

# NARRATIVE by JOHN LORD MACLEOD, afterwards COUNT CROMARTIE in Sweden, of the Insurrection in Scotland in the year 1745-6, from its commencement till the operations by his Lordship in Sutherland and Caithness.

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THE Court of Great Britain having sent a body of national troops, in the year 1742, into the Austrian Netherlands, to support the Queen of Hungary, who, on the death of her father, the Emperor Charles the 6, had been attack'd by several of the most considerable Princes of Germany, who, supported by France, pretended to a part, or to the whole, of the Austrian succession, had caus'd the said troops, together with a considerable body of German auxiliaries in the pay of Great Britain, to march into the empire the year following, to succour that Queen. This auxiliary army, commanded by the King of Great Britain in person, gain'd the battle of Dedtingen over the French army that was sent to oppose them. The Court of France, which saw very well that a war with Great Britain was unavoidable, prevail'd on the Prince Charles Edward Stuart to come to Paris, having given that Prince the strongest assurances of effectual succours to enable him to make good his family's pretensions to the British Crowns, and in case of the worst they promis'd the Prince a safe and honorable azile in France. In the begining of the year 1744 the Court of Versailles order'd a large body of troops to be embark'd at Dunkerk, with which they threatned to make a descent in England, but efter these troops had continu'd for some time on board the transport ships they were relanded. The French Court atributed this miscarriage to contrary winds, which first hinder'd their troops from puting to sea at the proper time, and efterwards drove their ships foul of each other; but some people are of oppinion that the Court of France never intended an invasion in favour of the Stuart family, but that their only design, with all the noise they then made, was to alarm the Court of London, so as to make them withdraw the British troops from the Austrian Netherlands, by which means they hop'd to meet with less opposition in the measures they were then pursueing on the Continent for humbling the House of Austria. The year following the French Court prevail'd on the Prince Charles Edward to pass over to Scotland with only a few attendants, having promis'd him that he shou'd be soon follow'd by a considerable body of troops. The Prince, who trusted to these promises, and relied likewise much on the assistance of his friends in the country, resolv'd to try his fortune. He accordingly embark'd on board a small fregate at St. Malo, which landed him, attended only by 6 persons, at Moidart, in the West Highlands of Scotland, about the last of July. He immediately wrote letters to such of the Highland chieftans and other principal gentlemen of the country as he thought were his friends, to acquaint them of his arrival and to demand their assistance. At the same time he publish'd his father's Manifesto, his own Declaration, and a

Commission from his father to himself, appointing him Regent of the three kingdoms during his absence. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of August he set up his Standard, and having been join'd by Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, with his men, and by the Macdonalds of Glengary, of Clanronald, of Keppoch, and of Glenco, he march'd to the hill of Corry-yarrick, which lies above Fort-Augustus, where he was resolv'd to wait for the King's troops, which were then advancing against him. So soon as the Prince's landing in Scotland was known at London, the Lords of the Regency, who, during the King's absence in Hanover, had the management of the public affairs, sent orders to Sir John Cope, at that time Commander-in-cheif in Scotland, to march, without loss of time, with the troops he then had into the Highlands, to crush this insurrection before it cou'd gather to a head. In pursuance of these orders, General Cope march'd to the north, but when he came within ten or twelve miles of the hill of Corry-yarrick, where the Highlanders were waiting to receive him, he chang'd his rout and march'd to Inverness. Prince Charles, instead of pursueing his enemies to the north, resolv'd to take advantage of their sudden retreat. He march'd immediately towards the south, and having halted some days at Perth, he cross'd the river of Forth, and on the twenty-eight day of September he took possession of the city of Edinbrough. It is thought that the Prince was favour'd on this occasion by Mr. Archibald Stuart, who was at that time Lord Provost and Member of Parliament for the city. That gentleman was efterwards committed prisoner to the Tower of London on that account, where he continued for some months, and was efterwards try'd for it, but he was acquitted. Sir John Cope having halted a few days at Inverness, march'd to Aberdeen, where he embark'd his troops on board the transport ships that were provided for them. He landed with them at Dunbar about the same time that the Highlanders took possession of Edenbrough, General Cope having been join'd, on his arrival at Dunbar, by some detachments of infantry from Berwick-upon-Tweed, and by two regiments of dragoons, who had retir'd from Edenbrough upon the approach of the Highlanders, advanc'd towards Edenbrough to dislodge the Highlanders. The Prince Charles having had intelligence of this, resolv'd to meet his enemies half-way. For this purpose he march'd from Edenbrough with his army the first of October, and the same evening the two armies came in sight of each other near Preston-Pans. By break of day next morning the Highlanders attack'd their enemies, and in less than half an hour gain'd a compleat victory. General Cope retir'd with the dragoons, whose loss was very inconsiderable, as the Highland army had no cavalry to pursue them, but the infantry was quite ruin'd, having been all kill'd, taken, or dispers'd; on this occasion General Cope lost likewise his camp, baggage, and artillery. Efter the battle was over, the Prince took up his quarters at Pinkey House, which belongs to the Marquis of Tweedale, and next day he return'd with his army to Edenbrough. Many people thought then, and are still of the same oppinion, that if the Highland army had march'd directly from the field of battle at Preston-Pans into England, that they wou'd have been join'd by vast numbers of the Jacobites in that kingdom, and that they wou'd have gote to London without opposition. Those who are of this sentiment found their oppinion on this, that the defeat at Preston-Pans threw the Court of London into great consternation, and that there was not at that time a sufficient number of troops in England to oppose a victorious army conducted by a young Prince who had many friends in every town and every province of the kingdom. whatever may be in this, it seems that Prince Charles and his Council were not at that time of this mind, for the Prince remain'd at Edenbrough about six weeks efter the battle, as well to

