was found to be as considerable as was supposed, the army would march off leisurely and in good order; the men were ordered to assemble very early betwixt Bannockburn and Stirling, though the retreat was not to begin till ten o'clock. The Prince, who still hoped things were not quite so bad as had been given out, and that the odious retreat might be prevented, came out betimes to the place appointed. There was hardly the appearance of an army; the news of a retreat had reached the common men, who, imagining the danger much greater and nearer than it really was, had begun at day-break to take the road to the Frews,—the first of them

were by this time arrived at that ford, and the rest filing along the same way. Officers were immediately sent to stop the men, but it was to no purpose, the thing was already gone too far; even the troops that were quartered in the town of Stirling had taken the alarm too, and marched out of the town before the hour appointed, by which means Lord George Murray, who was quiet in quarters there waiting the hour, and several others, might have been taken had the garrison of the castle sallied out immediately. The Prince seeing there was nothing to be done, marched off with some of the chiefs, and those few troops he had along with him, and Lord George having sent an Aide-de-camp to call off the horse he had posted at Larbour brought up the rear. The precipitation of this retreat occasioned the loss of some of the artillery, the Prince intended to carry along with him; the heaviest pieces had been nailed up and abandoned. Though there had been horses to draw them, it would have been impossible to get them over the Frews, where an eight pounder was left after some hours fruitless labour to get it out of the mud.

This retreat was begun the first of February. That morning the church of St. Ninians, where the powder was lodged, was blown up; whether this happened by accident or design, I can't positively affirm. I'm apt to think it was an accident, or, at least, the design of some very private person, for there was no warning given to any body to get out of the way. The Prince himself was within reach of being hurt when the thing happened, and some of the Highlanders, as well as several of the inhabitants of the village, were killed.

The army was quartered that night at Down, Dumblane, and adjacent villages, and continued to retire next day in a very disorderly manner. The horse and some of the Lowland regiments went to Perth, but most of the foot assembled at Crieff. Here the Prince reviewed them, and found the desertion was nothing like what it had been represented,—there did not appear to be a thousand men wanting of the whole army. The Prince, who had with reluctancy consented to the retreat, upon the supposition he had lost one third of his army, was affected, as one may imagine, on this occasion. Lord George Murray's enemies did not let slip this opportunity of loading him, and indeed this seemed to bear very hard upon him, and all those chiefs that had signed the representation above mentioned; nevertheless, their mistake is far from being unaccountable, if people will divest themselves of prejudice, and examine impartially the circumstances from the battle of Falkirk to the Duke of Cumberland's march from Edinburgh, the country being absolutely secure. The Highlanders indulged their restless disposition, and sauntered about all the villages in the neighbourhood of their quarters, and abundance of them had been several days absent from their colours. Their principal officers knowing for certain that some were gone home, apprehended that was the case with all that were not to be found in their respective quarters; but all the stragglers had got to Crieff and appeared at the review there. The Prince called a council at Crieff to deliberate upon what was to be done; there never had been such heats and animosities as at this meeting; however, after a great deal of wrangling and altercation, it was determined that the horse and low country regiments should march towards Inverness, along the coast, while the Prince, with the clans, took the Highland road thither. The Prince's division was more than sufficient to drive Lord Loudon from Inverness; but it was to be feared, that when the Highlanders drew nigh their homes, it would be impossible to prevent their making a visit to their families, whom many of them had not seen for six months, so that the Prince might have occasion for the other division to make himself master of Inverness.

The 4th, the Prince marched from Crieff to Dunkeld, and thence to Athol, where he remained eight or ten days, till he had advice that the other division was at Aberdeen; then he marched to Ruthven in Badenoch and demolished that barrack, having made the little garrison prisoners at

discretion, and continuing his march, arrived at Moy, a seat belonging to M^{c}Kintosh, within seven miles of Inverness. He was very ill attended when he got to Moy, most of his men were straggling behind, and some at a considerable distance; he had divided them for the convenience of quarters, and was now obliged to wait some days for their arrival. Those that commanded at Inverness had intelligence of the Prince's situation at Moy, and made an attempt to surprise him there. Twelve hundred men, commanded by M^{c}Leod, marched out of town about ten o'clock at night, and were within three miles of Moy, when their advanced party was met by six MacDonalds who had been sent to patrole on the road. The sergeant that commanded the MacDonalds finding himself so near the enemy before he was aware of them, that he could not escape by retiring, saved himself and perhaps the Prince, too, by his resolution and presence of mind. He called aloud to his men to advance and form as if he had been followed by some thousands, advanced a few steps with the men he had, and fired upon the advanced party of the enemy, who immediately took to their heels, fell back upon their main body, to whom they communicated their affright and disorder, and all went back in confusion to Inverness.

Two days after, the Prince having got up betwixt two and three thousand men, marched to Inverness. Lord Loudon retired at his approach, and had just time enough to get his men over the Little Ferry in boats he had ready for that purpose: the Prince took possession of the town, and summoned the Castle to surrender. The Castle of Inverness, otherwise called Fort George, is situated on a mount on the south side of the town. Tho' the Prince had left his heavy artillery, there was no great difficulty in reducing this fort; as the little mount on which the Castle is built is contiguous to the town, one may go to the foot of the mount without being exposed to the fire of the Castle. It was immediately resolved to undermine and blow it up; and the work was begun upon Major Grant's refusal to surrender. This gentleman was governor of the place, and Lord Loudon had left him two hundred men to defend it; but when he found the work was going briskly on, and that in a few days at furthest he must be blown up, he chose to surrender himself and the garrison prisoners of war on the 25th, after a few days siege. The Prince established his quarters at Inverness, and laid the plan of his future operations. He had three things principally in view; to reduce Fort Augustus and Fort William on one side; on the other, to disperse Lord Loudon's army; and to keep possession, as much as possible, of the coast towards Aberdeen. He had no other resource for the suhsistance of his army but that coast; and if any little succours came from France, they were directed thither by a gentleman he had sent to that Court upon his retreat from Stirling. The greatest part of that division of the army that had marched by Aberdeen was cantoned betwixt that town and Inverness, and occupied all the little towns along the coast: 'twas a great extent to be guarded by so few troops; but the country was generally well inclined, and such as were not, durst give no disturbance. There was nothing to be apprehended till the Duke of Cumberland's army came up, when these parties were to fall back from post to post as they were overpowered.

Things being thus settled on this side, the Prince, without loss of time, set about the execution of the rest of his plan, and, in a few days after the Castle of Inverness had surrendered, sent Lord Cromarty against Lord Loudon, and, at the same time, sent Brigadier Stapleton, who commanded the Irish piquets, with them, and a detachment of Lord John Drummond's regiment, to Fort Augustus. He attacked the old barrack at his arrival without waiting for the artillery, and carried it immediately,—the garrison retiring to the fort; the soldiers behaved with surprising intrepidity on this occasion. The 3rd of March, a trench was opened before Fort Augustus, which held out but two days. What hastened the reduction of this place was, that some shells that had been thrown into it had set fire to the powder magazine and blown it up. Mr. Grant was now chief engineer in room of Mirabel, who had been laid aside since the unfortunate siege of Stirling. Brigadier Stapleton

having left Lord Lewis Drummond to command at Fort Augustus, marched to Fort William, and laid siege to that important fortress. Besides the Irish piquets, and some piquets of the Royal Scots, the Camerons and McDonalds of Keppoch were ordered upon this enterprise. These people were particularly interested in the success of it, as Fort William commands their country; and during the Prince's expedition to England, the garrison made frequent sallies, burnt their houses, and carried off their cattle. Fort William is the strongest fortress in the north of Scotland; it's situated on the western coast, at the mouth of the river Nevis; it's partly defended by that river and by the sea, and that side which is accessible from the land has a good wall, ditch, counter-scarp, and bastions at proper distances, and a kind of ravelin before the gate. It seemed at first impossible to take such a place with six pounders, which were the heaviest pieces the besiegers had, and which could never make a breach; but the fort is domineered on the south-east side by a hill, whence one can discover every thing that passes in the fort. Mr. Grant proposed to begin by erecting a battery on this hill to annoy the garrison; and he had observed that one of the bastions projected so far as not to be defended by the fire of the rest, so he proposed to arrive at it by a trench and blow it up. But as he was reconnoitring, he received a violent contusion by a cannon ball, and Brigadier Stapleton having no other engineer, was obliged to send to Inverness for Monsieur Mirabel, who began on a quite different plan, and succeeded no better at Fort William than he had done at Stirling, as we shall see afterwards; in the meantime, the rest of the Prince's army, which was not idle, demands our attention.

The same day Brigadier Stapleton marched towards Fort Augustus, an express arrived at Inverness to acquaint the Prince that three troops of Fitzjames' horse were actually landed at Aberdeen; that the rest of that regiment, clans, and Berwick's regiment of foot, with Lord Edward Fitzjames and Mr. Rooth, Major Generals, Lord Dunkeld, Lord Tyrconnel, Sir Patrick Nugent, and Mr. Cooke, Brigadiers, had sailed about the same time, and must be at hand; and that several ships were already seen from the coast when the express left Aberdeen. These succours were considerable of themselves, and were looked upon as a proof that the Court of France was determined to support the Prince,—a thing people had begun to doubt. But the Prince and his friends were disappointed in their expectations, for of all this embarkation, none landed in Scotland but the three troops of horse above mentioned, and a picket of Berwick's regiment; the rest sailed back to France. Whether the difficulty of landing on a coast that was guarded by English ships of war, or the bad account they got of the Prince's affairs, prevented their attempting to land, is not my business to determine: neither the Dunkirk nor Boulogne embarkation, nor anything that was transacted in France during the Prince's expedition, is within the bounds I have prescribed to myself; all I have undertaken is to relate what was done by the Prince himself, or by his immediate orders.

In the meantime, the Duke of Cumberland had advanced with his army along the coast, and came to Aberdeen, a few days after Fitzjames' horse landed there, which obliged them, and a handful of men commanded by Moir of Stonywood, to retire towards the river Spey. It was every one's opinion that the Duke of Cumberland would come straight on to Inverness; it seems he did not think himself strong enough at that time, or was in hopes that want of money and provisions would soon disperse the Prince's army: whatever was his motive, he stopped short at Aberdeen, and remained quiet with the main body of his army about five or six weeks. There are two roads that lead from Aberdeen to Fochabers on the river Spey, one goes by old Meldrum and Cullen, and the other by Kintore, Inverury, and Huntly, otherwise called Strathbogie. The Duke of Cumberland, upon his arrival at Aberdeen, sent an advanced party to occupy Old Meldrum on one road, and Inverury and Old Rain on the other. Lord John Drummond, whom the Prince had

