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# MEMOIRS

OF

# PRINCE CHARLES STUART,

(COUNT OF ALBANY),

COMMONLY CALLED

## THE YOUNG PRETENDER;

## WITH NOTICES OF THE REBELLION IN 1745.

BY

CHARLES LOUIS KLOSE, ESQ.

"Ita adfecti sumus, ut nihil aeque magnam apud nos admirationem occupet quam homo fortiter miser."—SENECA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# PREFACE.

It might be difficult to account for the fact, that the Prince whose history is told in the following pages,* should have found no biographer before the year 1830. At the first glance, we might be disposed to attribute this neglect, firstly, to the failure of his attempt to reconquer the crown of his ancestors, and, secondly, to the shortness of the period during which he can be said to have played a part on the political stage of his own time. Little, however, was wanting to the success of the attempt, which, at all events, forms an important episode in the History of England under the House of Hanover; and the results of that attempt, to Scotland more particularly, have been important and permanent; for it is only since then, that the union of that country with England can be said to have been consummated. The last

* The original of which is written in German.—Ed.

soldier of the House of Stuart, it must be admitted, has contributed in no trifling degree to the present intimate connexion between the two chief divisions of Great Britain; and this fact alone may be deemed sufficient to excite some interest for a history of the many years which he spent in retirement, far from the land of his forefathers, after having for a while occupied the anxious attention of all Europe with the fame of his achievements.

Charles Stuart, moreover, has been, more perhaps than any other man of his age, an object of the most devoted attachment, and of the most reckless vituperation; and this alone makes, and will probably long continue to make, an impartial narrative of the events of his life one of the most pleasing and meritorious tasks which an able and conscientious biographer can impose upon himself.

The real cause of this long neglect appears to me to lie in the extreme difficulty of obtaining satisfactory information respecting important epochs, and even long periods, of our hero's life; for the relations of the House of Stuart to that of Hanover could only influence English

writers, and not even those for many years past, to abstain from a just tribute to the memory of the exiled Pretender. The difficulty to which I allude was for a long time all but insurmountable. The Prince quitted the public stage in 1746, after which he lived in retirement for fifty-three years; but, till the close of the last century, the literary world was in possession of no materials respecting him, that could be relied on, excepting a few works that confined themselves to the military events of 1745 and 1746, and treated even those in a manner to make the want of a more complete and impartial account of that period of British History more sensibly felt. Henderson's "Edinburgh History of the Rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746," and Home's "Account of the Rebellion in 1745," were certainly not calculated to render a subsequent treatment of the subject superfluous or undesirable.

More favourable circumstances have arisen, within the last twenty years, for the composition of a biography of Prince Charles; and, accordingly, more ample materials for that purpose having been furnished by Walter Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather," by Johnstone's "Memoirs

of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746," by the "Lockhart Papers, published from original manuscripts in the possession of Anthony Aufrere, Esq.," and by the "Culloden Papers, comprising an extensive and interesting correspondence from the year 1625 to 1748," the world was at length put into possession of a "*Vie de Charles Edouard, dernier Prince de la Maison de Stuart,*" the first volume of which appeared at Paris in 1830, and the second in 1838.

It would require but little trouble to show that the last-named work, from the pen of M. Pichot, has been written with extreme carelessness. It is full of assertions, the inaccuracy of which must have been manifest to the author, had he allowed himself time for a critical examination of his own book. The birth of his hero is described merely as having occurred, *vers la fin de l' année,* and Florence is erroneously stated to have been the place of his death; but even the mildest judgment must consider a work undeserving of the character of a biography, where the Prince's childhood and youth are disposed of in two pages, and the last forty years of his life in one sheet. The first 204 pages are filled by a

*Histoire de la Rivalité de l'Angleterre et de l'Ecosse;* and seven pages are occupied by a *Conclusion*, in which the possibility of a restoration of the Stuarts is made the matter of serious inquiry! Such a work, whatever else it may be, is certainly not to be called a biography.

Easy as it may be, however, to point out a multitude of similar faults in the thoroughly French* production of M. Pichot, it must, nevertheless, be admitted, that it is exceedingly difficult to write the biography of a man who was induced by a variety of circumstances to throw as much mystery as he could around the events of a long period of his life, more particularly in regard to his travels subsequently to 1748; and whose contemporaries, if they were capable of passing an impartial judgment on his character and conduct, have at least left no traces of any such impartiality behind them. Few seem to have observed him, except through the distorting

* The celebrated Alexandre Dumas gave the world, three years ago, a work in two volumes entitled *Les Stuarts*. He commences his history certainly with the First Stuart; but the middle of the first volume brings us to Queen Mary, whose life occupies the rest of that and the whole of the succeeding volume. The execution of Mary closes the volume and the work.

medium of love or hatred; and there still remain periods of his life respecting which we are left entirely in the dark, although, since the appearance of Pichot's work, many valuable materials for the biographer have been added to the stock of which we were previously possessed. Among these more recent publications we may mention R. Chambers's "Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745," and above all the "Stuart Papers," which are given in the form of an Appendix to Lord Mahon's "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle."

Wachler, in his "Geschichte der historischen Forschung und Kunst," says, "The approach to perfection in biographical art is extremely rare, and its conditions are difficult to fulfil. Few are gifted with the power of comprehending the whole individuality of a man, unmixed with partial views and interpretations; few are able to present a natural development of that individuality, by a narrative of well-authenticated facts, of the facilities and impediments to which it gave rise itself, and of the efforts and manifestations that originated in characteristic peculiarities; few can

correctly distinguish and impartially judge the impressions which the individual mind receives from those around it, or the influence which it exercises in its turn; and few know how to pass lightly over, without altogether suppressing, what belongs to the history of the age rather than of the man, or to detect the components of the human character, and make them comprehensible to others by a well-grouped design."