be join'd by those who had already declar'd for him as in hopes that his victory wou'd engage many others to follow the same example. During that time the British forces were brought over from the Low Countries to England, and many noblemen set up regiments for the service of the Government. The Dutch likewise sent over the six thousand men with which they are oblig'd by treaty to assist the King of Great Britain when attack'd in his British dominions, but their High Mightynesses were efterwards oblig'd to recall their troops for the reasons I shall efterwards give. The Highland army march'd at last from Edenborough, about the 12 of November; they were a little above 5000 men strong. In a few days they enter'd England, and laid siege to Carlisle, which they took in a short time. The Governour demanded at first to retire with the garrison into the castle, on which condition he offer'd to deliver up the town; but the Prince caus'd it to be declar'd to him that he wou'd not accept of the town unless the castle was deliver'd up at the same time, with which the Governour was at last oblig'd to comply. So soon as Felt-Marechal Wade, who was with his army at Newcastle-upon-Tyne hear'd that Carlisle was attackt, he march'd to raise the siege, but having hear'd on his march that the place was taken, he return'd with his army to Newcastle, which place, it is said, he had orders at all events to take care of, upon account of its great importance to London and to the whole kingdom, by reason of the coal trade. From Carlisle Prince Charles continu'd his march by the way of Lancaster, Preston, etc., to Manchester, where he was join'd by some gentlemen, who rais'd a regiment of foot for his service; from Manchester he continu'd his rout to Derby. The Prince had then penetrated into the heart of England; but finding that there was no rising in that kingdom in his favour, he resolv'd to return to Scotland, where he knew that a considerable body of Highlanders and other troops of that nation were assembled at Perth and in Aberdeenshire ready to join him. He likewise receiv'd intelligence about the same time that a body of French troops, with a great train of artillery, were landed in Scotland for his service, and these troops were represented to him to be much more numerous than they really were. . These considerations determin'd the Prince and his Council for a retreat, as they thought that the number of troops that they then had with them was too inconsiderable to attempt marching to London; but that efter having join'd the army that was in Scotland, they wou'd be able to prosecute the war with more vigour than ever. The retreat was conducted with very good order and with little loss. The Duke of Cumberland having attack'd the rear-guard, commanded by Lord George Murray, with a large body of dragoons, on Clifton Muir, near Penrith, was repuls'd with loss; and this was the only attack that was made on the Highland army during the whole retreat. Soon efter this the army arriv'd at Carlisle, where they remain'd but one night; the Prince left a garrison here, and then, continueing his march, he cross'd the river of Esk with his army, and re-enter'd Scotland the last day of December, which was his birth-day. In a few days the Prince arriv'd at Glasgow, where he resolv'd to continue for some days to give his army time to rest efter the great fatigues which they had suffer'd in their expedition to England in so bad a season of the year. Immediately efter the Highland army was march'd from Carlisle, the Duke of Cumberland besieg'd that place, which he took in a few days, having oblig'd the garrison to surrender prisoners at discretion. His R. H. then return'd to London. Having given some account of the Prince's expedition to England, I shall now return to our affairs in Scotland. A few days before my arrival at Perth, a body of the Mackintoshes and Farquersons came to that place to join the Prince. Their arrival gave great pleasure to Lord Strathallan,

who stood very much in need of their assistance, for the night before they came some of the people of the town had endeavour'd to force the town-house, in which the arms and ammunition were kept, and for the defence of which Lord Strathallan had only a few officers, with their servants. The mob was repuls'd in that attempt, and the arrival of the troops disconcerted any design they might have had of renewing the attack. I had not been many days at Perth before we had a hot allarm. Immediately after the Prince Charles was march'd with his army from Edenborough two regiments of dragoons and two regiments of foot march'd from Berwick to that city and from that to Sterling. Lord Strathallan receiv'd advice that these troops were to attack us at Perth at the same time that they design'd to send a detachment to rescue the soldiers of the King's army who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Prestonpans, and who were confin'd some where in the country of Atholl. The very evening, or the evening after, we receiv'd this intelligence, a great noise was hear'd in the country about with blowing of horns and the like. This we took to be the enemy, and that they were endeavouring to raise the country people against us, which we thought was the more probable, as most of the people in that neighbourhood wou'd have willingly contributed all in their power to our destruction, on which the troops were immediately assembled, strong guards were plac'd at all the gates, and the rest of the troops had their posts assign'd them in the different streets, to be ready to act where occasion might require. Patrulls were then sent out to discover what cou'd be the cause of the noise. It was found to be made by a number of boors, who, returning from their work, blew their horns either to gather together their cattle in the woods, or perhaps to divert themselves. General Blakney, who commanded the King's troops at Sterlin, did not attenlpt to disturb us; and if he had, he probably wou'd have been beat, for we were at least so strong as he was; for besides the Mackintoshes, Farquersons, and my father's regiment, a large body of the Macdonalds of Glengary, of Clanronnald, and of Glenco together with a battalion of the Camerons, and likewise Barisdale's regiment, were arriv'd by this time at Perth. The Frasers begane, too, to come up about that time, tho' not in a body, but by companies. Mr. Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat's son, did not come up to Perth till some weeks latter, and after I was gone from thence. Soon efter this we receiv'd a piece of news which gave us all the greatest joy, as we look'd then on our affairs to be in the most flourishing condition in the world. This news was, that Lord John Drummond was landed at Montrose with a large body of French troops, which we were at first told amounted to some thousands of men. The truth of the matter is, that Lord Drummond was sent from France with his own regiment, and with a piquet of 50 men from each of the six Irish foot regiments in that service; and as part of these troops were taken in their passage by the British cruisers, the whole of this formidable army amounted to about seven or eight hundred men. It is true they had a good number of battering cannon with them, but in the hurry of their embarkation they forgote to bring over any mortars, bombs, or engineers along with them. There was indeed two officers who came over with the troops who pass'd for engineers, but the one of them was always drunk, and the other was a boy just come from the college; and this last circumstance appear'd even then very singular to many people, as it is very well known to all the world that there is no nation on earth so well provided with able engineers as the French nation is. But perhaps too rapid success to the Prince Charles's arms wou'd have been so dissagreeable to the Court of France as to the Court of London, perhaps more dissagreeable to them than a defeat of their army in the Low Countries, for the politicks of the Court of France