appointed to command on that side, finding the Duke of Cumberland did not advance as was expected, stationed Lord Strathallan's horse, which were now divided from Lord Kilmarnock's and the hussars, at Cullen, and sent Lord Elcho's troop of guards, with Avachie's and Roy Stuart's battalions, to Strathbogie. He took up his own quarters at Gordon Castle, hard by Fochabers, and cantoned the rest of the troops he had under his command at Fochabers, and in the villages along the river. The Prince's cavalry, which had never exceeded four hundred, was now reduced to half that number. Lord Pitsligo's horse was dwindled away to nothing; several North Country gentlemen had left that corps and joined some of the foot regiments. Lord Kilmarnock's were reformed; the men made in the beginning of a regiment of footguards, which that Lord was to command, and such of their horses as were fit for service, were given to Fitzjames' troopers, but it was long before they could get all mounted, and their horses trained for service; however, Lord John Drummond made the most of what horse he had to keep advanced post, and get intelligence. All had been quiet in these parts; the different parties had kept their posts without attempting any thing against one another till the 16th of March, when the Duke of Cumberland sent orders to Major-General Bland, who commanded the troops at Old Meldrum and Inverury, to march to Strathbogie, with all the troops under his command, consisting of four battalions, the Duke of Kingston's horse, Cobham's dragoons, and the Campbells, to surprise or attack the little party that was posted there; and sent Brigadier Mordaunt, from Aberdeen, with four battalions and four pieces of cannon, to sustain Major-General Bland. It was much more than was needful, for there were not above 500 foot and 50 horse at Strathbogie, which is open and defenceless on all sides. Though they were always very alert in Strathbogie, they had like to have been surprised on this occasion. Mr. Grant, younger of Grant, had been some days at Aberdeen, with the Duke of Cumberland, was returning to his own country, with a commission to raise and form a regiment of his clan, and was to pass within six miles of Strathbogie; the gentlemen that commanded there, having certain intelligence of this, but no suspicion of Major-General Eland's design, thought it would be a considerable piece of service done to the Prince if they could intercept Mr. Grant, and a considerable escort he had with him; and with this view, marched from Strathbogie about the middle of the night, between the 16th and 17th. They arrived in the morning at the village where they expected to find Mr. Grant, but he had got a little further, and taken up his quarters in a strong castle belonging to Lord Forbes, where it was impossible to force him without artillery: Having reconnoitred the castle, they saw there was nothing to be done, and after a short halt, they resolved to set out for their former quarters. It was one o'clock in the afternoon before they got back to Strathbogie, where they found several expresses sent that morning that the enemy was in full march towards it. This intelligence was soon confirmed by a party sent to reconnoitre; some of the scouts came back full speed to tell that a large body of horse and foot was within a mile. The commanders were somewhat at a loss what to resolve upon—there was a good deal of danger every way; the men that were in want of rest and refreshment, could not march a great way without a halt, and the stragglers, who were still behind, would certainly be picked up by the enemies' horse, if they were abandoned; on the other hand, it was to be feared the sight of an enemy, vastly superior, would throw the whole party into disorder, and make them an easy prey. It was thought best, upon the whole, to halt an hour at Strathbogie, to give time to the stragglers to come up. This resolution convinced the common men, who judge of things by the countenance of their commanders, that they were in no danger, though the van of the enemy began to appear. Before the hour was elapsed, they were all in sight, and their van within a quarter of a mile of the village, while the two little battalions were getting under arms and filing off, the guards marched out towards the enemy, and formed betwixt the village and the Bridge of Bogie. They remained there

till the foot had got quite clear of the village, and the enemy's horse began to file along the bridge; it was then high time to retire and join the foot, who were already got to the river Deveron. The guards formed again on the other side of that river to stop the enemy's horse, who came full speed from Strathbogie to the river side, but did not at first attempt the passage, which gave time to the foot to gain the hill, where they were pretty safe, as the road is not very broad, and the ground so rocky on each side of the road that no horse can manoeuvre upon it. The enemy followed no further in a body; some volunteers came half way up the hill and skirmished a little with two or three of the guards .that were left behind to observe them. The retreat was continued in good order to Keith, and thence to Fochabers, upon a false alarm that the enemy was still following. The intrepidity of the common men was very remarkable on this occasion; they had seen themselves closely pursued by an enemy vastly superior, nevertheless, even after night came on, a fresh alarm was given at Keith, they all repaired to their colours and marched off in good order. Lord John Drummond, upon the first news he had of the enemy's motions, judged that the Duke of Cumberland was advancing from Aberdeen, and gave orders to pass the Spey, which was done that night and next morning by all the troops that had been posted on the east side of that river; they were quartered in barracks that had been erected for that purpose, and in the villages along the other side. A few days after Mr. Bland had taken possession of Strathbogie, an advanced party of seventy Campbells and thirty of Kingston's horse was surprised at Keith in the night time by Major Glascoe with two hundred foot and forty horse. The village was invested on all sides before the enemy was aware of it; their misfortune was owing to their security, and to a little stratagem:—Lord John Drummond sent every morning a body of horse and foot to cross the Spey, the foot remained generally all day at Fochabers, and the horse kept patrolling on the road to Keith; that day a small party of the enemy's light horse had advanced to the top of the hill that overlooks Fochabers, upon which the troops that were there retired to the barracks in sight of the light horse somewhat earlier than the usual time, and seemingly in a hurry; when the party was gone and it was grown quite dark, Glascoe's little detachment crossed the river again, and marching straight to Keith, arrived there unperceived about one o'clock in the morning. The Campbells, tho' surprised, made some resistance; they got together in the church-yard, and there was a smart fire on both sides for a little while, but being told that they would get quarters if they submitted, and be all put to the sword if they resisted any longer, they laid down their arms. Of the whole number, not above five or six escaped; the officer that commanded the light horse was among the killed, and Captain Campbell, who commanded the whole party, being taken after an obstinate resistance and several wounds, was left for dead.

Eighty prisoners were brought to Elgin next day; of Glascoe's party there were twelve killed or wounded. Mr. Bland did not think proper to occupy Keith a second time; he sent, indeed, parties thither every day from Strathbogie, and Lord John Drummond did the same from Spey side, but neither ventured to take up their quarters at Keith. These patrolling parties met frequently and pushed one another as they happened to be strongest; there were frequent skirmishes, but nothing of consequence. This little advantage at Keith was immediately followed by a more considerable one in Athol. Blair Castle, and several other posts in that country, were occupied by parties the Duke of Cumberland had sent thither when he set out from Perth. Sir Andrew Agnew kept garrison in Blair Castle with some companies of regular troops, and the Campbells had other posts assigned them. Lord George Murray, having exact intelligence of the strength and situation of the enemy in that country, marched from Inverness with such expedition and secrecy, that he surprised some hundreds of the Campbells in their quarters, and made them all prisoners, without the loss of one man on his side, and then marched straight to Blair. Some of the garrison attempting to make their

escape, found all the passes so well guarded that they were forced to return to the Castle, where he blocked them up, and, having sent to Inverness for some field-pieces, hoped that he would have them at discretion in a short time.

In the meantime the Prince's arms were neither idle nor unsuccessful on the north side of Inverness. I have already told that Lord Cromarty was sent against Lord Loudon. As the former was obliged to go round the head of the first frith, the latter had abundance of time to retire across the frith that divides Ross-shire from Sutherland; he took up his quarters at Dornoch, where he seemed to be perfectly secure, as Lord Cromarty had no boats. It was not so easy to go round the head of this frith, which reaches a great way into a mountainous country; and when Lord Cromarty attempted it, Lord Loudon sent some of his own men 'back by water to Ross-shire, which determined Lord Cromarty to return to Tain, but Lord Loudon had already brought back his men to Dornoch. It was plain Lord Loudon would persist in this method of eluding his adversary, and it seemed impossible to force him either to come to an action, or retire out of the country, without two detachments, one of which might guard the passage of the frith, while the other went about by the head of it. But the Prince could spare no troops at that time, he had hardly as many men at Inverness as were necessary to guard his person. Nevertheless it was of the utmost importance to disperse Lord Loudon's little army; it cut off all communication with Caithness, whence the Prince expected hoth men and provisions, and Lord Loudon seemed disposed to return to Inverness upon the Prince's leaving it; this discouraged his Mends from joining, and would discourage such as had joined from marching South, when there would be occasion. Though Lord Loudon had behaved all along as a gentleman, and was incapable of doing any thing inconsistent with that character, people did not care to leave their families and effects exposed to the insults of an enemy. An expedient had been thought of, and preparations had been privately made for it some time ago, but the execution was extremely hazardous. All the fishing-boats that could be got on the coast of Moray, had been brought to Findhorn: the difficulty was to cross the frith of Moray unperceived by the English ships that were continually cruizing there; if the design was suspected it could not succeed. Two or three North Country gentlemen, that were employed in this affair, had conducted it with great secrecy and expedition; all was ready at Findhorn when the orders came from Inverness to make the attempt, and the enemy had no suspicion. Moir of Stonywood set out with this little fleet in the beginning of the night, got safe across the frith of Moray, and arrived in the morning at Tain, where the Duke of Perth, whom the Prince had sent to command this expedition, was ready. The men were embarked with great despatch, and by means of a thick fog, which happened very opportunely, got over to Sutherland without being perceived. The Duke of Perth marched directly towards the enemies' head quarters: before he got thither, he fell in with a party of eighty men, commanded by Major Mackenzie, who proposed to surrender upon terms: he could expect none but to be prisoners at discretion, which he soon submitted to. All he intended by this parley, was to gain a little time, that some of his officers that had been formerly the Prince's prisoners, and had violated their parole, might get off themselves and give the alarm, which succeeded. Lord Loudon, the President, and McLeods escaped, with the greatest part of their men, and the Duke of Perth was, in some measure, the dupe of his good nature and politeness; however, he succeeded in the main point, which was to disperse Lord Loudon's army. This is without dispute the finest part of the Prince's expedition, and what best deserves the attention of judicious readers. The vulgar may be dazzled with a victory, but in the eyes of a connoisseur, the Prince will appear greater about this time at Inverness, than either at Gladsmuir or at Falkirk. It's certain an army of eight thousand men could not be more extensively and more usefully employed. Let us take a general view of what we have seen in detail. Brigadier Stapleton was carrying on the siege of Fort-William, Lord George

Murray that of Blair Castle, Lord John Drummond was making head against Major General Bland, the Duke of Perth was in pursuit of Lord Loudon, and the Prince, as it were, in the centre, whence he directed all these operations. But this is the last favourable prospect we shall have of the Prince's affairs, which began visibly to decline about this time; several things contributed to this change, but nothing so much as the want of money, the principal sinew of war. Since the Prince retired from before Stirling, he had constantly a great number of men in pay, and, except about one thousand five hundred pounds of Spanish money which was found in the neighbourhood of Montrose, he had got no foreign supplies, and could get very little in the narrow country he was now confined to. However, his little stock might have held out longer, had it been well managed; but it is more than probable that his principal steward was a thief from the beginning. Though the Secretary aimed at the direction of every thing, he made the finances his peculiar provision, and had contrived matters so that there was no check upon him; he might be faithful or not as he pleased, nobody could know any thing of the matter; or at least there could be no proof against him; but there were very strong presumptions, and it is certain that some of his underlings, who were likewise under no control, as soon as they suspected the opportunity would not last long, made the best of it, and filled their own pockets with the public money. There were other villains, too, who robbed the Prince by false musters. All which considered, it is not surprising that the military chest was exhausted. The scarcity of money was concealed as long as possible; but when the common men were reduced to a weekly allowance of oatmeal, instead of their pay, which had formerly been very punctual, this sudden change was at first attended with discontent, murmurings, neglect of duty, and dismal apprehensions; nevertheless, the diligence of the officers, and the loyalty of the men themselves, got the better, and all was set to rights again. It was to be hoped that the army would be kept together and in good humour till the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, and Brigadier Stapleton, returned after finishing their several expeditions, and then the Prince would march to Aberdeen, with all the forces he could muster up. But fortune, which had again begun to smile upon him, abandoned him at this critical juncture; a chain of unlucky accidents blasted his hopes and confounded all his schemes. Lord George having got up some field-pieces from Inverness, endeavoured to set fire to Blair Castle, as his cannon was too light to make an impression on the walls, but that proved ineffectual; however, he had still a prospect of reducing the Castle by famine, till the approach of the Hessian troops obliged him to retire. The Court of England, after the loss of two battles, diffident of the courage or fidelity of the national troops, had called over six battalions of Hessians from Flanders. They landed at Leith while the Prince was on his march to Inverness, and when the Duke of Cumberland marched to Aberdeen, he ordered four battalions to Perth, and the other two to Stirling, to remain till further orders. Upon the news of Lord George Murray's expedition in Athol, the Hessians that were at Perth were sent to the relief of Blair Castle, and those that were at Stirling had orders to advance to Perth. Lord George was by no means in a condition to fight the Hessians, he had not half of their number, and had the mortification to retire from before a place that must have fallen into his hands in a very few days. He was censured by his enemies as being too tender of a family seat. As I do not know the situation of this castle, I cannot determine whether it was in his power to blow it up, or whether he had time to do it after he was informed of the march of the Hessians. But he has been so often calumniated by the Secretary and his creatures, that nothing less than a direct proof ought to have any weight against him. In this case it is absurd to suspect him, because the family seat could never be in danger. If it was in his power to blow it up, he had only to acquaint the governor when the mine was ready, and let him send one of his officers to view it; the governor would certainly have prevented the effect of it, and saved the castle.