To furnish a biography of Charles Stuart, that shall comply with all the above conditions, is at present impossible, and is likely for ever to remain so, for they suppose the existence of trustworthy testimony on at least all the most important events; whereas it is extremely doubtful whether we shall ever obtain exact information relative to the many years during which the Prince resided at Florence, or relative to the history of his travels: indeed, if the whole of the Stuart Papers were made accessible, much, probably, would still remain obscure and unexplained that might have thrown an unexpected light on some of the most momentous events of his life. All that can at present be given is such a picture of the Prince, and of the occurrences in which he bore a part,

as can be obtained from the materials within the author's reach. There are points on which it is not in his power to afford an indisputable solution; but he has been careful not to allow history again to appear as "*tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuncia veri;*" and in the picture which he has given, though he cannot pretend that no part of the character of his hero may have escaped him, he has presented what in its details may afford opportunities for correction to those better informed than himself, but the main design of which must continue unaltered, if it is to remain faithful to its great original. For such a picture of Charles we are now possessed of a sufficient store of authentic materials; and as the following pages may fairly be described as the first attempt to combine those materials to such an end, the author hopes that, having exercised his best judgment, and spared no pains in its composition, his work will not be an unwelcome one to the reading world.

In giving dates I have always adopted the New Style, unless where circumstances rendered this impossible, as, for instance, in the case of documents, &c.; but all such variations I have care-

fully marked; and I have endeavoured, by a reference to Raumer's *Geschichte Europa's seit dem Ende des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, to avoid the inaccuracies into which the contradictory statements of different writers, as to dates, are but too well calculated to lead.

C. L. KLOSE.

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# MEMOIRS

# PRINCE CHARLES STUART.

## CHAPTER I.

### BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF STUART TO THE DEATH OF JAMES THE FIRST OF ENGLAND.

When the most brilliant French writer of the eighteenth century asserted that, with the exception of the Stuarts, there is not known to history any sovereign house whose members were uninterruptedly devoted to misfortune for several successive centuries, there is no doubt that, little as Voltaire, the historian, may be entitled to our confidence, his remark is, nevertheless, perfectly consistent with truth, and conveys, in a few words, a correct impression of the fate of the family. With the exception of some of the earliest founders of the house, all appeared to be borne down by a fatal destiny, which, however,

on closer examination, loses much of its mystery, for scarcely one of these princes became the sacrifice of circumstances that might not have been anticipated, and the majority drew misfortune upon themselves by their own faults; but it may be termed a singularly malicious stroke of destiny, that the race of the warlike Stuarts should have closed with a man, endowed by nature with every quality that might have entitled him to a happier lot, who strove with energy and perseverance to attain the goal to which those qualities enabled him to aspire, whose daring efforts carried him within view of the point he aimed at, and all only to consign him to a fate more painful, perhaps, than any Stuart before him had ever experienced.

To present a picture of the life of this man is the object of the present work; but, before we enter upon the more immediate subject of our attention, we may be allowed to throw a hasty glance over the relations of a country, which the hero of our history may well have deemed his own, and to pass in review the more immediate predecessors of his race.

Since the year 1370, when the first Stuart mounted the throne of Scotland, under the title

of Robert II., eight sovereigns of the house had succeeded each other in the government of the country, at the time when Elizabeth wielded the sceptre of England: Robert III., five sovereigns of the name of James, Queen Mary Stuart, and lastly, James VI. Scotland was, during this period, and for a century afterwards, a limited monarchy, in which the king shared the powers of government with his parliament. The third estate enjoyed but little consideration, for there, as elsewhere, the institutions of feudalism tended but little to the improvement of agriculture or of the arts. Under James I., Scotland possessed no manufactures that could have served as articles of export, but imported even such necessary objects as harness, leather, and horse-shoes, from Flanders. The native mechanic furnished nothing but the rudest fabrics, and agriculture was in so wretched a condition, that James I. thought it necessary to enact penalties against any peasant who, ploughing with eight oxen, failed annually to sow a certain quantity of wheat and peas and forty beans.

Under these circumstances, it need excite no surprise that in the parliaments summoned by

the Scottish kings, the third estate was represented by the deputies of no more than fifteen towns; and that even these could be induced only by the express injunctions of James I. to present themselves in an assembly where the nobility and clergy were possessed of so evident a preponderance. The clergy, it is true, sided always with the king; but the nobility had no occasion, on that account, to apprehend the enforcement of resolutions unfavourable to their interests. Few in number, but in possession of nearly the whole of the cultivated land, the nobles were only the more powerful on account of the small extent to which property was divided. These few, moreover, by private alliances, even in times of peace, were able to render themselves formidable, and the more easily, in consequence of the hold upon the people for which they stood indebted to the institutions of feudalism and the relations of clanship. These alliances aimed no doubt in early times at the maintenance of personal security; but they offered too seductive an opportunity not to have been abused, in a dark age and a half-civilised country. Large cities, which have justly been described as the cradles of legality and civil

order, were wanting; and the mountainous nature of the land that had arrested the flight of the Roman eagles made it easy to the nobles, in their castles and fastnesses, to set the royal power at defiance, whenever personal interest appeared to indicate the expediency of resistance.

To the Scottish nobles whose possessions bordered on England, the guardianship of the frontier had been assigned as early as the reign of Robert II., and this commission gave to those entrusted with it an independence so complete, that they had seldom occasion to trouble themselves about the pleasure of the king. They agreed with their equally independent neighbours of the English border upon a kind of code, known as the border law, and upon this they based new treaties and agreements, that were often very little in harmony with the constitution either of England or Scotland. The power of the Scottish nobility was yet farther increased by the prevailing system of jurisprudence. A Chief-Justice with his assistant judges, did indeed administer the law twice a year in different parts of the country. He superintended the criminal law of the land, and the whole kingdom was assigned to

him as his sphere of action, with the exception, however, of all estates on which the owners were invested with judicial authority. Even when the College of Justice, half the members of which were ecclesiastics, was established in 1532, the power of the nobles was so little curtailed, that they continued to hold their own courts like the king, pronounced judgment in causes of every kind, were able, at their will, to pardon even the worst of offenders, and, in short, exercised, within the limits of their possessions, almost every prerogative of independent princes.

In the presence of such a nobility, it was difficult for the kings of Scotland to maintain the preponderance and dignity of the crown. Another, and not a less difficulty, arose from the relations in which they stood to the adjoining kingdom of England, the sovereigns of which had as early as the twelfth century aimed at the supreme authority over Scotland, had actually obtained it towards the end of the thirteenth, and, although they had remained in possession of it but for a short time, had never ceased to struggle for the recovery of the lost advantage. The Scots, not surpassed by their neighbours, either in personal bravery or in

jealous animosity, were far less versed in the arts of war and in the other arts of civilisation. This unfortunate state of things—the more unfortunate as it often afforded the nobles a dangerous facility for the annoyance of their sovereigns—led, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, to many hostile incursions into the two countries; and, owing to the circumstances already hinted at, these enterprises rarely terminated otherwise than disastrously to Scotland and her kings. This very state of things it was that led Scotland at an early period to ally herself so intimately with France, the enemy of England; an alliance which in its turn was attended with consequences little conducive to the dignity of the Scottish crown.