may make it advaritigious for them at all times to have a pretender to the Crown of Great Britain; and they might perhaps think that if the Stuart family shou'd be restor'd to the throne of Great Britain, that that family wou'd not fail to enter into the views of the nation ever gealous of France, whose ambitious views they wou'd then be more able to oppose when dissengag'd from any connections on the Continent, which they never can be so long as the Princes of the Hanoverian family swey the British scepter, because the march of a French army into Westphalia cannot fail in that case, having always a great influence on the Councils of the Court of London. About the same time that the French troops landed at Montrose, I had a very singular visit at Perth, and which very much surpris'd me. This visit was from the Lady Stonebyres, my grand-aunt on the mother's side. This lady, who was a zealous Whig, was very sorry to hear that I was engag'd in the Prince Charles's service, and as she knew that I had formerly been of a different way of thinking, she probably thought that I had follow'd my father more from a principle of filial duty than from any other consideration. This consideration engag'd her to come to Perth, perhaps likewise at the desire of my other friends at Edenburgh, to endeavour to perswade me to leave that place and to retire to Edenburgh. She told me that my being engag'd in the rebellion gave all my friends the greatest uneasiness; but that if I wou'd come to them, that they wou'd obtain me my own conditions from the Governrnt. My grand-aunt promis'd me, I beleive, more than she had authority for, or than she was in a condition to perform. I am, however, very much oblig'd to her intentions, which she certainly meant for my best, tho' I did not think proper at that time to follow her advice. I complain'd bitterly to her of the bad usage I had receiv'd from the Government, which had in a manner forc'd me into the Rebellion; but I told her at the same time, that as I was now engag'd in a different interest, that no consideration in the world cou'd ever engage me to abandon the same, nor to take any step that cou'd bring the least stain upon my honour. As my grand-aunt found that she cou'd not prevail on me to follow her advice, she set out early next morning for Edenburgh, very much cast down for the bad success of her jurney. Much about the same time that the French troops landed in Scotland, Collonel Macklachlan arriv'd at Perth from Carlisle, having been sent by the Prince, immediately after the reduction of that place, with orders to all the Commanders of the Highlanders at Perth to march, without loss of time, with their men into England to join the Prince's army. As the Prince did not know that my father was to come up himself with his men, the orders for the march of his regiment were address'd to me. Most of the Commanders were very keen for obeying these orders, and for marching directly; but Lord John Drummond oppos'd this vigourously. In a council of war, which was held on that occasion, and in which I assisted, Lord John Drummond allow'd that in general obedience to orders was absolutely necessary in war, for those that were for a march insisted much on this; but he mantain'd at the same time that the arrival of the French troops in Scotland greatly alter'd the situation of affairs, and that if this sircumstance had been known to the Prince, he wou'd not have order'd our march, because it was now contrary to the good of his service. He told us further that the King his master's orders to him were to reduce the forts in Scotland before he undertook any other expedition, and that for this purpose he had brought over a train of battering artilery with him. He said that if we shou'd, notwithstanding all this, march to England, that it was not in his power to march along with us, and that so soon we were gone the French troops wou'd be overpower'd and cut to pieces, and that their artilery wou'd fall

into the enemy's hands. He concluded with saying that he was convinc'd that if this shou'd happen, his most Christian Majesty wou'd be so provok'd at our haveing abandon'd his troops, and at the disgrace brought by that means on his arms, that he wou'd give us no further assistance either in men or money. Lord Drummond's arguments 'having prevail'd on Lord Strathallan and on some others, all further thoughts of marching into England were laid entirely aside. It was then propos'd that Lord John Drummond shou'd lay siege to the Castle of Sterlin, and that my father shou'd, at the same time, march to the north with a considerable body of the Highland clans, to dissipate the forces that were assembled at Inverness, under the Earl of Loudoun's command, and to make himself master of that place; and this project was agreed to, tho' it was not put in execution: and in effect I believe that we were not strong enough to undertake two expeditions of that sort at the same time. While we were deliberating at Perth to attack the Earl of Loudoun, that Lord was forming a design to attack Lord Luis Gordon, who was rising forces for the Prince's service in Aberdeenshire, and to drive him out of that country. In the month of December Mr. Macleod march'd from Inverness with a considerable body of his own clan, and with other troops, to put this project in execution. In the mean time Lord Luis Gordon, having been join'd by a detachment of the French troops, resolv'd to attack the enemy. He met them at Inverury, about ten miles from Aberdeen, and gain'd an easy victory. In a few minutes Mr. Macleod and his troops were put to the rout; they fled with great precipitation, nor did they think themselves safe till they had recross'd the river of Spey. Towards the end of the month of December I was sent to Dumblain with the regiment, together with the Camerons and some other troops. The reason of our having been sent there is as follows:- Some time before the Prince march'd into England he appointed Mr. Macgregor of Glengyle to be Governor of Doun Castle, a house belonging to the Earl of Murray, and which was at that time a place of consequence, as it cover'd a bridge over a rivulet which secur'd our communication with the ford of the Frews on the river of Forth. Mr. Macgregor had his own clan for a garrison, but when the Highland army was march'd into England, and the King's troops were arriv'd at Sterlin from Berwick, Mr. Macgregor, thinking himself too weak to stand an attack, apply'd to Lord Strathallan for succours, on which Mr. Macdonald of Glenco, with his men and a body of the Stuarts of Appin, were sent to reinforce Doun Castle; but these gentlemen, thinking themselves still unable to sustain an attack from the troops at Sterlin, shou'd General Blackney think proper to distourb them, apply'd for a further re-inforcement, for which Glenco and the Commander of the Stuarts came themselves to Perth to sollicite. It was then resolv'd to send the detachment I have mentioned above to Dumblain, which was sufficient to secure Doun Castle from any attacks that cou'd be made against it from the enemy at that time, as we were within two miles of that place and within sight of Sterlin. We march'd from Perth the twenty-eight of December, and halted that night at Crief; next day we march'd to Dumblain. I immediately took possession of the Bridge of Alland, which is, so far as I remember, half way between Dumblain and Sterlin, and next day I visited the Country about, and plac'd guards where I thought it wou'd be necessary, and that in such a manner that it was not possible for a single person to come out of Sterlin on our side the river of Forth without being immediately seen by our centinels. When we march'd from Perth the command-in-chief of our detachment was given conjointly to Mr. Cameron of Lochell, the elder, and to me; but Lord John Drummond, who, since his arrival in Scotland, had taken the command-in-chief of the