The siege of Fort-William was raised much about the same time. Whatever might have been the event if Grant's plan had been followed, his successor miscarried after ten or twelve days firing without any effect. The besieged made a sally, forced one of the batteries, and carried off 47 pieces of cannon and two mortars. I must observe here that it is hard to make Highlanders do the regular duty of a siege, though they are excessively brave in an attack, and when they are allowed to fight in their own way; they are not so much masters of that sedate valour that is necessary to maintain a post, and it is extremely difficult to keep them long in their posts, or even in their quarters, without action. Beside the loss of the artillery, the ammunition was almost exhausted, and there was no prospect of reducing the fort: it was a rash undertaking from the beginning. The besieged were little inferior in number to the besiegers, and might be reinforced by sea at pleasure. But nothing less than this attempt would satisfy the Highlanders that live in the neighbourhood of Fort-William, and the Prince would not refuse them that mark of his regard for their interest.

These two misfortunes were followed by a third, much more considerable in its consequences than the other two. Mr. Brown, an Irish officer who had been sent to France to solicit succours, was returning with some men and arms, and twelve thousand pounds, on board the Prince Charles, formerly called the Hazard sloop; they were within seven or eight leagues of the coast of Banff, when they were perceived and chased by an English ship. The Prince Charles made what sail she could to the north-west, but was overtaken in Pentland frith, where, having fought in a little bay till she was quite disabled, the men and money were landed, but all was taken next day by my Lord Rea's men: the loss of this money was inexpressible; the Prince's affairs never had so bad an aspect. This last misfortune soon took air, notwithstanding all the care that was taken to conceal it, and disheartened the army. The soldiers began to murmur afresh, and some of them deserted; though I must do them the justice to say, that they only went home to live frugally upon what they had there, while the Prince had no money to give them, and they saw no pressing occasion for their attendance, and were resolved to join their colours as soon as there was any appearance of an action. I speak of the generality of those that retired about this time, who, upon the first news they heard of the enemy's advancing, set out of their own accord, and made what haste they could to join the army, though few of them arrived in time.

The Prince was never so much at a loss what resolution to take; his affairs were very bad, and could not fail to grow worse and worse every day, unless he got some supply of money. It was to be apprehended that abundance of the common men would be unwilling to leave their families and march to Aberdeen without pay, which was, nevertheless, the only chance he had left to extricate himself. But some of those about him proposed an expedient, which, though very improbable, he resolved to try in this extremity —it was, to send a strong party to compel Lord Rea to restore the money, which was supposed to be in his custody. This could never be done unless Lord Rea was apprehended, for if he could save his person, he would not part with twelve thousand pounds to save a few huts from being burned; and what likelihood of taking a man that lived upon the shore, and had a number of boats to carry him and all his valuable effects to the Isle of Sky, or aboard an English ship. However, Lord Cromarty was sent upon this unfortunate expedition.

Amidst all these misfortunes, the Prince kept up his spirits wonderfully—he appeared gayer even than usual; he gave frequent balls to the ladies of Inverness, and danced himself, which he had declined doing at Edinburgh in the midst of his grandeur and prosperity. This conduct was censured by some austere-thinking people, but I believe it had a good effect in the main. The greatest part of those that saw him cheerful and easy concluded he had resources which they did not know; those, indeed, that knew the true state of his affairs, had a very bad opinion of them.

What cut off all hopes was the arrival of a gentleman from France with a positive account that the embarkation from Boulogne, which had amused the world so long, and even that from Dunkirk, were entirely laid aside; the former had been given up long before, and the latter some time ago, but this was the first certain account the Prince had of it; he had had no news from France since the arrival of Fitzjames' horse. People were now persuaded the Court of England, being no longer under any apprehensions of a French landing, would not risk a battle against an army that must be soon ruined without fighting; nevertheless, nobody seemed to despair— those that knew the worst were the first to encourage the army. There was some rumour of an embarkation from Brest;—great stress was laid upon that report, and upon the success of Lord Cromarty's expedition, by those who expected no good from either. All that could be done was to keep up people's spirits till Lord Cromarty returned, when the Prince would certainly march south, with such an army as he could muster up.

In the meantime, the Duke of Cumberland set out from Aberdeen. It is not to be imagined with what joy the first news of this march was received in the Prince's army. They had already felt abundance of inconveniences, and foresaw that they must suffer a great deal more before the army could be assembled and march to Aberdeen. The prospect was now entirely changed, the affair must be decided in a few days, and it was generally thought the Prince would have a better army at Inverness than he could have • brought to Aberdeen, which certainly would have been the case had proper methods been taken to avoid a battle till all was assembled; but too much confidence prevailed on this occasion, and prudent measures were neglected. Besides several cross accidents that fell in about this time, there were more mistakes committed the two or three last days than formerly in as many months. 1 shall take notice of some of them as I go along. The Prince, upon the first news he received of the Duke of Cumberland's march, despatched messengers on all sides to call his troops that were scattered very wide; he took it for granted he would be strong enough to venture a battle before the enemy could come up,—he did not concert an alternative in case the enemy arrived sooner, or his own army was not assembled so soon as he expected. The Duke of Cumberland had marched from Aberdeen the 8th of April, and encamped at Cullen the 11th; he was joined, the next day, by Lord Albermarle and General Bland, from Strathbogie, with the troops under their command; the 12th, the whole army marched to the Spey. The Duke of Perth, who happened to be in those parts, and commanded all the troops that were to the eastward of Inverness, remained upon the river side till the enemy was in sight, and then retired to Elgin, where he was joined by the parties that had been stationed at all the fords for seven or eight miles above Fochabers: the Duke of Cumberland's whole army passed the river that day, and encamped within three or four miles of Elgin.

The Prince and his generals have been censured for not disputing the passage of the Spey, in my opinion very unjustly. The Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond had not 2500 men; the river, which was very low at that time, was fordable in many places, in some of which the enemy might march a battalion in front; they had no artillery, and the enemy had a very good train; and, when they were driven from their post, which they must soon be by superior fire, there was no place where they could propose to make a stand till they got to the other side of the little river Findhorn.

The Prince had not time after he heard of the Duke of Cumberland's march to send reinforcements from Inverness, and, in reality, he had few troops there. Lord Cromarty had fifteen hundred men with him; the Camerons and the M^{c}Donalds, who had been at the siege of Fort William, were not returned, and the M^{c}Phersons were in their own country. But, above all, nothing was to be risked that might dishearten the common soldiers at the eve of a general and decisive

action. The Duke of Perth remained at Elgin till night, and then retired to Forres, where, having allowed his men some hours for rest and refreshment, he continued his retreat next day to Nairn, while the Duke of Cumberland advanced and encamped on a moor about midway betwixt Elgin and Forres. The 14th, the Duke of Cumberland came to Nairn, where the Duke of Perth waited till he was within a mile of the town, and began his retreat in sight of the enemy. The Duke of Cumberland sent his cavalry to harass the rear and retard the march if possible, till a considerable body of foot which followed could come up; but they would take no advantage of this retreat, which was performed in very good order; the foot kept their ranks, and were always ready to form. Fitzjames' horse behaved extremely well on this occasion, and their example was followed by the rest, who all formed in their turns, and stopped the enemy's horse while the foot was marching on. The road was narrow in several places, which obliged the enemy's horse to fall out in their long march; and before they had passed a defile and formed again, the foot had gained a good deal of ground; several shots were exchanged on this occasion with little or no loss on either side. The enemy having followed a mile or two and finding it was to no purpose, desisted, and returned to their army, which camped on the west side of Nairn. I must acknowledge the Duke of Perth staid too long at Nairn; but the Prince, who wanted to gain time, had sent Sullivan to tell the Duke and his brother that they retired rather too hastily, and to desire they would keep as nigh the Duke of Cumberland as was consistent with their safety. This message put them perhaps too much on their mettle, and might have occasioned their defeat, had the troops under their command behaved with less intrepidity, or the enemy made a desperate attack when they first came up. The Duke of Perth continued his march till he received orders from the Prince to halt somewhat short of Culloden, where the Prince was to come with what troops he had at Inverness; he did so that evening, and took up his quarters at Culloden House.

An opinion prevailed that the Duke of Cumberland would choose to fight the next day, as it was his birthday, and the despatch he had made from Cullen gave some grounds to believe that he would not halt at Nairn. This was a little perplexing, for the Prince wanted a great many of his men. Lochiel was indeed arrived with a fine body of Camerons; but neither Lord Cromarty, M^{c}Donald of Keppoch, M^{c}Pherson of Cluny was come up, nor could they be supposed to be within a day's march. However, the Prince resolved to meet the Duke of Cumberland with what troops he had; he hoped the bravery of his men would make up for the inequality of numbers, and he thought that to avoid a battle, even waiting for reinforcements, would check the ardour which he observed with great pleasure in every body's countenance, and indeed this little army was in the highest spirits imaginable; one would not have thought them the same that but a week ago were grumbling and finding fault with everything.

The 15th, the Prince marched from his quarters very early in the morning, and drew up his army on the field he had pitched upon. There is a rising ground, [between] Culloden and the river Nairn, which reaches a great way towards the town of Nairn; the ascent is steep on both sides, particularly from the shore; towards the town of Nairn the hill dies away insensibly; the top is a level moor, about half a mile broad. It was more than probable that the Duke of Cumberland would come along this moor; and it was much fitter for an army to march and form when there would be an occasion, than the common road betwixt Nairn and Inverness. It was across this moor the Prince drew up his army, with the river on his right, and the enclosures of Culloden on his left. Parties of horse had been sent towards Nairn to reconnoitre, but no enemy appeared. About noon every body concluded the Duke of Cumberland would not march that day. As soon as it was certain that there would be no action, the Highlanders, who had hitherto expressed the greatest ardour, began to leave their ranks; hunger got the better of their patience; few of the common men had eat any thing for a day

or two before; they went off on all sides in quest of victuals, particularly towards Inverness. Orders were given immediately to put a stop to this disorder, and a little bread was distributed to the army, but so very sparingly, that the officers, as well as the men, got but a biscuit each.

The Prince had been frequently ill served by some of those that Murray had recommended to places of importance; but their blunders never proved so fatal as upon this important occasion. There was at that time a provision of meal at Inverness sufficient to maintain the army a fortnight. There was a considerable quantity of salt beef that had been found in the castle, besides other meat that might have been found in that town and neighbourhood; but such had been the negligence of those, whose province it was to supply the army, that such as had not servants to bring them victuals were in a downright starving condition. The small pittance that was given only gave the men a desire for more, and the desertion still continued in spite of all the endeavours that were used to stop it.