Among the princes to whom Providence assigned the task of contending with these difficulties, there were many endowed by nature with virtues calculated to adorn a private station, and some to whom royal qualities were by no means denied, though not one was qualified to give to the circumstances of his time a direction favourable to the royalty of Scotland. The peaceful disposition of Robert II. did not prevent the Scots and their neighbours, during his reign, from making frequent aggres-

sions on each other; the mildness and piety of Robert III. were not only little calculated to awe an insolent nobility, but did not even secure the king against the grief of seeing himself deprived of his children by his own brother; the cunning of James III., somewhat resembling that of Louis XI., was unable to supply the absence either of moral courage or of real intelligence and ability, when engaged in the attempt to humble the arrogance of the great feudatories of the crown; and James IV., whose chivalrous character bore some analogy to that of Francis I. of France, although his expensive pleasures may have advanced the commerce and encouraged the industry of his subjects, incurred a heavy responsibility by his temerity in twice invading England; enterprises to which nothing but his own warlike spirit impelled him, and the wish, on the first occasion, to ally himself with the Duchess of Burgundy, a sister of Edward IV. of England, and, on the second, to obtain the hand of Anne of Brittany.

James IV., at the battle of Flodden, (9th September, 1513,) paid the penalty of his life for his rashness; and James V., distinguished by humanity, a love of justice, and cultivated man-

ners, might, in another age, have been a fortunate sovereign; but to the other adverse circumstances with which the Stuarts had had to contend was added, in the sixteenth century, the Reformation of the Church, with which James was altogether unable to cope. To the spirit of that reformation Scotland remained not a stranger. Many of the nobles, no doubt, were induced to favour the new doctrine, partly by their envy and hatred of a wealthy and powerful clergy, who had usurped some of the most important offices of state, and partly by the example and incitement of Henry VIII. of England; but, among the majority of the Scottish people, in whose souls the reformed religion found a fruitful soil, it was a deep and genuine feeling of the necessity of reform, that raised for it so many champions and adherents. Nor was it possible that the king himself should be blinded to the fact, that the many rich donations to the Church, and the important prerogatives which had been conceded to the clergy, had inspired these with an arrogance little less than that of the nobles themselves; while the dissolute lives of many of the higher dignitaries of the Church could not but

weaken the respect with which it was desirable that their stations should inspire the people. James was himself anxious to obtain the removal of some of these abuses, but he was anxious, at the same time, not to incur the suspicion of heresy.

The Holy See, warned by the defection of the King of England, might have been ready to make some concessions to the peculiar circumstances of Scotland; but James himself was rendered indecisive by the fear of losing the support which, in his struggles with the nobility, he derived from the counterbalancing influence of a wealthy and powerful clergy. Instead of placing himself at the head of a movement, which, by a prudent direction, might have surrounded his throne and that of his descendants with a new bulwark, he allowed his councillor, David Beaton, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal, to lull him into the belief that in a rich and educated clergy would ever be found the most secure protection against the encroachments of a rude and illiterate nobility, from whom the Church had already succeeded in wresting the most important offices. His deep and not unfounded distrust of his uncle, Henry

VIII.; his attachment to France, with which his successive marriages with two French princesses had strengthened his alliance; the triumphant manner in which Calvinism had been combated in the latter country; and the advantage which he derived from investing his illegitimate sons with high ecclesiastical offices, the revenues of which, during their minority, served to swell his own treasury—all these motives, no doubt, combined to strengthen his desire to remain true to the faith of his fathers.

The consequence was that, under the reign of James V., if not with his avowed consent, the attempt was made, in Scotland also, to suppress the Reformation in its infancy by the faggot and the sword; and the melancholy end of this sovereign marks only the commencement of those sufferings which his erroneous policy brought upon his country. His only daughter, Mary Stuart, before she took possession of the throne of her forefathers, saw Scotland desolated by a civil war, the flames of which were kept alive for nineteen years by the zeal of the Reformers and their opponents, by the jealousy of Elizabeth, and by the intrigues of the French court.

Upon the throne, Mary showed herself totally unfitted for the times upon which she was cast. Neither her personal beauty, nor her long-enduring sufferings, can secure her against the censure of posterity. She was so entirely the tool of her own passions and prejudices, of the ill-judged counsels of her friends, and of the malice and activity of her foes, that the history of Scotland can scarcely be said to present a more unfortunate period than that which intervened between the birth of Mary and the accession of her son. It must be admitted, indeed, that during this period Scotland made two precious acquisitions: firstly, the ecclesiastical constitution of the Presbyterian church, for which the country was indebted to the fiery zeal of Knox, and those who resembled him; and secondly, her political independence of French influence, which, weakened by the captivity of Mary, was destroyed from the moment when the axe of the executioner struck off the head of the unfortunate queen. Scotland, however, reaped these fruits of a sorrowful period, not through Mary, but in spite of Mary's firm adherence to Popery—an adherence not to be justified by the principles of state policy, but easily

accounted for by the precepts instilled into her mind in early youth, in that *plaisant pays de France*, where the happiest days had been passed that a cruel destiny vouchsafed her.

James VI., the son of Mary, had been long in possession of the throne that was formally vacated by her death. He was, in many respects, the most fortunate prince of his family, and might have provided permanently for the welfare of Scotland, had he not been deficient in all the qualities requisite to the performance of such a task. The lineal descendant of Henry VII., James had an indisputable claim to the throne of England, should Elizabeth die without issue. Accordingly, when the long anxiously-awaited event occurred, he succeeded to the vacant throne without opposition, and wore the crowns of the two kingdoms under the title of James I., King of Great Britain. During his peaceful reign of twenty-two years, agriculture improved, and the arts and sciences made rapid progress, while the empire advanced in prosperity, and colonies began to be founded in America. The king was himself a learned pupil of George Buchanan's, and made no little boast of the extent of his own theological

studies. His vanity, however, and the littleness and one-sidedness which marked his learning, might easily have been excused; but for the future fortunes of his house and of his kingdom, it was deeply to be deplored, that, while the means within his control were totally disproportioned to his views of state policy (no less an object of vanity with him than his scholastic learning), those views should have been not only not in harmony with, but in direct contradiction to, the spirit of his times. His pusillanimous bearing towards foreign countries was well calculated to warrant the celebrated epigram—

> Rex fuit Elizabeth, nunc est regina Jacobus;
> Error naturæ sic in utroque fuit.