whole army upon himself, told me that he depended most on me for what was to be done, as Lochell only had the name of command – his great age dispensing him from the fatigue. This made me exert myself to the utmost of my power to have everything done as it ought to be. A few days after we had been at Dumblain, Lord John Drummond came there; and having visited all the posts, he express'd great satisfaction with the dispositions I had made. I do not pretend to take any honour to myself from this as if it had been my own doings; I shall ingeniously own that I was assisted in all this by some French officers whom I had prevail'd on to go along with me from Perth to Dumblain. After having been some days at Dumblain I took a tour to Perth, so well to see what was doing there as to receive the pay for the regiment. I found that my father was gone with some troops into Fifeshire, to raise the public revenues of that country. I stay'd but one day at Perth, and I was greatly surpris'd to learn, on my return to Dumblain, that our men, imagining that I was not to return to them, had resolv'd to go home, and had actually march'd out of the town for that purpose; their officers had gone after them, and prevail'd on them, with great difficulty, to return to their duty. And here I cannot avoid making a reflexion, which is, that as a party which is in arms against an establish'd Government lies under many and great disadvantages, this is none of the least of them, that their troops cannot be subjected to military discipline nor to martial law, and that the only way that one has to keep them from abandoning their colours is by flattery and good words, and even by winking at many disorders which can never be allow'd of in a regular army. This I reflected on at that time, and therefore resolv'd to pretend total ignorance of what had pass'd during my absense; nor had I reason to repent this conduct, for the men made no other attempt of that sort again so long as the war continu'd. In the begining of January, Doctor Cameron, who was one of the Prince's aid-de-camps, and is the same gentleman who was executed some years afterwards at London, came from Glasgow to Dumblain, to see his father and his lady, who was likewise then there. This gentleman was the first who gave us certain accounts of the Prince's being arriv'd with his army at Glasgow. As Mr. Cameron was to return there in a day or two, I resolv'd to go along with him. The motive which induc'd me to undertake this journey was the great desire I had of seeing the Prince, for whom I had conceiv'd the highest veneration, and I thought that I cou'd with all safety leave my post, as we had nothing then to fear from Sterlin, the greatest part of the King's troops having march'd from that place to Edenborough on the first accounts they had of the return of the Highland army to Scotland. We set out from Dumblain the twelfth of January, and arriv'd the same evening at Glasgow. I immediately went to pay my respects to the Prince, and found that he was already set down to supper. Doctor Cameron told Lord George Murray, who sat by the Prince, who I was, on which that Lord introduc'd me to the Prince, whose hand I had the honour to kiss, after which the Prince order'd me to take my place at table. After supper I follow'd the Prince to his apartment, to give him an account of the situation of his affairs in the north, and of what had pass'd in these parts during the time of his expedition to England. I found that nothing surpris'd the Prince so much as to hear that the Earl of Seaforth had declar'd against him, for he hear'd without emotion the names of the other people who had join'd the Earl of Loudoun at Inverness; but when I told him that Seaforth had likewise sent two hundred men to Inverness for the service of the Government, and that he had likewise hinder'd many gentlemen of his clan from joining my father for the service of the Stuart family, he tourn'd to the French minister, and said to him, with some