In the meantime the Prince called his principal officers together to deliberate on what was to be done. The army was visibly diminished since the morning, and then there had been a great many wanting. No news yet of Lord Cromarty, Keppoch, or Cluny, but that they were upon the road. Keppoch indeed was at hand, and came up in the evening; but it was uncertain whether the other two could join next day, when it was not to be doubted but that the Duke of Cumberland would come up. Lord George Murray proposed to go and attack the enemy that night in their camp. If they were surprised, they would be easily routed; and supposing them to be on their guard, it appeared still to be the best chance of getting the better of their numbers, their discipline, their cavalry, and their cannon, in which consisted their strength and superiority over the Prince's army. These advantages would be in a great measure lost in the confusion of an attack in the dark, for which no troops in the world are so fit as Highlanders; they march quicker and with less noise, and are more impetuous on their first onset than any other troops; and when once they are in among regular troops, their arms, and their dexterity in use of them, give them infinite advantage. There was another advantage to be expected from a night attack. It was well known that several officers as well as soldiers in the Duke of Cumberland's army were in their hearts friends to the Prince's cause. It might be presumed that these would make no great efforts against their inclination in the dark; on the contrary, it was to be expected that some of them would industriously propagate the terror and confusion, when they could do it without danger of being discovered.

In fine, there could be no dispute as to the expediency of a night attack in general, tho' there was an objection against making one that night: the enemie's camp was eight or ten miles distant; it was hardly possible to reach it, and make the proper dispositions, before day light. It had been better to occupy some strong camp, and wait till the Duke of Cumberland advanced within two or three miles, then the Prince could have calculated his attack for what hour he pleased; his men would not be fatigued, and he would be much stronger in numbers by the arrival of the reinforcements, which were coming from almost all quarters. I don't know whether the scheme was proposed to the Prince: I am sure it was talked of at that time in the army. If it is asked, why it was not proposed by those that thought of it, and talked of it among themselves? The answer may be gathered from what has been said formerly of the care taken by those who got first about the Prince to exclude their betters from his person and acquaintance. It was by no means his fault that modest merit had no access to him; for he is naturally affable, fond of knowing every thing by himself, and willing to listen to every body; but he was eternally beset by those who had surprised his confidence. Gentlemen, whose faces were not known to the Prince, and not agreeable to the faction, could hardly fight their way through a crowd of sycophants; and if they did, they were

represented to the Prince as dangerous, at least insignificant people. Besides, at this particular juncture, every man was at his post, where it was his duty to remain till further orders. Perhaps the Prince would not have gone into such a scheme had it been duly proposed; he dreaded nothing so much as the appearance of fear at the approach of the Duke of Cumberland. He had too high an opinion of the bravery of his men; he thought all irresistible; hitherto they had never been worsted in any encounter; every skirmish had ended to their advantage, and the enemy on every occasion had shewn the strongest symptoms of fear and diffidence. I don't mention this to excuse the Prince's conduct, but only to account for it. He ought certainly to have taken all the precaution imaginable, and to have omitted nothing that would tend to his success. The only excuse that can be offered for marching that night, after so many of the common men had left their ranks, was, lest a great many more should follow their ex ample, and not return in time next day; but this was evidently occasioned by hunger, and the cause ought to have been removed. However, it was resolved to march to Nairn; what orders were given about provisions I do not know; but the army marched a little after sunset without a morsel of bread. The order of the attack was settled thus:—the clans, who had the van, were to form themselves in three little columns, and attack the camp in three different places at once; they were to be followed and sustained by the rest of the army drawn up in one line. It was hoped the march would be performed, the disposition made, and the attack begun while it was yet dark; and if the thing succeeded, the Prince would have the whole day to complete the victory: but tho' the success depended in a great measure upon expedition, the most expeditious [way] was, by I don't know what infatuation, neglected. Instead of marching in different columns as far as the ground would allow it, the army marched in one column, three men only in front; by this means the march was very slow, frequently interrupted; and when the night was almost spent, the head of the column was about three miles distant from the enemy.

Lord George Murray, who led the van, was now sensible that it was now too late to surprise the enemy, or even to attack with advantage; that on the contrary all the advantage would be on their side; as it would be broad day-light before the Prince's army could arrive, the enemy would have abundance of time to make their dispositions, and discover the weakness of those who were coming against them. Lord George communicated these reflections to those that were about him, and finding them of his opinion, he ordered the column to halt, and sent a gentleman to the Prince to represent these things, and to propose a retreat to Culloden or Inverness, where he may take new measures according to the occurrences. The Prince would hear of nothing but advancing and attacking the enemy at any rate, and sent positive orders to that purpose. But Lord George having again consulted with some of the chiefs that were along with him, and were entirely of his sentiment, instead of going on, marched the head of the column to the left, and fell into the low road from Nairn to Inverness; the rest of the army followed without knowing exactly whither; but day-light soon discovered the country, and abundance of people were surprised to find themselves going back to Inverness.

The Prince was incensed beyond expression at a retreat begun in direct contradiction to his inclination and express orders; in the first moments he was convinced he was betrayed, and expressed himself to that purpose; he was confirmed in this opinion by those who never missed an opportunity of leading Lord George Murray. But when he knew that this step had been taken in concert with Lochiel and others whom he had never distrusted, he did not know what to think, nor what to do: Thus perplexed he arrived with the army at Culloden. The common men lay down to rest, or went in quest of something to eat, according as weariness or hunger was most severely felt. The Prince and the principal officers went to Culloden House, where, instead of deliberating about what was proper to be done at this critical juncture, they stared at one another with amazement;

every body looked sullen and dejected; those that had taken it upon themselves to begin the retreat, as well as those that had not any share in it.

As the night attack that was projected had miscarried, it was perhaps the wisest course to retire, had proper measures been taken to avoid an action till the men had recovered their strength and spirits, and the reinforcements that were expected were arrived. Nothing was easier than to avoid an action for several days; the Prince had only to retire beyond Inverness, or beyond the river of Nairn; but he thought either of these would be an argument of fear, an acknowledgement of the Duke of Cumberland's superiority, and discourage the army. However, it was easy to avoid an action for four and twenty hours, by retiring into the town, or occupying some strong camp in the neighbourhood of it. The enemy would not have attempted to force the town or a strong camp the same day they marched from Nairn; but nothing of this kind was concerted; that unfortunate misunderstanding occasioned by the retreat, and improved by the suggestions of those that had the Prince's ear, left no room for deliberation.

This was the first time the Prince ever thought his affairs desperate. He saw his little army much reduced, and half dead with hunger and fatigue, and found himself under a necessity of fighting in that miserable condition—for he would not think of a retreat, which he had never yielded to but with the greatest reluctancy, and which on this occasion he imagined would disperse the few men he had, and put an inglorious end to his expedition. He resolved to wait for the enemy, be the event what it would, and he did not wait long, for he had been but a few hours at Culloden when his scouts brought him word that the enemy was within two miles, advancing towards the moor, where the Prince had drawn up his army the day before. The men were scattered among the woods of Culloden, the greatest part fast asleep. As soon as the alarm was given, the officers ran about on all sides to rouse them, if I may use that expression, among the bushes, and some went to Inverness to bring back such of the men as hunger had driven there. Notwithstanding the pains taken by the officers to assemble the men, there were several hundreds absent from the battle, though within a mile of it: some were quite exhausted and not able to crawl, and others asleep in coverts that had not been beat up. However, in less time than one could have imagined, the best part of the army was assembled and formed on the moor, where it had been drawn up the day before,—every corps knew its post, and went straight to it, without waiting for fresh orders. The order of battle was as follows;—the army was drawn up in two lines; the first was composed of the Athol brigade, which had the right, the Camerons, Stuarts of Appin, Frazers, Macintoshes, Farquharsons, Chisolms, Perths, Roy Stuart's regiments, and the M^{c}Donalds, who had the left. There had been a violent contestation about the right, which the M^{c}Donalds had held in the former two battles, and claimed as their due from immemorial possession. Lord George Murray insisted that the Athol men had the right in Montrose's war, and made a point of it that should be so on this occasion. I shall not enter into a discussion of their different claims, but I cannot help observing that nothing could be more unreasonable than a dispute of that kind. The Prince would not decide in a matter he was ignorant of, but as the thing must be settled in some shape or other, he found it easier to prevail with the commanders of the M^{c}Donalds to waive their pretensions for this once, than with Lord George to drop his claim. However, the M^{c}Donalds in general were far from being satisfied with the complaisance of their commanders. The second line was made up of the rest of the army in the following order;—Lord Ogilvie's regiment was placed behind the right wing, on the right of Lord Ogilvie's was Avuchie's battalion, drawn up in a column, to cover the flank and rear from the enemy's horse; Stoneywood's battalion and Sir Alexander Bannerman's, were disposed much in the same manner behind the left wing; behind the centre was Lord John Drummond's regiment, Lord Kilmarnock's foot guards, who had the Royal Standard, and the Irish picquets. To the right of

this corps de reserve—so called because there was no other—were Fitzjames' horse, and what remained of Lord Elcho's troop, for several of these gentlemen had chosen to charge on foot as volunteers among the Athol men, and the hussars were on the left of the corps de reserve. There was a battery of three or four fieldpieces on each wing, but the cannoneers belonging to the battery on the left could not be found, and some common soldiers were sent to do the best they could. The Prince placed himself behind the centre of the army, he had the whole field under his eye, and could send orders on every side, according to exigencies. In this posture the Prince's army remained above an hour, while the enemy, who were now all in sight, were forming and advancing along the moor. They made a very good appearance; they were drawn up in three lines, or two lines and a large corps de reserve, with their cavalry on the wings. They had sixteen pieces of cannon placed in the intervals of the battalions of the first and second line. The Highlanders, though faint with hunger, and ready to drop down with fatigue and want of sleep, seemed to forget all their hardships at the approach of the enemy; it was surprising with what alacrity and spirit they returned the shout given by the Duke of Cumberland's army. The cannonading began on the Prince's side from the battery on the right; the first volley occasioned some disorder in the left of the enemy, which was immediately repaired, the battery on the left followed the example of the other, but discontinued almost as soon as it began. The enemy was not long in returning the compliment, and their artillery was admirably well served; they seemed to aim chiefly at the horse in the beginning,—it was probably either because the horse were a better mark, or that they supposed the Prince was among them. In the meantime, Lord George Murray, seeing a squadron of the enemy's dragoons, and the Campbells, detach themselves from their left and march down towards the river, judged that they intended to flank the Highlanders, or come upon the rear of the army when it was engaged in front. To prevent these inconveniences, he made Avuchie's battalion advance towards the Campbells, but they had already broke into an enclosure towards the river, and made a passage for the dragoons, who came round the right of the Prince's army, and formed in the rear of it. Upon which Lord George ordered the guards and Fitzjames' horse quite to right flank, and made them form opposite to the dragoons, upon the brink of a hollow way; the ascent was somewhat steep on both sides, so that neither could pass safely in presence of the other. The Campbells advanced no farther, and Avuchie's battalion was ordered to watch their motions. The Prince, observing these dispositions, and seeing that all was safe on that side, sent orders to Lord George to march up to the enemy. It was indeed high time to come to a close engagement, for the enemy had infinite advantage in cannonading; however, Lord George still delayed the attack, imagining, I presume, that they were as yet at too great a distance, and that what vigour the men had left would be spent before they could reach the enemy. There might be another reason, too; Lord George had on his right a farm house and some old enclosure-walls, which the Campbells now occupied, he might think proper to wait till the first line of the Duke of Cumberland's army came up to these walls, which would secure him from being flanked by the dragoons, of which-he had observed that the far greatest part was on their left. But the enemy did not advance, as he expected, and continued with their cannon to gall the Prince's army. At length the Highlanders, who grew very impatient, called aloud to be led on, which Lord George did without further delay. The order was no sooner given on the right than obeyed, and almost as soon as the line began to move, the enemy began a very smart fire from left to right. Their musketry did no$_t$ great execution at first, but their canon, which were now charged with grape shot, did a great deal, particularly an advanced battery on their left, which flanked the Athol men, as did likewise the Campbells from behind the walls. The reader has observed elsewhere that the method of the Highlanders is to give a general discharge of their fire-arms, and then run sword in hand, but upon this occasion they