Bent on maintaining peace, at whatever cost, he opposed nothing but diplomatic negotiations to the violent ejection of his son-in-law from the Bohemian throne, and from the dignity and lands of the Palatine electorate. By this conduct he forfeited the consideration of foreign courts. In his domestic policy, on the other hand, he soon betrayed the hereditary infirmity of his family, namely, a morbid desire for unlimited power. The successful efforts of Elizabeth in the same career

inspired him with the vain hope of attaining the same end, with even greater security. His high opinion of his own ability blinded him to the causes which prevented the people from yielding him that acquiescence which they had not withheld from his great predecessor, whose enterprises were at all times in harmony with the glory and welfare of England. He fancied, as he expressed himself, that he could exercise the art of "king-craft" better, by the aid of his secretary's pen, than his ancestors had been able to do with the sword; but, if we except the parochial schools, founded in 1616, this pen produced nothing to entitle the king to more respect at home than he enjoyed abroad.

Although educated in Scotland, by his guardian, the Earl of Murray, in the principles of Presbyterianism, James soon discovered that the episcopal constitution of the Church of England offered him much greater facilities towards the attainment of unlimited power. In the very first year of his accession to the English throne, we find him occupied in an attempt to unite Scotland with England, under one parliament and one code of laws. This premature attempt was defeated by

Scotland's pride in her independence; but he succeeded, nevertheless, in imposing the forms of the Episcopal church upon a few detached congregations in the northern part of his dominions; the measures of violence, however, which were often necessary to the enforcement of those forms, could not but estrange from the king the affections of his Presbyterian subjects, while the ordinance by which, immediately on his accession, he banished all Catholic priests, had necessarily embittered the animosity of all the remaining adherents of Popery.

The altered relations of Scotland, in consequence of the succession of her sovereign to a foreign throne, had produced effects not always to the advantage of the humbler classes. In earlier times, prudence had enjoined the Scottish nobility, by kindness and forbearance, to maintain themselves in the affections of their tenants and clansmen, that these might be made willing instruments in any struggle in which their chiefs might become involved with the crown. James's accession of power, as king of the entire island, made it hopeless for the Scottish nobles to think of any farther armed resistance, and the motive which had

formerly led many of them to consult the welfare of their dependents, was greatly weakened by this change of circumstances. The nobles abused more and more the feudal power of which they had retained possession, and sought to levy greater revenues from their lands, that they might be enabled to appear with greater splendour at the remote court of their monarch. The commerce of Scotland likewise suffered by the union of the two crowns on one head. The favour that had been shown in foreign countries, more particularly in France, to Scottish traders, gave way to the higher duties levied on English merchandise.

Motives for dissatisfaction with the new order of things were, therefore, not wanting in Scotland, while in England a similar feeling was nourished by the contrast between the personal character of the king and his lofty views respecting the royal prerogative. Without either dignity or grace in his outward bearing, James possessed nothing to make his people forget the lawless despotism of his views of government; and it could not fail to mortify the national pride to see the king, notwithstanding his exalted notion of his own capacity, yield himself, in the

most important affairs of state, to the guidance of incompetent favourites, who, as in the instance of the notorious Duke of Buckingham, disgracefully abused the confidence unexpectedly as undeservedly reposed in them.

Under such circumstances, we need feel no surprise if the increasing boldness with which a government that enjoyed but little consideration had recourse to arbitrary measures, till at last it forgot itself so far as to declare all the rights and liberties of the nation only emanations from the royal grace, should in the end have awakened a spirit of resistance in the country, giving birth, in 1621, to the two great parties, one of which stood forth as the champion of the people's rights, while the other lent its support to the efforts for the enlargement of the royal prerogative. Sixty years later, these two parties acquired a wider fame; but their struggles would undoubtedly have overwhelmed James altogether, had not his good genius, by removing him, on the 8th of April, 1625, from the scene of strife, secured him against the effects of the storm that shortly afterwards burst forth.

## CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF STUART CONTINUED TO THE ABDICATION OF JAMES II.

In the whole succession of kings of the house of Stuart, we might vainly look for one endowed with virtues of higher order than the son and successor of James, Charles I., born on the 19th of November, 1600, and married, shortly after his accession, to Henriette Marie, daughter of Henry IV. of France. With a dignified and pleasing demeanour he combined high mental cultivation, kindness of disposition, and a character that, in the usual intercourse of life, would have acquired for him general esteem; but his father, and, what was worse, the Duke of Buckingham, had been his tutors; and the prejudices which had nearly involved them in ruin had been imbibed by their pupil, who possessed, as little as James had done, those qualities of a

sovereign which might have blinded his people to the mischievous character of those prejudices.

The Duke of Buckingham was as all-powerful a minister, during the first three years of Charles's reign, as under James. It was through the instigation of Buckingham that Charles was led into a great number of arbitrary measures, and was involved in a war with France, which terminated even more disgracefully than one that had previously been waged against Spain, and for which also Buckingham must be held responsible. The English nation, fatigued by so onerous and at the same time so disgraceful a system of despotism, after numerous vain attempts to release the king from the feeble and faithless counsels of Buckingham, had recourse to new measures. In 1628, a committee of both houses of parliament laid the celebrated Petition of Rights before the king. This document, by which the original contract between the king and the people was renewed according to the principles of Magna Charta, Charles was invited to confirm. This the king at first unwisely refused to do; and in the sequel he complied with the demand, equally unwisely, to protect

his favourite against the effects of the charges raised against him. When the dagger of an assassin, shortly afterwards, relieved the country from so unworthy a minister, it was too late to allay the spirit of animosity which the abuse of power had called forth.