warmth, *He, mon Dieu, et Seaforth est aussi contre moi!* The Prince, having resolv'd to lay siege to Sterlin, sent orders to the troops at Perth, and to Lord Luis Gordon, to join him at that place without loss of time. On the fourteenth of January 1746, the Highland army march'd from Glasgow in two collumns; the one, commanded by Lord George Murray, march'd to Falkirk, where they were to remain to cover the siege, and the other, led by the Prince himself, and which was to carry on the siege under the Duke of Perth's command, march'd that day to Kilsyth, and next day to the neighbourhood of Sterlin. The Prince fix'd his headquarters at Bannockburn-House, which belongs to Sir Hugh Peterson, and the army was canton'd in the neighbouring villages. The Prince march'd on foot at the head of the troops from Glasgow to Bannockburn-House in very deep roads, and I march'd along with him. He had march'd in the same way in his expedition to England, probably to encourage his army, and to animate them to follow him with more chearfulness. The town of Sterlin surrender'd to us in a day or two, being a place of no defence, but General Blackney retir'd with the garrison into the castle, which he was resolv'd to defend to the last extremity. As the Duke of Perth was to go to Perth the day after the army arriv'd at Bannockburn, and was to have an escort, I resolv'd to take that opportunity of returning to my post. We arriv'd late at night at Dumblain, and I found that the regiment had been sent the day before to Aloa to cover the French artilery and amunition, which was to be transported from that place to Sterlin. Next day I join'd the regiment. While we were taking the measures that were thought to be the most proper for making ourselves masters of the Castle of Sterlin, the Court of London neglected nothing that they thought cou'd disconcert our designs. Immediately after the reduction of Carlisle, several regiments, so well from the Duke of Cumberland's army as from that commanded by Felt Marechal Wade, march'd to Edenburgh. These regiments, joined to the troops that were before in Scotland, formed a very considerable army, the command of which was given to the General Halley. That General thought that the most effectual way to prevent our undertaking the siege of Sterlin Castle wou'd be to take or destroy the battering artilery, and this he resolv'd to attempt, which made my post at Aloa very difficult. A day or two after I arriv'd at that place, I gote a ship sent me for the transporting of the artilery, which was seiz'd for that purpose some miles further down the river by a detachment of the Duke of Perth's regiment, who brought it to Aloa. Some of the King's sloops, which lay not far from the place from which this ship was taken, endeavour'd to retake her, for which purpose they sent their long boats in pursuit of her; but as I march'd down to the river side with the regiment upon the first allarms being given, the enemy retir'd. But that it might appear that they did something, they set fire to one or two other ships which lay at the same place from which we had taken the one; but this did not affect us, as one ship was all that we had occasion for. In the meantime I took all the precautions possible for deffending myself in case I shou'd be attack'd. I caus'd erect some of the cannon in battery on the shore, and I plac'd strong guards where they were necessary. I order'd the rest of the troops to be lodg'd in two or three barns, so that there might be large bodys of them together. I order'd them likewise to ly with their cloaths on, and with their arms by them, so that they cou'd be ready to march the moment that the signal was given. By the time that the ship was almost loaded, I receiv'd advice that a large body of the enemy was come up the river in transport ships, and that they were lying at Kinkardill, which is but three or four miles from Aloa. I immediately sent spies to Kinkardin to bring me accounts if the enemy were landing,



and to endeavour to discover what their designs might be. I likewise sent out patrols, with orders to approach so near as they safely cou'd to Kinkardin for the same purpose. I then sent an express to Dumblain with a letter address'd to the Duke of Perth, or in his absense to Lord John Drummond, acquainting him of the enemy's being come to Kinkardin, and of the apprehensions I had of being attack'd, for which reason I requir'd speedy succours. It was about midnight when all this pass'd, and the enemy attempted nothing that night, which was certainly very luckily for me; but they probably did not imagine me to be so weak as I really was. Next morning my father and Lord John Drummond came to Aloa. That night the enemy attempted to set fire to our ship, for which purpose they sent up a long boat full of men, but being discover'd in time, they were repuls'd with loss. Finding that this design miscarried, they seem'd then resolv'd to attack us on the land side. Next day they debark'd their troops at Kinkardin, but, on the first appearance of their design, Lochell cross'd the river with the Camerons to join us. While he and I were marching out with our men to occupy the post where we design'd to receive the enemy, Lord John Drummond and my father, follow'd by some officers, rode forward to observe their motions, and found that they were returning with some hurry on board their ships. It seems they had seen the Camerons crossing the river above, and judging from this circumstance that they wou'd be met by a body of troops equal in number to themselves, they did not think proper to hasard the event of a combat. The same evening the ship sail'd up the river with so much of the artilery and ammunition as she cou'd conveniently carry, and having landed them at Polmese, on the opposite side, she return'd next day to Aloa to take on board the remainder. Lord John Drummond and my father had by this time left me, having gone over to Bannockburn, but Lochell remained at Aloa with the Camerons. The rest of the artilery being soon embark'd, the ship sail'd up the river with it; but the tide failing soon, she was oblig'd to cast anchor two miles above Aloa, on which I march'd up along the river side with the regiment to cover her from any attack which might be made by the enemy. Next day Lord John Drummond came to me, and, after he had given some orders relating to the artilery, we went together to a gentleman's house in that neighbourhood, where we propos'd passing that night. I had not been above an hour or two in bed, where I hop'd to get some rest after the great fatigue and watching which I had undergone for several nights before, when I was awak'd by Mr. Alexander Macleod, one of the Prince's aid-du-camps, who deliver'd me a letter from Secretary Murray, acquainting me that the enemy were advancing to give us battle, and that it was the Prince's commands that I shou'd cross the Forth without loss of time and join the army. I immediately gote up and assembl'd the regiment. As a like order was sent to Lochell, he arriv'd with the Camerons by break of day at the place where I was, which was the properest for crossing at, as the river was narrowest there. The Camerons cross'd first, and as we had but one boat, the day was pretty far advanc'd before I gote over. The first order which Lord John Drummond gave me was to leave only a part of the regiment to guard the artilery, and to join the army with the rest; but by the time I got over the river, I receiv'd orders to leave the whole regiment, and this I did; but as I thought there might be a battle that day, which I wou'd be very sorry not to be at, I resolv'd, for my own part, to join the army. Mr. Murray of Polmese lent me a horse, my own horses not being yet come over. I found the Prince advancing at the head of the army towards Falkirk; but as General Halley halted that day at Falkirk, where he encamp'd, we return'd soon after to Bannockburn. In the evening my father and I went to Polmese, where