broke their ranks before it was time to give their fire; their eagerness to come up with an enemy that had so much the advantage of them at a distance, made them rush on with the utmost violence, but in such confusion, that they could make no use of their firearms. Among other disadvantages, the wind which had been so favourable to the Highlanders at Falkirk, was now directly in their faces, and more detrimental, as there was much more firing. They were buried in a cloud of smoke, and felt their enemies without seeing them; however, in spite of all these difficulties, they went on sword in hand, and broke through the left of the enemy's first line, but the second line advancing and firing upon them, they gave way, leaving a great many brave fellows upon the spot. The deroute, which began on the right, soon became general along the whole line; that must naturally happen so much the more that the right was beat before the centre could join the enemy, and the centre gave way, while the M^{c}Donalds, who were upon the left, were still at a greater distance from the right of the enemy, so that all the way to the left of the Prince's army—while they were marching up —they saw themselves abandoned on the right, and exposed to be flanked by enemies that had now nothing to oppose them in front. To understand this, it must be remembered that the orders to attack were given on the right—that these orders were instantly obeyed, without waiting till they were communicated along the line, which required some minutes,—thus the right had the start considerably, and quickening their pace as they went along, had already joined the enemy before the left had got half-way over the ground that separated them. Another circumstance, perhaps, contributed to make this difference more considerable; the two armies did not seem to be exactly parallel to one another, the right of the Prince's army (at least it appeared so to me) was somewhat nigher to the enemy than the left. Be that as it will, the only chance the Prince had for a victory that day, was a general shock of the whole line at once; had that happened, it is more than probable that the first line of the enemy would have been routed, whatever might have been the consequence afterwards, while the first line of the Prince's army was engaged, the second advanced in good order to sustain it, but the day was irrecoverably lost, nothing could stop the Highlanders after they began to run, and the second line was but a handful in comparison of the Duke of Cumberland's whole army; however, their countenance stopped for a while the pursuit of the enemy's cavalry and saved abundance of men's lives. On the left the picquets brought off some of the MacDonalds, who were almost surrounded by Kingston's horse, and on the right Ogilvie's regiment faced about several times to the dragoons that followed, but durst neither attack nor pass the regiment. But as the French troops retired towards Inverness, and the others towards the river Nairn, the field of battle was soon abandoned to the fury of the enemy, which increased as the opposition and danger diminished.

The Prince seeing his army entirely routed, and all his endeavours to rally the men fruitless, was at last prevailed upon to retire; most of his horse assembled about his person to secure his retreat, which was made without any danger, for the enemy advanced very leisurely over the ground. They were too happy to have got so cheap a victory over a Prince and an enemy that they had so much reason to dread. They made no attack where there was any body of the Prince's men together, but contented themselves with sabering such unfortunate people as fell in their way single and disarmed.

Exceeding few were made prisoners in the field of battle, which was such a scene of horror and inhumanity, as is rarely to be met with among civilized nations. Every circumstance concurs to heighten the enormity of the cruelties exercised on this occasion: the shortness of the action, the cheapness of the victory, which irrecoverably ruined the Prince's affairs, and above all, the moderation the Prince had shewn during his prosperity, the lenity and even tenderness with which he had always treated his enemies. But what was done on the field of Culloden was but a prelude to

a long series of massacres committed in cold blood, which I shall have occasion to mention afterwards.

It were impertinent, after the detail I have given of this decisive action, and of what preceded it, to trouble the reader with many reflections; he is now in a condition to trace the Prince's misfortunes up to their true sources. In the first place, he was disappointed of the succours he had all reason to expect from France, and without which it was next to impossible for him to succeed, and then he was all along ill served by the person in whom he placed his whole confidence. I don't mean that Secretary Murray had as yet laid a formal design to betray his Master; that was inconsistent with his ambitious views, his dreams of grandeur: But he indisposed the Prince against those that were most capable of serving him, and committed the most important charges to such as were by no means qualified for them: to this alone can be imputed the starving condition the army was in the last two days, and to the other was owing the fatal misunderstanding and confusion that prevailed upon the retreat from Nairn, and prevented any right measures being taken in consequence of that disappointment. The behaviour of the men in this last action has been censured. I am persuaded when the reader has considered all the circumstances, he'll think, as I do, that the battle of Culloden, does them at least as much honor as either of the other two. Their strength and spirits were quite exhausted through want of food, and rest for some days; they were allowed too much leisure to contemplate an enemy, more than double their number, and they were cannonaded for a considerable time at every small distance. Notwithstanding all these pressures and discouragements they stood their ground, and kept their ranks till they got orders to attack, and then they went on with extraordinary resolution. It's not to be wondered that they were beat at last, but very surprising, every thing considered, they did not run away much sooner. Much the same judgement may be made of the Prince's whole expedition by any person that considers the various difficulties he had to struggle with. If he did less at Culloden than was expected from him, 'twas only because he had formerly done more than could be expected. From what he performed amidst all the disadvantages under which he laboured, it's easy to imagine what would have happened had he been supplied with money, a body of regular troops, and a few officers of rank, skill, and experience. One general officer of reputation in the world would have been of infinite service: besides the advantage that might have been expected from his knowledge in military operations, he would have certainly prevented all contests about power and command, if any body had been still foolish enough to pretend to direct, he must soon have dropt his pretensions, as he would not have been seconded by any man of science in the army. If Lord George Murray's opinion had greater influence in the council than the Duke of Perth's, the Secretary's, or Sullivan's, it was only because those that composed the council had a better opinion of Lord George's understanding and skill, for there was not a man in the council that had the least dependence upon him, nay, very few of them were of his acquaintance before the Prince came to Scotland. The same thing must have happened against Lord George in favor of a man they had still entertained a higher opinion of. It must be acknowledged, then, as one of the greatest oversights in the Prince's whole conduct, his coming over without an officer of distinction. He was too young himself, and had too little experience to perform all the functions of a general; and though there are examples of princes that seem to have been born generals, they had the advice and assistance of old experienced officers, men that understood, in detail, all that belongs to an army. The Prince had in his army abundance of good subjects, had he known them, but that was impossible, unless he could have read in people's countenances at first sight what they were capable of. Besides an eternal hurry of business, that allowed him no opportunity of making a general acquaintance, I have already observed what pains were taken to prevent it by Murray and his associates, who laboured nothing

so hard as to keep the Prince in ignorance of what he wanted most to know. *Claudentes Principem suum atque nihil tarn efficientes, ut nequid sciat.* It's true, most of the subjects the Prince had were novices in the art of war, but good sense, application and practice, would soon have supplied the want of many years' experience. But had all been done that was possible without money, regular troops, and experienced generals, it must still remain doubtful whether the Prince would have succeeded in the main; in the circumstances he was in, it's no wonder he did so little, but it's amazing that he did so much. He retired along the moor, pointing towards Fort Augustus, where he had passed the river of Nairn; he halted and went aside with Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sullivan, Hay, and a few more, and having taken his resolution, he sent young Sheridan to the gentlemen, who were now pretty numerous, and waited the result of this deliberation. Sheridan at first pretended to conduct them to the place where the* Prince was to assemble his army again, but having conducted them about half-a-mile on the road to Ruthven, he dismissed them all in the Prince's name, letting them know it was the Prince's pleasure they should shift for themselves. There was indeed hardly any thing else to be done. There were no magazines in the Highlands. The meal that had been carried to Fort Augustus, had been brought back to Inverness, or embezzled by the people of the country. There was at that time a greater scarcity than usual in the Highlands, which of themselves afford nothing in that season. It would have been impossible for a considerable body of men to subsist together. The Lowlanders at least must have starved in a country that had not subsistence for its own inhabitants, and where they neither knew the roads nor the language. These considerations had determined the Prince to lay aside all thoughts of making a stand at present, and to make the best of his way to France; he still flattered himself his presence and personal application might prevail with that Court, to grant the succours that had been so long solicited in vain by his agents there. He went that evening to a house belonging to Lord Lovat's steward, where having seen that Lord for the first time, and having supped with him, he continued his journey to Fort Augustus, where he arrived next morning, attended by Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sullivan, Hay, Allan M^{c}Donald, and M^{c}Leod, one of his Aide-de-Camps. He left some of these gentlemen at Fort Augustus, with orders to follow him leisurely, and send him what intelligence they might get; and taking along with him Sullivan and Allan M^{c}Donald, who knew the country, he went to Locharkegg, and slept at the house of a gentleman of the name of Cameron. His landlord conducted him next morning to Loch Morar, where having waited some hours for a boat that could not be found, he was obliged to go on foot to Glenboisdale, nigh Loch Nuah, the roads being impracticable for horses. He remained several days at Glenboisdale waiting for news, he was still loath to leave the country, if there was any prospect that his presence could be of use, but he soon perceived it would be to no purpose, and very unsafe to stay any longer. Besides the gentlemen that had attended the Prince in his retreat from the field of battle, the Athol men, almost all the Low Country people that had been in his army, had retired to Ruthven with the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, and Lord George Murray, &c. There were together at Ruthven between two and three thousand men, but not a day's subsistence. The gentlemen that commanded them, finding it impossible to keep the men together, and having no orders from the Prince, took a melancholy leave of each other, and dispersed themselves on all sides to look out for places of shelter, and the common men went straight to their respective homes. The Prince was informed of this, but still thought that a good many of his friends might be got together from the south side of Fort Augustus, if there was occasion. He wanted to know what was become of the M^{c}Donalds and Camerons, and what they would propose. A letter from Sir Tho^{s} Sheridan informed him, two days after his arrival at Glenboisdale, that Lochiel, who had been wounded in the leg, had been transported into his own country; that they were together at Lochiel's brother's house, and were in hopes that some men

might be got together and make a shift to subsist. Clanronald arrived about the same time, and was of the same mind. The Prince began to waver about his voyage to France; he began to entertain thoughts of assembling his scattered forces, and making the best defence he could in a country that is naturally very strong. Clanronald supplied him with a few men, whom he sent on all sides for intelligence, but the project soon vanished. He had accounts from the Isle of Sky, that Lord Loudon was to come over immediately to the coast of Arisaig; and there was a rumour that a detachment from the Duke of Cumberland's army was already arrived at Fort Augustus; this last report proved false. However, there had been some foundation for it, a party had been sent into Strathwick a day or two after the battle. It was confidently reported that they had come on to Fort Augustus, and it was generally believed. By this means, the M^{c}Donalds and the Camerons were supposed to be entirely cut off from the rest of what had composed the Prince's army, and it appeared now impossible to assemble it. This determined the Prince to endeavour, without farther delay, to get to France. Before he set out, he sent to Sir Thos. Sheridan a letter for the Highland chiefs, representing the expediency of his going to France to solicit succours, which he would bring himself, exhorting them to assemble what men they could, and dispute every inch of that country, and recommending to them to keep a good understanding and correspondence among themselves, absolutely necessary for their mutual safety. The Prince put to sea in the very same place where he had landed, in a small boat, attended by Sullivan, O'Neal, Allan M^{c}Donald, and Donald McLeods, and half a dozen common fellows, on Saturday the 26th. His design was to get to the Long Island, under which name are comprehended those Western Islands that run almost in a straight line from north to south, and are at a small distance from one another. He thought he could hardly fail of a vessel to carry him to France, at least to the Orkneys, whence he would have a short passage to Sweden or Norway. He set sail in the evening with as much day light as was necessary to get clear of Loch Nuah. As the coast had been guarded by English ships of war since his arrival in Scotland, it was not safe to go beyond the mouth of the loch till it was dark. He had hardly got clear of the coast, when a violent storm arose,—the boat was every moment in danger of being overset: all hands were at work, but could hardly suffice to throw out the water as fast as it came in. The Prince encouraged the rest by word and example,—he worked as hard as any body, and was the only person that seemed void of concern. M^{c}Leods, who was best versed in these affairs, thought it was impossible to get to the Long Island, and proposed to make the nearest land, which was the Isle of Sky; but the Prince was positive to go to some part of the Long Island at all hazards. The wind was abated somewhat towards the morning, and when it was light they discovered land. As the sea was still exceedingly rough, they made for the nearest, which was the North Uist, and got in between North Uist and the little island of Benbecula, which lies between North and South Uist. They made for the coast of Benbecula; but as this strait is full of little rocks, and the waves still continued very high, it was with the utmost difficulty and danger that he got to a landing place. Once, particularly, they had a very narrow escape; the wind was driving them full upon a rock; it was impossible to divert the course of the boat without lowering the little mast and sail; four or five men had striven in vain to do it, and were returned to their oars, though there were hardly any hopes of avoiding the rock that way; but what their united strength could not effectuate, was performed with ease by one man, who lowered the mast in the critical minute when they must have otherwise been dashed to pieces.