In the twelve succeeding years indeed, during which Charles reigned without minister or parliament, England enjoyed the advantages of peace; but occurrences were not wanting that showed how little the nation was reconciled by internal prosperity to the loss of its freedom. A trifling cause, it was evident, would suffice to make the smothered flame break forth with renewed fury; and, owing to the king's partiality towards the episcopal form of church government, this cause arose first in the more ancient portion of the dominions of his house. Although Scotland beheld in this form of church government only the first step towards a return to Popery, still Charles, whose religious prejudices were encouraged by Laud, Bishop of London, had resolved to carry into effect the union of the English and Scottish churches, as contemplated in the preceding reign; and with this view the new liturgy

was ordered, in 1637, to be read in all Scottish churches.

In consequence of this order, a regular armed resistance was organised, the members of which published the celebrated "Covenant" as their confession of faith, the main points of which were contained in the assurance of inviolable attachment to the principles of Presbyterianism. The king was not without the means of opposing an overwhelming military force to the insurgents. Wentworth, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who was afterwards advanced to the dignity of Earl of Strafford, spared no pains to place the king in a position to act with energy against the insurgents; but Charles was twice led by the weakness of his own character to enter into negotiations with those very insurgents, by doing which the civil war was merely postponed; as none of the causes from which the recommencement of a similar movement might reasonably be anticipated were removed.

In 1640, Charles opened the celebrated "Long Parliament," which consisted chiefly of Presbyterians, or, as they were then more frequently called, Puritans. These, instead of applying

themselves by temperate measures to heal the dangerous wounds with which the State was afflicted, seemed to be bent on destroying the institutions of the country as they had till then existed. They constrained the king to give his consent to the execution of Strafford and Laud, and gradually stripped him of his power, a course for which, among others, a pretext was found in the horrible scenes that took place, in 1641, in Ireland, where more than 40,000 Protestants were massacred.

In April, 1642, the civil war broke out, and, from that time till the close of the sanguinary struggle, the king's conduct manifested a firmness and resolution, which, if earlier displayed, would have been of inestimable advantage to himself and to his country, but which could now scarcely delay his ruin. For three years he maintained the contest with success, but, by the loss of the battle of Naseby (June, 1645), his cause was ruined. Charles fled to Scotland, but was delivered by the people of that country into the hands of the English Parliament, on the payment of a debt of 800,000*l.* His rebellious subjects brought him before a tribunal of their own, accused him of high treason, and on the 30th of January,

1649, he was put to death, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his own family, of the French government, and even of the Scottish people.

Already during the civil war there had been gradually substituted for the former despotism of the king the government of Oliver Cromwell, a man whose distinguished abilities as a soldier and a statesman had manifested themselves for the first time during the war in question, whose ambition had inspired him with the most implacable animosity against his sovereign, whose most dangerous enemy he became, and eventually his murderer. After the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland had been converted into a republic, and after Charles had expiated on the scaffold the errors of his government, Oliver Cromwell found himself in possession of the power for which he had struggled with equal energy and cunning; for he ruled the new republic with unlimited authority, though only under the title of Protector. Under his sway, order and tranquillity returned to the administration of the State, the public revenue increased, a vigilant eye watched over the strict enforcement of the laws, and a veteran army, devoted rather to the person of the general than to the State, contributed

at the same time to protect his authority against domestic malecontents, and to raise to a proud eminence the consideration of England in the eyes of foreign powers. The government of Cromwell may not inaptly be described as a continuation of that of Elizabeth, and it may, at all events, be mentioned as a curious coincidence, that the day of his birth was the same on which her earthly career was closed.

The means, however, by which this power had been attained, served as impediments to its consolidation, and prevented it from being transmitted to his descendants. The judicial forms that had accompanied the murder of Charles deceived but few, and those few only for a brief period; and the severe measures to which the Protector was obliged to have recourse, in order to keep in subjection the numerous adherents of the royal house, lent daily fresh fuel to the hatred with which he had inspired them. The advocates of a really free constitution could not but be convinced that Cromwell, without the title, exercised all the power of a king; and though, in 1657, he declined the royal title when offered to him, it was known that he himself had caused the offer

to be made, and that, in declining it, he yielded only to the force of circumstances, and to the remonstrances and menaces of his most devoted partisans. In the early part of his military career, Cromwell, to make the army instrumental to the attainment of his personal views, had done everything in his power to inflame the soldiers with the most unbounded political and religous fanaticism; but, when his end had been gained, this very fanaticism, and the contempt of existing institutions to which it gave rise, threatened to become dangerous to the power of the fortunate ruler.

If, on the one hand, therefore, it cannot be denied that Cromwell rendered memorable services to England, and perhaps even saved the country from ruin, yet, on the other, it is not less true that his government became at last an object of detestation to all parties. When his death, on the 3d of September, 1658, released him from the melancholy embarrassments in which his ambition had involved him, although his son, Richard Cromwell, a man little qualified for the exercise of sovereign power, succeeded to the Protectorate, the authority was resigned by him a few months afterwards (on the 25th of May, 1659), and the

friends of the exiled family encountered but few difficulties in their endeavours to restore the house of Stuart to the throne. The people, wearied with a state of things which, for eighteen years, had given rise only to incessant exactions of money, to persecutions, imprisonments, and executions, lent every possible assistance to the restoration.

Charles II., the eldest son of the murdered king, born on the 29th of May, 1630, was at the Hague when he received the news of his father's death. The young prince immediately assumed the title of King of Great Britain, with every prospect of soon entering upon the exercise of the powers of royalty, in at least a part of his dominions. The Scots, dissatisfied with the political as well as the ecclesiastical policy of the party that had then the upper hand in England, declared their readiness to submit to the new king, provided that he would confirm the Scottish form of church government. Charles showed a ready disposition to negotiate on this point, at Breda, with the deputation from Scotland, but at the same time instigated the Marquis of Montrose to endeavour to reduce Scotland by the force of arms; and it was only when this attempt had failed, and Montrose had been

executed at Edinburgh, that the young king subscribed to all the stipulations of the Covenant, and proceeded to Scotland, where he was crowned at Scone, with great magnificence, in the early part of the year 1651.