we had our quarters assign'd us; the regiment was likewise quarter'd in the farm-houses about. Next day the army was assembl'd at Bannockburn, where we were form'd in order of battle, and remain'd several hours waiting for the enemy; but as they remain'd quiet in their camp, we return'd at last to our respective quarters, having receiv'd orders to be on the same ground again next morning by break of day. The Highlanders, who are very much adicted to superstition, were very desirous that the battle might be fought at Bannockburn, as they thought that they wou'd then certainly win it because their ancestors had wone a great victory over the English at the same place some ages before. Next morning, which was the twenty-eight of January, we were again form'd on the same ground. I was sent with my father's regiment to the head of the Torwood, where, together with some other regiments, we were to oppose the enemy shou'd they attempt to advance to us that way; but as they still continu'd quiet in their camp, we receiv'd orders to rejoin the army. It was then resolv'd, in a council of war held on the field, to march and attack the enemy in their camp. The Duke of Perth was left at Sterlin to guard the tranches. The army march'd in order of battle in two lines by the right flank; and leaving the Torwood on our left, we cross'd the river of Carron at Donipace. As we were mounting the hill on the opposite side, we saw the enemy marching from their camp. The two armies march'd parralel to each other for sometime, endeavouring to gain the advantage of the ground. About half-an-hour after three of the clock in the afternoon, the battle began on our right wing, commanded by Lord George Murray, which General Halley caus'd to be attack'd by his dragoons ;but we having receiv'd them with a brisk fire, oblig'd them to reel off, and their own infantry beeing form'd behind them, they were forc'd to ride of between the two armies, by which means they receiv'd the fire of the greatest part of our first line, from which they suffer'd very much. We then attack'd the enemy's infantry, sword in hand, and soon put them to flight. Two regiments on their right made some stand, but not being supported, they were soon forc'd to follow the example of the rest of their army. Our left wing, commanded by Lord John Drummond, had the same success as our right, so that the enemy was beat on all sides. Had our army been disciplin'd, or had we been commanded by experienc'd generals, I am fully convinc'd that we wou'd have cut the King's army to pieces; for after they were drove from the field, they certainly were in the greatest consternation. But the Highlanders pursu'd at first in the greatest confusion, every man runing after the enemy, and without any regard to their ranks, which were soon broke; and when they were come to the brow of the hill, they then stop'd their pursuit, and walk'd about, talking with each other and telling what merveils they had perform'd, with the same unconcern as if no enemy had been near. I run after the enemy like everybody else; but meeting soon after with an officer of the King's army, who some Highlanders were threatening to kill after he had been taken prisoner, . I took him from them and carry'd him to Lord George Murray, who was hard by and his Lordship caus'd him to be conducted to the rearguard. We then observ'd a great body of men on a rising ground to our right, which we took to be a detachment of the enemy; and as their army was still in sight, Lord George Murray said that if they return'd to the charge, he was affraid that they wou'd still take the victory out of our hands, considering the great confusion we were then in. I told his Lordship that, in my oppinion, the best thing he cou'd do wou'd be to order the Highlanders to form a line directly without regard to what clans or regiments they belonged to, as it wou'd take too long time to separete them from each other. Lord George approv'd of my advice, and order'd

it to be put in execution. In the meantime such regiments of the second line as had not gone into the general confusion, together with the piquets of the Irish brigade, were brought up to the brow of the hill, where a line was soon form'd. As I did not know where my father was with his regiment, I join'd myself to the Irish piquets, resolv'd to fight with them should the enemy return to the charge; but they, far from having any such design, were retiring with precipitation, overjoy'd to find themselves not pursu'd. The men whom we had seen on the rising ground to our right were a number of country people whom curiosity to see the battle, and perhaps a design of striping the dead, had drawn together. I remain'd with the Irish piquets till it was dark, but finding then that the enemy was gone and that there wou'd be no more action, I mounted my horse, which I luckily got not far from that, and went to look for the Prince. I found him in a little hut on the top of the hill, where he was sitting by the fireside, having Sir Thomas Sheridan, the adjutant General Sullivan, and some others about him. I had not been long here before word was brought that our army had taken possession of the town of Falkirk, and likewise of the enemy's camp, baggage, and artillery, which they had abandon'd on their retreat. On this the Prince and his suite mounted on horseback and went to the town. The enemy had set fire to their camp, but the heavy rain which fell all that afternoon hinder'd the fire from doing any considerable damage. This great rain was, I believe, likewise one reason which hinder'd us from pursuing the King's army in their retreat that night to Linlithgow. Next day they return'd to Edinburgh. As for our army they were glad to get shelter from the bad weather in the town of Falkirk and in the enemy's camp. I had the honour to sup that night with the Prince, who ask'd me about my father, who; he said, was wounded. This made me very uneasy, as I had not seen my father since the beginning of the battle. So soon as we rose from table, I went thro' the town in search of my father, but cou'd get no accounts of him that night. The bad weather still continu'd, and as I was very much fatigued, I wou'd have given a great deal for a good bed, but being quite a stranger in the town I did not know where to go. I went at last into the first house which I found open, and by good luck found it occupy'd by Collonel Grant and by some of the Irish officers. Collonel Grant was so obliging as to yeild me his own bed, and sat himself on a chair by the fireside all night. When I awoke next morning, my servant, whom I had order'd to enquire, told me that my father was lodg'd not far from where I was, and that he was very well. I immediately got up and went to him. Our mutual joy was very great to meet again, and to find that neither of us had receiv'd any hurt. My father told me that he had run like everybody else in pursuit of the enemy, till he came to the foot of the hill; that he had then rallied his brigade, which consisted of his own regiment, of the Mackintoshes, and of the Farquersons, and waited for further orders; but that receiving none for some hours, and seeing that all the rest of the army was march'd away, he had at last march'd into the town about ten of the clock at night. In a day or two we return'd to the quarters which we had occupy'd before the battle, and all our attention was then fixt on reducing the Castle of Sterling, the siege of which was carried on with all the vigour that the bad season of the year and the drunkenness of our famous French engeneer wou'd allow of. Some days after the battle our quarters were chang'd. My father's brigade was canton'd in the country between Falkirk and the Torwood, and my father and I, with some other officers, had our quarters assign'd us at —, which was the country seat of a gentleman of the name of Dumbar. From this place I us'd to go sometimes to Bannockburn to pay my respects to the Prince, and sometimes to Falkirk to see