The Prince found at a small distance from the shore an empty hut, where he and his attendants took shelter, and such refreshments as could be made of oat meal and water. The Prince was confined two or three days by the violence of the weather. He left Benbecula in the evening, and steering northwards, arrived about day break at Glass, a small island that divides Loch Scalpa from

Loch Skifforth on the coast of Lewis. Though this island belonged to M^{c}Leods, the Prince was very well received and entertained by an honest man, to whom he discovered himself. He sent M^{c}Leods, his pilot, in the landlord's boat to Stornoway, in the Isle of Lewis, to freight a vessel for Bergen in Norway. As M^{c}Leods was known at Stornaway to be a trading man, he made bargain for a ship without giving any suspicion; but either having drunk too much, or otherwise misjudging the matter, he let the ship master into the secret, which, instead of encouraging him to get every thing ready' with the utmost diligence, so terrified him and his friends whom he consulted, that he gave up the bargain next morning. There was an English ship of war actually in the bay of Stornoway; and besides that danger, they dreaded the resentment of Lord Seaforth, who is master of Lewis, and had sent strict orders to the inhabitants not to harbour any of the Prince's unfortunate friends. In the meantime, the Prince received a message from M^{c}Leods acquainting him with the bargain he had made; and having no notice of M^{c}Leod's indiscretion, and its unlucky consequences, he set out from Glass the third day after his arrival; his honest landlord's son and servant set him ashore at the end of Loch Skifforth in the evening. He expected to reach Stornoway by midnight, and get on board unperceived, but he was disappointed every way; the guide mistaking the road, the Prince wandered all night, and did not get to the neighbourhood of Stornoway till eleven o'clock next day. He sent immediately to acquaint M^{c}Leod with his arrival, and get his directions about embarking, and about a place of shelter. In the meanwhile M^{c}Leod sent his son to acquaint the Prince with the disappointment, and conduct him to a lady's house nigh Stornoway. He met with a most cordial reception, and much better entertainment than he had found since he left the coast of Scotland; it was very seasonable, for he stood in great need of rest and refreshment: he had been marching on foot above twelve hours in a continued rain; and besides the fatigue and cold he had endured, his feet were cut to pieces, his shoes were quite worn out and tied upon his feet with pack-thread. But he was soon forced from this retreat. M^{c}Leod's bargain had taken air, and it was rumoured about that the Prince was in the island, upon which the mob, at the instigation of the minister of Stornoway, began to assemble. The Prince seeing no prospect of getting a vessel at Stornoway, and finding himself very unsafe in the neighbourhood of that place, resolved to leave it, but was much at a loss which way to steer his course. He was now at a considerable distance from the coast of Scotland, and knew nothing of the situation of that country since he had left it. On the other hand, he thought it would hardly be possible for him to be concealed in any of these islands till fortune threw a vessel in his way; and if he was discovered in a small island, he would soon be invested on all sides, and could hardly escape falling into the hands of his enemies. Upon the whole, he thought it safest to return to the coast of Scotland, and resolved to go straight from Lewis to Pollieu in Kintail. With this view he put to sea the third of May, without letting the boatmen know whither he was bound; but the boatmen finding he made them go a great way from the shore, began to suspect his design, and refused to go any further that way, alledging the danger of such a traject in so small a boat; they had not forgot the storm they had so narrowly escaped the night they set out from Loch Nuah. In the meantime, they discovered two large ships sailing northwards and making towards them, which soon put an end to this dispute; all agreed to make the best of their way to the nearest land, which happened to be the little Island of Errifort on the east side of Lewis. The Prince and his attendants landed here and went straight to the summit of a little hill to take a view of the two ships. The Prince judged them to be French, tho' all the rest were persuaded they were English; however, he would not prevail with the boatmen to go and reconnoitre them. It's more than probable that they were the two frigates from Nantes that arrived in Loch Nuah a few days after the Prince's departure; and having landed the money, arms and ammunition they had brought, too late for the Prince's affairs, were returning to

France. The Duke of Perth, his brother, Lord Elcho, and several low country gentlemen, were actually on board. They happened to be wandering in these parts when the frigates were setting out upon their return; and finding the Prince gone, and nothing further to be undertaken for his service, they took this opportunity of making their escape. When these ships were gone, the Prince got into his little boat again and sailed southwards along the coast of Lewis. The difficulty the boatmen had made to go to the coast of Scotland, had determined him to go back to Benbecula, and thence to South Uist. He went ashore in the Isle of Glass; but not finding his former landlord at home, and knowing no one else to whom he could safely make himself known, he put to sea immediately, and continued his intended route along the coast of Harris, where he very narrowly escaped being taken as he passed the mouth of a harbour: his boat was discovered by an English sloop that was lying there; she hoisted her sails immediately, but a brisk gale and four oars, that were well plyed on this occasion, carried the boat out of sight before the sloop could get out of the harbour. The Prince had hardly got clear of this danger when the wind turned contrary, and obliged him to put in at a small desert island on the coast of North Uist, and detained him there three or four days. The provisions he had got from his landlady at Stornoway were now spent, but, by good luck, there was a fisherman's hut in this island, and a considerable quantity of dried fish, upon which the Prince and his attendants lived mostly while they remained here. They put to sea again as soon as the weather would admit of it, and, having stopped a day or two in Benbecula, got to South Uist about the middle of May. The Prince repaired to a little hut upon the shore, and sent one of his boatmen to a gentleman's house in this island to acquaint him with his arrival and situation; he was in absolute want of every thing, and his health began to be affected with the hardships he had undergone. The gentleman sent to, came immediately, and brought along with him some Spanish wine, beer, biscuits, shirts, shoes, and stockings, all which were very seasonable and welcome: he sent back to his house for what else he saw the Prince stood in need of, and, among other things, proposed sheets to lye in, but the Prince told him he was a Highlander, and, shewing him his plaid, said he carried all his bedclothes about with him: What he wanted most now was a solitary place of retreat till he had news from the main-land, as these islanders call the coast of Scotland, and a suit of Highland clothes, that he might not be remarkable; hitherto he had worn a waistcoat and breeches made of his riding-coat, which made every body know him to be a stranger;—these things were not hard to be found. The Prince, being assured of a convenient place to retire to, despatched Allan M^{c}Donald and M^{c}Leods to the Main-land, and next day he was conducted to a glen in the middle of the island; there was a house in the glen, and no other within some miles of it, and on one side a high mountain, whence one could discover a great part of the islands and the sea on both sides of it. This seemed to be a place of great privacy and safety, and the Prince resolved to remain here till he had certain intelligence from the Main-land.

I have delayed giving an account of what happened there, that I might not interrupt the thread of the Prince's adventures, till I had conducted him to his first resting-place. When I left the Duke of Cumberland and his army victorious on the field of Culloden, I intended to give a particular relation of their exploits during the rest of the campaign, but I find myself utterly unable for such a task; it's not in my power to dwell upon a continued series of massacres, attended with such shocking circumstances as make human nature start back at the bare thought of them. .There is hardly an act of violence to be found in the histories of the most barbarous nations, but may be matched in the Duke of Cumberland's expedition into the Highlands. All the horrid cruelties that sometimes attend a long-disputed field of battle, or a town taken by storm, in the first moments of the soldiers' fury, were committed wantonly and in cold blood. It's hardly conceivable what could unman, to this degree, a people formerly renowned for magnanimity and good nature. Lord

Ancram, Hawley, Lockart, Scot, Fergusson, and such like miscreants must have had a strange notion of those to whom they thought they were making their court while they were thus disgracing human nature, and fixing an indelible stain upon their country. I don't know what particular orders they had from their General, but it's certain that the greatest barbarities were committed in a manner under his eye, and the principal actors received distinguishing marks of his favour. This plan of operations was, it seems, laid immediately after the battle of Culloden, if not sooner, for it was begun next day, and the impudent forgery of an order from the Prince to give no quarters, could be calculated for no other purpose but to execute what was intended, and to divest th^ common soldiers of all sentiments of humanity and compassion, and harden them for the execution of such bloody designs. Nothing could be imagined so inconsistent with the Prince's character and the whole tenor of his conduct, as an order of this kind. There are as many instances of his lenity ' and moderation as he had opportunities of exerting them: there are even some beyond example, and without the bounds of common prudence. After so many of his prisoners had violated their parole, those officers that were taken at Inverness and Fort Augustus were indulged so much liberty, that they had it in their power to make their escape, and some of them did so. Nevertheless, those that remained, and the officers that were afterwards taken in Sutherland, were as well used as if all their fellow officers had behaved themselves like men of honor. Even the common soldiers were as well treated as the necessity of the Prince's affairs would allow. He had a great many of them on his hands towards the end, and they were maintained while his own men could hardly find subsistence; so that if it's possible for a Prince to err on the side of lenity, several errors of that kind may justly be imputed to him; but it were superfluous to refute a calumny which was absurd from its first invention; and if ever it gained any credit, must have lost it since Lord Balmerino's vindication of the Prince upon the scaffold. The Prince's conduct, then, far from justifying the cruelty of his enemies, aggravates the enormity of their guilt. After the sketch I have drawn of the Duke of Cumberland and his army, I think myself bound in justice to let the reader know, that there were in it officers of all ranks, whom neither the prospect of ingratiating themselves and making their fortunes, nor the contagion of bad example, were able to corrupt. Some of those that had done the Government the most essential services were as conspicuous now for their humanity as formerly for their courage and conduct. It might be indiscreet to be particular at present; but their names, which are writ with indelible characters in the hearts of those poor people that owe to them the preservation of their being, will be carefully handed down to posterity. They are already known, and even in the worst of times meet with the applause they deserve from all those that have a fellow feeling for their species.

The reader will be satisfied with the manner of treating this subject in general, when he reflects, that it saves him abundance of shocking scenes he must have seen had I been particular.

The Duke was now at Fort Augustus with the main body of his army, and had parties out on all sides. They had penetrated into the most inaccessible parts of the Highlands, and carried fire and sword every where. Those of the Highlanders that had hitherto escaped, were starving in their lurking holes, which they were obliged to change almost every day; for the enemy, not sated as yet with blood and rapine, was still in motion endeavouring to glean what little remained. This was pretty much the situation of Lochiel's country, Clanronald's and Glengary's, except some districts that had fallen to the share of moderate men. When M^{c}Donald and M^{c}Leod arrived from South Uist, they made a shift nevertheless to find out Lochiel and Secretary Murray. The latter of these gentlemen had been sick for some weeks before the battle of Culloden, and had got himself transported into the Highlands the day before the action. He came to Borradel before the French frigates sailed for France; but his ambition and avarice concurred in keeping him in the country.