It was impossible for him, however, to maintain himself amid the contest of parties, and more particularly to resist the clerical influence that had strengthened itself by an ascendency of ten years; but even the forms of his royalty were soon overwhelmed by the advancing power of Cromwell, and at Worcester, on the 3d of September, 1651, Charles suffered a defeat that rendered all farther resistance to his formidable antagonist impossible. Under a variety of disguises, and amid a multitude of perils and adventures, Charles wandered about as a fugitive for forty-one days, till he at length succeeded in embarking at Shoreham, in Sussex, whence he escaped to France.

As long as the power of Cromwell lasted, Charles resided with his family, partly at the French court, and partly in the Netherlands. During this time, all his steps were anxiously watched by the English government; and the fear with which the Protectorate had inspired the powers of the

Continent, not only prevented the royal family from enjoying tranquillity, but exposed them continually to pecuniary embarrassments, that made it impossible for them to live in a manner at all suitable to their rank. This state of things was unexpectedly changed, when the death of Cromwell, and the voluntary retirement of his harmless son, filled the people of England with the apprehension of another civil war.

George Monk, who, under both Cromwells, had commanded the troops in Scotland, but who was secretly devoted to the Stuarts, marched to London in 1660, obliged the parliament to dissolve itself, and caused a new parliament to be elected, to whose measures the nation was to look for a return of order. On the 8th of May, it was unanimously determined to recal to the throne of his forefathers the prince who, only a few months previously, enjoyed so little consideration at the French court that he was unable to obtain an interview with Cardinal Mazarin.

On the 29th of May, the day on which he completed his thirtieth year, Charles II. held his solemn entry into his capital, amid fickle demonstrations of joy from all parties. The people had

contented themselves with the belief that Charles must have profited by the lessons of adversity, and made his recal dependent only on general and indefinite assurances. It was not long before abundant proofs were afforded that the country had acted with ill-judged precipitancy. The king was a man of great natural abilities and of a cheerful disposition. His condescension to inferiors was often carried to an unreasonable excess. He had been educated, indeed, in the Protestant faith, but his residence abroad had given him a leaning towards Catholicism. His experience in Scotland and in exile had produced a pernicious effect upon the integrity of his character; and an irresistible propensity to pleasure and dissipation, together with a levity of disposition that seemed regardless of everything but personal enjoyment, made him look upon every serious occupation as a distasteful task, and upon every legal check on his caprice as an intolerable constraint.

In exile, to use the modern expression, he had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." This is shown in every stage of his reign, of which the most remarkable characteristic is, that it should have endured for twenty-five years; and every act

of that reign is replete with proof that Charles, more even than any of his predecessors, abhorred every legal restraint on his royal authority. Although the Parliament allowed him a larger annual income (1,200,000*l.*) than had ever before been voted to any king of England, the sum was still far from sufficient to meet his expenditure. Debauchees and courtezans—among the latter particularly a Frenchwoman, whom he created Duchess of Portsmouth—helped him to dissipate the revenues of the State; and, at last, the enormous accumulation of his debts forced him to importune Parliament incessantly for money.

Till 1667, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, a prudent and intelligent minister, had been at the head of affairs, but he was dismissed from the ministry after the king, pressed by his increasing pecuniary embarrassments, had sold to Louis XIV., for money, the important fortress of Dunkirk, a trophy that had been bought with British blood. Not long afterwards, the king of England did not even blush to make himself a dependent of the French monarch, by accepting from the latter an annual pension of 100,000*l.* The notorious

Cabal ministry, to which Charles afterwards abandoned himself, impelled him more and more to acts of selfish dissipation and arbitrary power, and pointed out to him the prospect of realizing the wished-for despotism, by the aid of the Catholic religion, to which his brother James, Duke of York, did not hesitate openly to avow himself a convert. Charles would, probably, not have shrunk from a similar step, had he not been warned, even by Louis XIV., to proceed with caution in so delicate a matter. The king contented himself, therefore, in 1672, with an attempt to repeal all the laws in force against dissenters from the Established Church; but, as it was well known that the object of this measure was to favour the Catholics, the parliament, wearied by a forbearance of twelve years, withheld its consent, and in the following year passed the Test Act, which excluded Catholics from all public offices. Charles was soon afterwards obliged to dismiss three remaining ministers of the Cabal, and in May, 1679, the House of Commons passed a resolution to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the throne; a resolution, however, that was rejected by the House of Lords. In the

same year, the Habeas Corpus Act confirmed the English people in the possession of an important right, recognised both in Magna Charta and in the Petition of Rights.

The king's evident endeavour to make himself independent of Parliament and to restore Popery had caused more than one conspiracy in England, in which were involved men of the highest consideration, who, with others of inferior note, perished on the scaffold. Shortly after the accession of Charles, proceedings had recommenced in Scotland for the suppression of Presbyterianism; and these proceedings had been carried on with a persevering barbarity that excited a series of armed insurrections. The Duke of Monmouth, indeed, a natural son of the king's, having, in 1679, obtained a victory over the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge, displayed a wise degree of moderation after his triumph; and even the Duke of York, who, in the same year, and while the English parliament was endeavouring to exclude him from the throne, took charge of the administration of that unfortunate country, gave himself considerable pains to acquire the character of a lenient master with the Scottish people. The

real sentiments of the Duke of York, however, were better expressed, when he said that it would never go well in Scotland till the whole land north of the Forth had been converted into a game preserve. In 1681, the king recalled his brother from Scotland. During the remainder of that reign no parliament was convoked; and, on the 6th of February, 1685, Charles died, having received the consolations of religion, according to his own wish, from the hands of a Roman Catholic priest. During the last four years of his reign, Charles wanted but little to that unlimited power, to obtain which he had sacrificed the affection and respect of his people. When death relieved England from his rule, the epigram of a contemporary might aptly have been engraved on his tomb:—

> "Here lies our sovereign lord the king,
> Whose word no man relies on;
> Who never said a foolish thing,
> And never did a wise one."

Yet how weak is even this epigram to express the infamy of a reign, in which the caprice of government caused an almost incessant flow of blood and tears!