Lord Georget Murray. Accounts having been soon brought to the Court of London of the defeat of Halley's army, several regiments were immediately sent from England to reinforce it; and the Duke of Cumberland having been appointed Commander-in-chief of the King his father's forces in Scotland, arriv'd at Edinburgh about the eight or tenth of February, and immediately took upon himself the command. I have said above that the Dutch had sent over six thousand men to England to assist King George, but that their High Mightynesses had afterwards been oblig'd to recall their troops. The reason why the Dutch troops never acted against us is as follows:- They had been in garrison at Turney and at some other places in the Low Countries, which had been taken by the French the preceding campayne, and by their capitulations they were bound not to serve against France nor her allies for a certain time. The Dutch thought, however, that they cou'd send these troops to the assistance of His Britannick Majesty without appearing to break the articles of their capitulation, as they pretended not to know of any alliance between His Most Christian Majesty and Prince Charles Edward Stuart; but Lord John Drummond, so soon as he landed in Scotland, wrote a letter to the Dutch General by order of his Court, complaining of their troops having violated the articles of their capitulation, and requiring that they should forthwith desist from all hostilities against Prince Charles Stuart, who was the ally of France, and whose army was now join'd by a body of French troops. The Court of Versailles having at the same time caus'd representations of the like nature to be made at the Hague, their High Mightynesses found it expedient to recall their troops. To repair this loss the Court of London caus'd a body of six thousand Hessians in British pay to be brought over to Scotland from the Low Countries, but these troops did not arrive in the country till after our army had rais'd the siege of Sterling Castle and was retir'd into the Highlands. While the King's army was becoming daily stronger and stronger at Edinburgh, by the considerable succours which came to them from England, our army was constantly decreasing ever since the battle of Falkirk, by the incredible number of our men who daily deserted. The Highlanders must always be employ'd, and can never thrive long in one place. They grew tir'd with the siege, which is a service which they do not understand, and which drew out longer than they had expected. Besides this they took a great longing of visiting their homes, after so long an absense, and of depositing there in safety the bootty they had gote in their late victory. The eleventh of February I had gone in to Falkirk to see what was doing there. Lord George Murray ordered me to tell my father to have his brigade assembl'd at the head of the Torwood in the dusk of the evening. We were accordingly there at the time appointed, and having been join'd by the troop from Falkirk, we march'd all together to the neighbourhood of Bannockburn. I continu'd at Bannockburn House some hours, and about midnight march'd with the regiment to our old quarters at Polmese. Before I left Bannockburn the Prince had call'd a counsil of war, which I thought was only to deliberate on what was the properest place to give battle to the Duke of Cumberland's army, which was then advancing against us, for I did not dream of a retreat. I had not been above an hour in bed before my father came, and he told me that it had been resolv'd in the counsil of war to raise the siege of Sterling Castle, and to retire to Inverness. That night the trenches were abandon'd, and so much of the cannon as cou'd not be carry'd off was nail'd up. Next morning our troops evacuated Sterling. There happen'd an unlucky accident that morning at St. Ninian's, where a Highlander having inconsiderately fir'd off his pistol, set fire to some louse gunpowder, which communicating to several barrels which were

lying in the church, blew it up. Several people lost their lives on this occasion, and the Prince was not far from the church when the accident happen'd. My father and I were then about half way between Polmese and St. Ninian's, and had we not been detained at Polmese half an hour longer than we intended, we wou'd have been in the town when the church blew up. That day the army cross'd the Forth at the ford of the Frews, and march'd to Dumblain,. the head marching so far as Crief. Next day the whole army march'd toCrief. We were then divided into two collumns, the one of which march'd to Inverness by the Highland road. This collumn was commanded by the Prince himself, who had the Duke of Perth along with him. The other collumn, commanded by Lord George Murray, march'd to the same place, along the sea coast, by Aberdeen, Bamf, Strathbogie,etc. My father's regiment was in this collumn. As we had nothing to aprehend from the enemy we march'd in small divisions and by different roads, for the conveniency of quarters and provisions. 'The whole collumn met near Aberdeen, into which place we march'd all together. Having rested at Aberdeen two or three days, we continu'd our march, in the same manner as formerly, to the banks of the Spey, where all the different divisions having again met, we continu'd our march together to Inverness. The Prince having march'd by the Highland road, as I have already said, took a small fort at Ruthen, in Badenoch, which he caus'd to be demolish'd, and arriv'd soon after at Moyhall, the seat of the Laird of Mackintosh, which is but a few miles distant from the town of Inverness. The Earl of Loudoun and the President Forbes, imagining that the Prince had but few troops with him at Moyhall, resolv'd to surprise him. For this purpose the Earl of Loudon march'd from Inverness, with a considerable body of the forces under his command; but finding, on his approach to Moyhall, that his design was discover'd, and that the Prince was ready to receive him, he returned to Inverness, which place he likewise abandon'd on the approach of our troops, who took procession of the town without opposition, and immediately laid siege to the castle, in which Lord Loudoun had left a considerable garrison. The Prince at the same time remov'd his headquarters to Culloden House, and sent the Earl of Kilmarnock, at the head of a large body of Highlanders, in pursuit of Lord Loudoun, who was retir'd into Ross-shire. The Castle of Inverness held out but two or three days, and the garrison surrender'd prisoners at discretion on the third of March. The same day Lord George Murray's collumn arriv'd at that place. So soon as my father came to Culloden the Prince order'd him to go and take upon himself the command of the forces with which the Earl of Kilmarnock was gone in pursuit of the Earl of Loudoun. As my father's regiment was order'd on the same expedition, I halted only about half an hour at Culloden, to pay my duty to the Prince, and then march'd to Inverness. We stay'd there only an hour or two, and then continuing our march, we arriv'd that night at Bewly, where we found the Earl of Kilmarnock with his troops. My father having communicated to that Lord the Prince's orders, his Lordship immediately gave up the command of the troops and return'd the same night to Inverness. Next day we march'd to Dingwall, from which place we continu'd our march in a day or two towards Tain, where we expected to meet the Earl of Loudon, but on our arrival at the Bridge of Anas we gote intelligence that that Lord was cross'd over into the county of Sutherland with his troops. My father march'd that day to his seat of Tarbat House with part of the troops, and order'd the rest to follow; but the same night and next day the greatest part of his detachment was order'd back to Inverness, and he was commanded to return with the remainder to Dingwall, and to wait there for further orders. I never cou'd hear the true reason