The money was left to his management, and he was to be Generalissimo of the Highlanders, who were to assemble and defend themselves in their own country. But they never got together in such numbers as to be able to make a stand; so when the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Fort Augustus, they were already dispersed, and, by this time, several had fallen into the hands of the enemy; and those that were as yet safe, had but a sorry prospect of being long so. Unless the enemy retired soon, there was no place quite secure; for even those that were best acquainted with the country, were obliged frequently to shift their quarters. M^{c}Donald and M^{c}Leod returned to the Prince about the beginning of June with this account from the main land; they brought a letter from Murray to the Prince confirming the accounts they gave, but advising him, at the same time, to leave Uist immediately, and repair to the little Isle of Egg, which he said had a protection, and was the only place he knew where the Prince's person would be safe till the Duke of Cumberland and his army retired out of the Highlands, and then the Prince might pass over to the mainland. But the Prince followed the advice of those that were about him, and continued in his retirement in Uist. It's hard to tell at what time precisely Murray resolved upon the treacherous part he has acted since in the most public manner; but it's highly probable that at this time he had taken his resolution, and was determined to make his peace with the Government, and redeem his worthless life at any rate, and that he chose to begin by delivering up his master; for a few days after the Prince received this letter, Captain Fergusson landed in Egg, made a strict search every where, and carried off all the men that he found under a certain age in that island.

About the middle of June, the enemy having intelligence, perhaps from the Secretary, that the Prince was in some part of the Long Island, the M^{c}Donalds of Sky and the M^{c}Leods were sent thither to apprehend him. They landed first in Barm, whence they came to Erisca. In their way to South Uist, they had orders to search every corner as they went along, and ships were stationed to prevent his escape by sea.

Hitherto the Prince had had nothing to struggle with but hunger, fatigue, and the inclemency of the weather, and such like hardships; henceforward we shall see him closely pursued by other enemies, into whose hands he must have fallen sooner or later, but for the advice and assistance of several worthy gentlemen, some of whom had never espoused his cause openly. I wish it was consistent with their safety to do them justice by letting the world know the important services they did in these critical junctures; but that must be postponed till better times, when loyalty will cease to be capital, at least humanity be no longer a crime.

The gentleman that gave the Prince the first notice of the enemy's arrival in Barra, and of what he suspected to be their design, desired him to come to a little island not far from his house, that he might give him more frequent accounts of their motions, and directions how to avoid them. The Prince did so, but was soon forced to leave this island at the approach of the enemy, who came to Erisca. Since they did not go straight from Barra to Uist, it was to be apprehended they would leave none of the little islands unsearched, as they came along. The Prince put to sea, and sailing northwards, along the coast of Uist, arrived in the little isle of Via, or Whie, betwixt Uist and Benbecula; he remained here some days, till, hearing that the enemy had traversed Uist from south to north, and was coming to Benbecula, he put to sea again, and sailed for Lochboisdel, towards the south end of Uist. This little voyage was not without danger: the boats that served to transport the enemy from island to island were now at the north end of Uist, and the Prince's boat had like to have fallen in with them. The Prince was now obliged to keep within reach of the coast, that he might get ashore if he was hard pursued by any of the English ships; this had led him into the danger I have mentioned, and it was not long after he got clear of it when he was forced to get into

a [Breyk?] to avoid some English ships that were sailing northwards along the coast of Uist. He lay concealed there all day, and, when it was dark, continued his voyage, and arrived in Lochboisdel: he did not return to the little island where he had been formerly, but went ashore in the most solitary part of the coast he could find; he sunk his boat that it might not be discovered, and with the sail made a kind of tent upon a rock that lay partly concealed by higher rocks. These precautions were necessary till he got some intelligence; he did not know upon his arrival but that some of his enemies might have staid in these parts, or others have landed, since his departure. There were indeed none at that time in the south end of Uist, but in a few days, about the beginning of July, Captain Scot landed with a strong party of regular troops, within a mile of the Prince's tent. This situation was now more critical than ever: the coast guarded by so many English vessels that there was no prospect of escaping by sea, had he known a place of safety to retire to, but there really was no place he could be altogether safe in, and he was betwixt two parties, whose design he easily guessed was to form a chain at each end of the island, and advance till they met in the middle; something must be attempted, though every thing seemed extremely hazardous. The Prince put to sea without any other scheme than to get out of the most pressing danger; he began to sail northwards along the coast, to be at a greater distance from Scot, but he soon found himself in danger of being discovered by some English ships that had now drawn as nigh as the coast would allow them; this forced him ashore before he had got out of the neighbourhood of Scot's party. He was scarce landed, when he perceived a Highlander running down the hill towards him, and making signs to him to be gone, upon which he put to sea again, and soon discovered the meaning of this man's hurry and signs—it was a party of soldiers marching directly to the place he had left, but they arrived only in time to be eye-witnesses to his escape. It's some satisfaction to get out of an imminent danger, but in the main his situation was as bad as ever; he could not remove from the shore without being perceived by some of the ships, and at land as he retired from one set of his enemies he advanced towards another. In this extremity he resolved upon the only thing that could save him: having sailed round a little promontory that concealed him to the soldiers, he went ashore again, dismissed his boatmen with Sullivan, who was not able to follow him on foot, and went, with O'Neal and one M^{c}Donald, into the heart of the island. His project was, to run all hazards in order to pass beyond the party that was in the north end of the island, and put all his enemies on one side of him. He remained two or three days at a gentleman's house, till he was informed that the Highlanders had begun to march south, and then found means to pass them unobserved.

I leave the reader to judge of the zeal and fidelity with which the Prince must have been served to be able to effectuate this. Though he kept himself as private as possible, he could not avoid being seen, and his long abode in this island had made his person known to every body, but men, women, and children kept the secret, and concurred to screen him from his enemies. This would be more remarkable had it happened but once, but the sequel of the Prince's history and adventures will furnish a vast many examples of this kind, which are less astonishing, though no less valuable from being frequent.

When the Prince left the coast, and retired to the heart of the island, he gave orders that his boat might, if possible, be brought to the north-end of it; but when he got thither, there was no appearance of his boat; however, he found one very opportunely, which carried him to Benbecula. While he was in his last lurking place in Uist, he had concerted a method of getting to the Isle of Sky. It would have been impossible for him to secure himself much longer in the island he had hitherto been wandering in. The fair sex had been all along in his interest, and given extraordinary proofs of their zeal, and now it was a young lady that was most instrumental in extricating him out

of this, the greatest of all the difficulties he had hitherto been in. She had been making a visit in South Uist, and was to return home to Sky about this time. She had a passport for herself, but was afraid that would not protect a man in her retinue; so it was resolved that the Prince should be dressed in woman's clothes, and pass for her maid. The young lady was to set out a day or two after the Prince, and meet him in Benbecula, and conduct him thence to Sky. It was about the 8th of July that the Prince landed in Benbecula. At first he was in doubt whether it was not some other island, but being assured by the pilot that it was a promontory of Benbecula, he dismissed the boatman, with orders to meet him on the opposite side of the island, and began his march thither; he had not gone far, when he saw himself surrounded with water, which convinced him that the pilot had been mistaken. He called him back immediately, but in vain; the boat was by this time at too great a distance from the shore. Neither the Prince, nor those who were with him, had ever been in this part of Benbecula: it was indeed a peninsula, and entirely separated at high-water. When the tide was gone, there appeared no passage, which looked more dismal than anything the Prince had as yet met with; after escaping so many dangers, he saw no prospect but of starving upon a desert island. Nevertheless he kept up his spirits; and, to encourage his companions to search for a passage, he assured them there was one, though he knew as little of the matter as they. At length, after abundance of fatigue, he found out the passage himself, and got with his companions to a little hut, there they were assured they were in Benbecula; they were quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and it rained that whole day. Nevertheless, there was no time to be lost. The Prince proceeded to the place where his conductress was to meet him; but after his arrival, he was as much at a loss as ever; his boat did not arrive, and there were accounts that it was cast away. There was nothing now to be done, but to wait till a boat could be found in the island, or chance brought one thither. However, after two days the Prince's own boat arrived, when it was quite despaired of. There seemed to be no obstacle now, but the ships that might be cruizing betwixt Benbecula and Sky. To avoid them, it was resolved to continue there all that day, and embark in the evening; but the news of the arrival of General Campbell, with a party, the night before, was brought to the Prince, and obliged him to remove to the furthest part of the island, to spend the rest of the day. He put to sea in the evening, and sailed for that part of Sky which is nearest the seat of Sir Alexander M^{c}Donald; he knew Sir Alexander was not at home, and he had been assured he might depend upon my lady's protection in cases of extremity. He got to Sky next day, without any disturbance, except from a guard of M^{c}Leod's, who were upon a promontory by which the boat sailed; they called to come to, which not being complied with, they fired twenty or thirty shots, but did no harm. The Prince had now nobody to assist him but the young lady: he had dropt all his former attendants in different places. As soon as they landed, she left him in a country house, recommending her maid to the care of the landlady, and went to look out for a place of shelter. She did not find it where she expected; but found a gentleman, who conducted the Prince to a house about eight miles from the shore, where she was to meet him again. When she came, he consulted with her and the landlord what was to be done. It was plain he was very unsafe in Sky, where the two chieftains to whom the island belongs, Sir Alexander and M^{c}Leod, had declared against him, and where there were guards posted in many places. The little island of Rasa seemed to be the safest place in this juncture;. and the Prince having changed his garb, set out for the place where a boat was ordered to be ready for him. His landlord and the young lady conducted him to the shore, where he bid farewell to his fair conductress. He got a good passage to Rasa, and remained there three or four days. While he was at Rasa, he heard there was a French ship arrived at Polieu, but could not depend enough upon the intelligence, to venture thither: in the meantime he found he could not be safe in Rasa. His arrival in Sky was already rumoured about before he left that island,

and his being in Rasa could not be long concealed; besides, the island is so small, that if a party landed, it would be impossible to elude their pursuit, as he had done in Uist, and thought he might do on the mainland, if he could get thither.

He left Rasa without letting any body know his real intention; he talked much of going to the Isle of Rum; but when he came to Sky he dismissed the Boat and went to that part of the island that points towards Scotland. After abundance of fatigue and hardship, he found out the gentleman he had in view, and with him embarked for the mainland. He landed in Morar, where he endeavoured to get some accounts of his friends and of the position of the enemy; but finding little intelligence, and great difficulty to subsist, he advanced to Borradel upon Loch Nua,—a place he was better acquainted with. He was struck with horror at sight of the devastation and solitude he observed as he went along, though this country had been more gently treated than some others. He crossed a loch nigh Scotus, and when he got to the south side of it, he found a boat belonging to the enemy, who had gone ashore. Before he had time to get out of the way, five fellows rushed out of the wood, and made directly towards him. The Prince seeing but five of the enemy, and having four men along with him, thought it was best to put on a good countenance, and advance to meet them: he did so, and it succeeded; for the enemy only asked a few questions and went on to their boat, and made the best of their way to the other side of the loch. The Prince got that night to Borradel; he found the landlord of that house in a cove hard by, and remained with him some days, waiting for M°Donald of Glenalladel, whom, upon his arrival, he sent to find out, and who came at length. It was high time to remove from Borradel; for the Prince's escape from Uist had taken air, and his enemies had traced him out through all his windings in Benbecula, Sky, and Rasa, and had followed him to the mainland. He directed his course through Arisaig, towards the base of Locharkigg. He knew there were parties every where, but the greatest danger was from those that were actually in pursuit of him. He thought he had found a convenient skulking place on the borders of Lochiel's country, but he was forced to leave it immediately at the approach of those that followed him. He was now at a loss for a guide; those he had carried along with him from Borradel were out of their sphere. It was absolutely necessary to have at least one man that was well acquainted with the country, and it was extremely difficult to find out any man of consequence in a place where it was capital to be an inhabitant. However, one of the Prince's scouts found out such a man as he wanted, one Donald Cameron of Glenpayne, an honest judicious man, who knew the country thoroughly. Glenpayne gave the Prince a rendezvous on the other side of Glenfinning; but when the Prince came to the place appointed, instead of Glenpayne, he found two parties of the enemy moving towards him from different quarters, which obliged him to retire, he could not tell whither, with people that knew as little of the country as himself; but, as good luck would have it, as he was wandering about exceeding perplexed, he met Glenpayne that very evening. He had now got a guide whose skill and integrity he might depend upon, but his situation appeared as critical as ever; he was surrounded by his enemies, who were grown more alert, as they knew he was in the midst of them. He was hemmed in on all sides by a chain of little camps, which communicated with one another, and all the passes were guarded. It was impossible to have escaped, or even subsist, without getting out of the circle, and putting all his enemies on one side of him; that was to be attempted at all hazards. It was the only question on which side the attempt was to be made, and that did not require much deliberation; for on the south and west he was confined by the sea; on the east by Loch Lochy; and the few passes that are betwixt the south end of that loch and Fort William, and the north end of it and Fort Augustus, were strictly guarded: in fine, he resolved to make the best of his way northwards. Though there were a great many little camps on that side, if he could once pass them, he had a great extent of country before him, and could not, at