The union of Charles with Catherine, Infanta of Portugal, contracted in 1662, having been unblessed with issue, the law of succession conferred the crown on his brother James, Duke of York, whom the House of Commons had sought to exclude, and had succeeded in separating for some time from the king. James was born on the 14th of October, 1633. During the exile of his family, he had served with distinction under Turenne and the great Condé; and, shortly after his brother's accession, he had gathered fresh laurels while in command of the English fleet. Nevertheless, he was but ill-deserving of the remark made on the last of the Valois, and sometimes applied to James, namely, that he had always appeared worthy of a throne until he had occupied one. Long before his accession, he had become an object of popular aversion, quite as much on account of the arbitrary principles which he professed as of his devotion to Popery; and neither his religious nor his political maxims had he prudence enough to disguise. He had contracted a marriage, in 1660, with Anne Hyde, the daughter of the celebrated Earl of Clarendon, and this union had given birth to two daughters.

The elder, Mary, had been married, in 1677, to Prince William III. of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Netherlands, and the younger, in 1684, to Prince George, brother of the King of Denmark. Both these princesses had been reared in the Protestant faith. After the death of his first wife, however, and after his public conversion to the Roman Church, James united himself with a Catholic, the Princess Maria Beatrix of Modena.

Notwithstanding the unreserved manner in which he thus exposed his sentiments, he experienced no resistance on his accession to the throne of his ancestors; on the contrary, the commencement of his reign seemed to be of happy augury, and inspired the people with an unexpected confidence in his good intentions. ' In his first speech to the Privy Council, he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government both in Church and State. Though he had been reported, he said, to have imbibed arbitrary principles, he knew that the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wish to be, and he was determined never to depart from them. Not a single act of his reign, however, was calculated to bear out these

professions, unless it be his hypocritical consent to have himself crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury according to the forms of the Church of England.

James was not content to surround himself with all the ecclesiastical pomp of Romanism, but openly congratulated Louis XIV. on the expulsion of the Huguenots from France; sent an ambassador to Rome for the avowed purpose of reconciling his three kingdoms with the Holy See; received a papal nuncio, Count Adda, at Windsor, in the most solemn manner; made the Jesuit Petre a member of the Privy Council; and established a Benedictine monastery at St. James's. It was in vain that Louis XIV. repeated the warning given to Charles II., not to act with precipitation in the meditated change in the institutions of the country; it was in vain that even Pope Innocent XI. expressed his disapproval of the king's temerity, or that the Spanish ambassador, Ronquillo, advised James to be warned by the example of Spain,—to which country the excessive influence of the priesthood was anything but beneficial. Catholicism to James was not only the orthodox faith, but the fountain

likewise of all true state policy, and the errors of the Reformation were, in his opinion, the fertile causes of civil disorder and popular insurrection.

The generosity of Parliament, in granting him an annual income that exceeded his brother's by 700,000*l.*, did not, therefore, deter James from imitating Charles, by selling himself to France, in order, thenceforward, to be able to dispense with parliaments altogether. The foolish attempt of his nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, to dethrone him, was cruelly punished, not merely by the death of the young man himself, who knelt to the king for life, and offered to purchase it by becoming a convert to the Roman Church, but by remorseless and unpardonable barbarity against all who were accused, often upon the most frivolous pretexts, of having been in any way connected with the rebellion. In 1686, with increasing confidence in the success of his arbitrary designs, James established a court of ecclesiastical commission, to which all churches, schools, and benefices, were to be subject, and before which clerks, as well as laymen, were liable to be cited and summarily punished.

Deaf to the voice of public opinion, and in-

fatuated to a degree which bigotry itself can scarcely make comprehensible, James was incessant in his violation of the laws and usages of the land, and of the rights and immunities of the Episcopal as well as of the Presbyterian church. Twice he proclaimed universal religious toleration throughout Great Britain, without deceiving any one as to his real motive, namely, that it was for the sake of the least numerous persuasion among his subjects that the laws of the kingdom were to be set aside. The declaration of indulgence, as it was called, was ordered to be read by the clergy in all the churches; and seven bishops, having ventured to remonstrate, were sent to the Tower, and put upon their trial; but the king had the mortification to see them acquitted and liberated; and in an attempt to make the army subservient to his personal views he was equally unsuccessful.

The only thing that had tranquillised the public mind amid all these melancholy occurrences, and had prevented an armed resistance of the unbridled ruler, was the hope that his Protestant daughter, the Princess Mary of Orange, would succeed him on the throne. When, however,

contrary to all expectation, on the 20th of June, 1688, this last hope was dissipated by the birth of a prince, who was baptized according to the forms of the Catholic church, and to whom the Pope himself, represented by his nuncio, stood sponsor, only one feeling pervaded all men's minds, namely, that it had become necessary to seek some efficient remedy against the continuance of a domination so universally detested. A rumour shortly afterwards spread, that the newly born prince was a supposititious child; and, unfounded as it was, the report obtained such general credence, that even the king's daughters and the Prince of Orange, in the beginning at least, either believed it or pretended to believe it. Constant complaints were made by the first men in England of the violation by James of all the civil and religious institutions of the country; and these complaints, accompanied by urgent requests that the Prince of Orange, a prince distinguished both as a statesman and a soldier, would lend his support to an oppressed people, were not unfavourably received.

William had long been prepared for such an application. For a while he deceived both James

and the King of France on the subject of his military preparations. When, at length, Louis had obtained conclusive information respecting the prince's designs, the alliance of France was offered to James but declined by him; nor was it till September, 1688, when the English minister at the Hague forwarded the clearest proofs of the intentions of the Prince of Orange, that James could be awakened to a consciousness of his danger. Timidity now took the place of that inflexible obstinacy, which, while trampling upon every principle of legality, had refused to listen to the warning of prudence, from whatever side it might come. A series of mild ordinances were issued, but their true motive was too evident to allow of their producing any effect upon the public mind.