for this sudden change of our measures, but I suppose it must have been owing to some false report of the Duke of Cumberland's motions. We continu'd a considerable time at Dingwall after this doing nothing. It being at last resolv'd at Inverness to dissipate the Earl of Loudoun's forces, several regiments were sent to reinforce my father, and we receiv'd orders to march to Tain. Some days after we had been there, the Duke of Perth came to us and took the direction of affairs on himself, tho' my father still kept the name of Commander-in-chief. The Duke of Perth's being at Tain made my father's presence there less necessary. We went home to Tarbat House and carried some Irish and other officers along with us. The .thertieth of March, in the morning, we gote an express from Tain to acquaint us that several large boats were arriv'd there from the coast of Murray. We immediately went into the town. These boats had been sent over by the Prince's orders for transporting of the troops at Tain into Sutherland, the enemy having carried away or destroy'd all the boats thereabouts. Everything having been gote ready that day and the following night, the first division of our troops cross'd over into Sutherland next morning, led by the Duke of Perth, and landed without opposition, being unobserv'd by the enemy by reason of a thick fog. As we were to crossover at three different times, by reason that our boats were too few, and as my father's regiment was to be in the last division, I cross'd over with the Frasers, expecting that there wou'd be some action, at which I was desirous of being present. But the enemy, so soon as they discovered our being landed, retir'd. The county militia went to their respective homes, and the Earl of Sutherland cross'd over the Firth of Murray and went to the Duke of Cumberland's army. The Earl of Loudoun and the President Forbes retir'd with Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod and their men into the Isle of Sky. The greatest part of Loudoun's own regiment was made prisoners of war, together with their Major, William MacKenzie. We march'd without loss of time to Dornoch, and so soon as my father's regiment was come over, I march'd with it to Lord Duffus's house of Skelbo, where I remain'd that night. The Macgregors and Stuarts, who had march'd the same way before me, had taken pcession of three small ships which were lying at the Little Ferry, and which were fraughted by the Government. The first of April I march'd from Skelbo to the general rendezvous of our troops, from which we proceeded next day in pursuit of the enemy, and the third of the same month we return'd to Skelbo by a different road, having met with nothing to oppose us. The Duke of Perth left us in this march, and return'd to Inverness. At Skelbo my father receiv'd orders from the Prince to march himself into Caithness, or to send me into that county to raise the militia, and to take up the publick revenues for his service. The county of Caithness is mostly pcessed by the Sinclairs, who are in general well affected to the Stuart family. The Prince having, after his arrival at Inverness, solicited these gentlemen to join him, they had declar'd their willingness thereto, but at the same time requir'd that the Duke of Perth or my father might be sent to command them, and the Prince made choice of my father, and order'd him to march there himself, or to send me, as he found most proper. My father, thinking it necessary for the P—'s service that he shou'd remain in Sutherland, where the militia of the country were still in arms in the mountains, sent me to Caithness with his own regiment. On my arrival at Wick, I wrote sircular letters to all the gentlemen of the county, requiring them to meet me at Thurso on a day I fixt, and to pay up to me the publick money. A day or two after I march'd to Thurso, where I was soon after join'd by Ballon's and Dundonell's men from Lochbroom, they haveing not come out till then. Ballon's men were

commanded by his brother, and Dundonell's by his uncle. The day after my arrival at Thurso, I sent Mr. Mackenzie of Ardloch with a party into the Orckney Islands, with orders to take up the publick money there, and to try if he cou'd raise any troops. The day I had appointed for the gentlemen to meet me being come, severals of them appear'd. . After dinner I told them that they knew for what reason I had call'd them together, as it was at the desire of several among themselves that the P— R— had sent me into the country. I exhorted them to adhere to the principles which they had always profess'd, and to embrace with unanimity and zeal the favourable opportunity they now had of serving their lawful P— by taking arms for his service. They all appear'd very hearty inthe cause, and seem'd resolv'd to take arms, on which I nam'd a day when I would set up the P—'s standard. In the meantime, I was bussy in raising the publick money. Some people were unwilling to pay it, and others, who were not, wanted an appearance of compulsion, by which they might afterwards be able to justify themselves in case our army was defeated; so that I was oblig'd to send small parties through the country to compell all to pay, by which means I at last gote it. Having receiv'd advice that 100 of Lord Rea's men were posted at a village on the frontier between Caithness and Strathnaver, to cover their own country on that side, I form'd the design of surprising them, and provided proper guides for that purpose. The evening before I propos'd marching on that expedition, I communicated my design to Captain Alexander MacKenzie, Dundonell's uncle, being willing to have his oppinion of it, as he was a sensible old man, and had been engag'd in the Rebellion of 1715. Captain MacKenzie having dissaprov'd my design, for reasons which I have now forgote, I dropt it. The time I had fixt for seting up the P—'s standard beeing come, I march'd with the regiment to the place appointed, which was a hill not far from Thurso. Two or three of the gentlemen of the country went along with me, but only one appear'd there with 20 or 30 men, who made but an indifferent figure. I thank'd the gentleman and his men for their zeal, and gave them leave to return home, with orders to be ready to march on the first orders.