least for some time, be shut up in a corner; besides the advantage of being within reach of the coast, in case a French ship should come to carry him off. He began this painful and hazardous march attended by Glenpayne, Glenalladel, and a few more, very ill-provided with the necessaries of life, and in five or six days got clear of his enemies. It is not to be conceived what hardships and dangers he underwent during this short space. I shall not trouble the reader with a separate account of each day's adventures; they were much alike. From morning to night the Prince and his attendants were obliged to lie flat among the heath or shrubs, and sometimes in the greatest agony of thirst, even within hearing of a brook, but as they were in sight of the enemy, durst not stir; when it grew dark, they made their way among the camps and sentries, that were within speaking of one another. They had nothing to subsist upon but a little cheese and oatmeal they had carried along with them; and the quantity was so small, that they were obliged to restrict themselves to a very little morsel of cheese, and a pinch of oatmeal strowed upon it, once a day. The Prince's allowance was the same as the rest. He would have no indulgence; and indeed he was as able to bear hunger, and every other hardship, as any of them. Nature had blessed him with a very strong constitution; and the life he had led for those three months, had indured him to every thing. As to the risks the Prince ran during these five or six days, the reader will have some notion of them, when I tell him that the Prince passed by five or six different camps in one night. He had a very narrow escape from a danger of another kind. In one of these night marches it was pitch dark, and the Prince was walking with Glenpayne, who had hold of his arm, his foot slipped, and he could never have recovered, but for the assistance of Glenpayne, whom the Prince observing him to be in the utmost fright, asked what was the matter. He told the Prince he was upon the brink of such a precipice, that he must have been dashed to pieces, had he fallen down; and that there was a torrent at the bottom, where he must have been drowned, had it been possible for him to escape the other danger. The Prince had now got clear of all his enemies, and was on the borders of the M^{c}Kenzie's country, which he proposed to retire to. He was obliged to look out for another guide, those that had attended him hitherto could be of no further use to him. He dismissed Glenpayne, whom he desired to endeavour to find out Lochiel, and stationed the rest of his attendants in their own country, in such a manner that they might be able to give him advice if any French ships arrived upon the coast of Arisaig or Morar; and putting himself in the hands of a common Highlander, of the name of McDonald, he proceeded towards the Mackenzie's country. He passed over the field of Glenshiel, where his guide entertained him with an account of the action that happened there in 1719. The account was so rational, and the description so accurate, that the Prince could not help admiring the sagacity of his guide; who, though he had never served, spoke of these matters as an old sergeant would have done. That is the genius of the Highlanders; the feats of their ancestors is the common topic of conversation among them, and they have all some notion of military affairs.

The Prince had not been long in the country of the Mackenzies, when he found he was still pursued by his unrelenting enemies, who obliged him to retire to Strathglass among the Chisolms; and when they followed him thither, he went among the Grants of Glenmorrison. He was under no apprehensions of being taken, while he had one side open; he had good intelligence, and was able to retire as fast as they could pursue; and he had experienced so much fidelity and discretion among the common Highlanders, that at last he made no difficulty in chusing for companions, guides and scouts, any of them that came in his way. The necessity he was under of having people that were acquainted with the different countries, made him less cautious in making himself known to such as he met accidentally, and he had never reason to suspect that he had been betrayed. Among others to whom he was obliged to trust himself without knowing them, there were three brothers of the name of McDonald, who attended him for three weeks, and were extremely

serviceable while he was in Glenmorrison. He found himself once more invested on all sides; his situation was so much more hazardous, that he was now within a very small circle, and had no room to dodge from the place where he was; he saw the different parties of the enemy, and their regular approaches, which he could plainly distinguish, convinced him that they knew they had him in their toil. He had at that time eight or ten Highlanders along with him, who were all equally sensible of his danger and their own. There was but one of them that could speak English, and served for interpreter betwixt the Prince and the rest; he bid this man propose to them his design of going straight towards one of the parties, and fighting their way through,—it was to be hoped some of them would get off, and without an attempt of that kind none of them could escape: he assured them, for their encouragement, that he would make sure of two of the enemies with his fusil and side pistol, and then make the best use he could of his broadsword. The Highlanders retired a little and held a council of war among themselves. After along deliberation, the interpreter brought the result to the Prince: he began by telling the Prince that they knew the Government had put thirty thousand pounds upon his head,—that if he was killed or taken in such an attempt, those of them that survived might be suspected of having betrayed him, which would bring eternal infamy upon themselves, their kindred, and posterity,—that they were determined all to live or die with him, but begged he would delay at least his project for that day, as there was some chance of passing betwixt two of the parties in the dark, and if that did not succeed, it would be time to make the desperate push he proposed. The Prince yielded to their remonstrance, and that night they got out of the circle unperceived. But there was another enemy that hardly gave the Prince any respite—I mean hunger became now more urgent than ever; he and his attendants had had almost nothing to eat for some days, and were now in absolute want of subsistence. Is it to be wondered that this should happen in a country that had been industriously laid waste, that such of the inhabitants as escaped the sword might perish by famine. In this extremity, one of those wild deers that are frequent in the Highlands happened to pass by; it was dangerous to shoot, lest the report should alarm some party that might be in the neighbourhood, but they chose to run any risk to avoid starving. The deer was luckily killed by a single shot, and afforded a plentiful and delicious repast to the Prince and his companions at that time, and what they carried along with them stood in good treat afterwards; they had along with them wherewithal to kindle a fire, and they found every where wood or heath for fuel, though even that could not be done without danger, lest the smoke should discover them to the enemy. In this manner the Prince spent the month of July and the greatest part of August. Towards the end of it he met M^{c}Donald of Glengary, whom he had sent for, and who was seeking him; and, in company with Lochgary, he traversed Glengary's country and came to the braes of Locharkigg, where he found Archibald Cameron, brother to Lochiel, who was likewise endeavouring to find out the Prince. This country was now safer than when Glenpayne conducted the Prince through so many camps. The Duke of Cumberland had left Fort Augustus the eighteenth of July, and was returned to London; whether he thought his business was done when he received advice from some of his blood-hounds that the Prince was murdered, I cannot tell, but it is certain that such a rumour prevailed about the time of the Duke of Cumberland's departure, and that a young gentleman that had fallen into their hands, and was taken for the Prince, had been massacred about that time; several others had suffered on the same suspicion.

But, to return to the Prince: Lord Albermarle, whom the Duke of Cumberland had left Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, retired from Fort Augustus with the troops that had been encamped there about the middle of August. Nevertheless, there were still parties in the Highlands, though not so numerous as formerly. The Prince, weary of the hardships he had endured, and of

which he saw no end, sent Archibald Cameron and Lochgary to Lochiel and Cluny, who, he was informed, were together in Badenoch, to know if there was any possibility of getting together in a body and defending themselves, till they got an opportunity of escaping to France, or the severe season forced the enemy to retire. He waited their return in the neighbourhood of Clunys. It was the opinion of Lochiel and Cluny that an insurrection was impossible in the present circumstances, and that there was no place so safe for the Prince's person as the country they were in, upon which the Prince set out to join them. He passed betwixt Locharkegg and Loch Lochy and advanced to Moy, where, having passed with some difficulty, he got safe to Badenoch, and joined Lochiel and Cluny about the beginning of September. The Prince found this country too infested with parties, and was obliged to remove from place to place while he remained in it. Nevertheless, he was not so hotly pursued as he had been, and was better supplied with the necessaries of life. He was at a considerable distance from the coast; but matters were so concerted, that if a French vessel came, he would get intelligence of it. There were people skulking nigh the shore, who, tho' they did not know where the Prince was, had instructions to convey the news to others that were skulking at some distance, and these again to others, and so all along to Badenoch. By this means the Prince got advice about the middle of September of the arrival of two French frigates in Loch Nua. Several cutters had been sent before to bring him off; but not finding him in the place they were directed to, had returned immediately. These two frigates, the Happy and the Prince of Conti, were sent from St. Malo, with orders to remain upon the coast of Scotland till they found the Prince, or were taken themselves. They anchored at Loch Nua, and waited there till the Prince got advice they were arrived. He embarked the 19th, and had a favourable passage to the coast of France, where he very narrowly escaped the English squadron. It was precisely at this time that the English made a descent in Brittany, and an attempt upon L'Orient. The Prince knew nothing of this expedition when he left Scotland; and had he made for Nantes, as he first intended, he must have fallen in with the English ships. But he altered his route, and stood in for the northern coast of Brittany. He landed at Roscort, a village nigh to St. Pol de Lion, the 29th of September, and set out immediately for Paris, where he arrived in a few days. His reception at Fontainbleau was suitable to his character and the fame of his exploits. He had never been at the Court of France before, and every body was extremely fond of seeing a Prince they had heard so much of. The two days he staid there, nothing was talked of but the Prince and his adventures. The King and Royal Family shewed the utmost regard for him, and their example was followed by the ministers and other courtiers, who vied with one another in making their court to him. From Fontainbleau he retired to his brother, the Duke of York's country house at Chicky, where he lived privately for some time.

His own good fortune had not made him forget the sufferings of his unfortunate friends, and every post brought fresh accounts of their calamities. Nevertheless, he was prevailed upon to shew himself once at the opera, where he was received with such general and reiterated applause as is very rarely given in that house. But the Prince's reception at the Court and at Paris are no part of the expedition I undertook to relate, and have now finished. I only mentioned them as a contrast to the situation he was so long and so lately in. The narrow bounds I prescribed to myself in this work made me omit several little escapes he had during the last two or three months, and likewise abundance of names of the common people that some way or other contributed to his safety. But I must do justice to the different clans, by letting the world know that each of them had some share of that merit. The Prince was at different times in the hands of M^{c}Donalds, Camerons, M^{c}Kenzies, Chisolms, Grants, Frazers, Macphersons, Stuarts, MacLeods, and even Campbells, tho' that clan was in arms against him; nor were those that had him in their power always chosen or recommended to him as honest, discreet men, whom he might trust. Necessity frequently drove

him to employ people he knew nothing about, but all gave him convincing proofs of the most zealous attachment and the most inviolable fidelity, while thirty thousand pounds (an immense sum to a poor Highlander) was offered as a reward to any body that delivered him up, and utter destruction was denounced against all those that harboured, or in any shape assisted him. I leave the reader to judge if I had reason to say in the beginning of this work, that whatever may hereafter be the fate of this Prince, he has been early trained up in the school of adversity, and knows, by his own experience, the greatest vicissitudes of fortune.