In the mean time, the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay on the 4th of November. His troops disembarked on the following day, after which he advanced rapidly towards London, most of the English officers joining him on his march. During the night of the 6th of December, the distracted James sent his wife and son to France, and, abandoned by all, even by his own children, he

disappeared himself from Whitehall in the night of the 12th, after having written to the Earl of Feversham, the commander of his troops, that nothing remained to be done, and that it was of no use to protract the struggle. The complete disbanding of the army would have been the consequence, had not the Prince of Orange himself done everything in his power to prevent the dissolution of a military force which he might reasonably hope to convert to his own use. As he crossed the Thames, James threw the great seal into the river, and had already embarked, with the intention of escaping to France, when he was arrested and brought back to Feversham, under a belief that the fugitive was one of the adherents of the king. On the 16th he actually returned to Whitehall; but William, to whom this return was anything but welcome, found means to have James advised to withdraw once more from the theatre of public events; and, on the 18th of December, while James, helpless and apprehensive even of personal violence, was escaping in a barge from London, on his way to Rochester, at the other end of the metropolis, William was holding his triumphant entry; and

Anne, the favourite daughter of the fugitive monarch, while her father was fleeing, as he believed, for his life, went in state to the theatre, amid the lighting of bonfires and the ringing of bells. James, however, had no intention to remain at Rochester. Confiding in French aid, and persuaded that his absence from England could in no way invalidate his rights, his chief anxiety was to reach the French coast, which, as no attempt was made to prevent his leaving Rochester, he succeeded in doing on the 25th of December, 1688, literally fulfilling a prophecy stated to have been made to the Prince of Orange by Charles II., to the effect that when James came to the crown "he would go on so madly, that in four years it would be up with him."

## CHAPTER III.

DEATH OF JAMES—JAMES III. (CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE) HIS UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT AT INVASION IN SCOTLAND.

Louis XIV. did not fail to receive his guests in a very splendid manner. The palace of St. Germain, magnificently fitted up, was assigned to James and his queen, with 50,000 crowns by way of outfit, and a farther monthly allowance of 50,000 francs; nor was it many months before the French monarch showed that he contemplated active measures for the restoration of the dethroned king.

As soon as James had left England, the peers, assembled in London, called upon William to assume the provisional regency, and to summon a Parliament. William, accordingly, called together to a Convention, as it was named, all those who had been members of the last parliament of Charles II. The Convention met on the

22nd of January, 1689, and declared the throne vacant. The Tories, however, who had looked to William for the restoration of the Protestant religion and the redress of a number of political grievances, were not prepared at once to sanction a change in the dynasty; and the proposal of the Whigs, to offer the crown to the Prince of Orange, met with much opposition. On the 16th of February, however, without any reference to the infant son of the fugitive monarch, the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland were voted to William and his consort, the exercise of the royal power being placed in his hands alone. It was at the same time determined, in case Queen Mary, as there was then every probability, should die without issue, that the crown should devolve upon her sister Anne. The offer of the crown was accompanied by the Declaration of Rights, in which the prerogatives of the king and the rights of the people were laid down with more distinctness than had ever before been done. It was therein declared, among other principles, that the pretended power of suspending laws, or executing them, by regal authority, without the consent of parliament, is illegal; that levying money for the use of the crown, without grant of parliament, for

longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal; that the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law; that election of members of parliament ought to be free; that the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament; that, for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently," &c. The ready acceptance of this great fundamental law by William and Mary, ensured the success of their cause. On the 21st of February, 1689, they were proclaimed king and queen, and their coronation was solemnised on the 11th of April in the same year. They were recognised on the same day as lawful sovereigns in Scotland, where the Presbyterians looked to recover the exclusive possession of power. The Highlanders attempted an insurrection in favour of James; but the death of their leader, Dundee, at the battle of Killicrankie, was followed by the disbanding of the insurgent army.

In Ireland matters wore a different aspect.

The Earl of Tyrconnel, who commanded there, was devoted to the cause of James, and William was not immediately in a condition to send an army into that kingdom. Through Ireland, therefore, it was, that Louis XIV. resolved to conduct the exiled monarch to the recovery of his lost dominions. With a squadron of thirteen vessels, James sailed from Brest, landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, 1689, and, on the 24th, held his solemn entry into Dublin, where he had time, for more than twelve months, to take measures for the consolidation of his power. His total inability, however, to renounce any of his former views again proved his ruin; and the decisive battle of the Boyne, (21st June, 1690,) forced him again to seek a refuge in France, whither about 14,000 Irish followed him.

A second attempt of Louis XIV.'s, for the restoration of the fallen monarch, was defeated by the bravery of the English fleet at the battle of La Hogue. Nevertheless, the King of France, who beheld in William the most formidable of his enemies, was not deterred from a renewal of his efforts. To prepare the way for James's return, it was arranged that William, while on a

hunting party, should be carried off or murdered by a chosen band of the exiled king's adherents. To the latter part of the plot James is not supposed to have been privy; but the conspiracy was betrayed; and the enthusiasm of the people of England was displayed on the occasion in so very unambiguous a manner, that James renounced the hope of re-ascending the throne during the life of his son-in-law.

In the following year, the peace of Ryswick was concluded, and a prospect was again opened for the peaceful restoration of the male line of the Stuarts. Louis proposed that William should adopt as his heir the son of James; and William, who was but little attached to his sister-in-law, and still less to the house of Hanover, to which it was not unlikely the crown would eventually devolve, was not indisposed to such an arrangement. Nor is it at all unlikely that public opinion in England might have been reconciled to such an arrangement. The adherents of the family were numerous; and perhaps the majority of the nation would have been well pleased to see the exiles return, had their return been accompanied with sufficient guarantees for the inviolability of

the constitution in Church and State. All negotiations, however, were baffled by the unbending stubbornness of James. He declared that he would rather see his son burnt to death than infected by heretical doctrines. He declared himself ready to bear with Christian submission the usurpation of William, but he could not endure to make his son an accomplice in that usurpation. Every negotiation with his son-in-law was, in the eyes of James, a violation of justice, and he would not submit to receive as a concession what he considered his own by divine right. Nothing therefore remained to Louis but to recognise the royalty of William, and to leave James to the pious exercises, the fastings, flagellations, pilgrimages, and the like, with which he occupied the remainder of his days.

The infatuated exile suffered greatly in the estimation of his contemporaries by this conduct. If Queen Christina of Sweden expressed herself on the subject with her accustomed harshness, the wit of the French was sharpened by the same topic. Even the Archbishop of Rheims, on seeing James one day leaving the church of the Jesuits, pointed at the penitent, and exclaimed, "*Voilà un brave*

*homme, qui a donné trois royaumes pour une messe.*" James, on his part, was constantly thanking God for having deprived him of those kingdoms, the loss of which, he took it for granted, had been necessary to his correction. His only wish, at last, was that he might die on a Friday; and this pious wish was accomplished on the 16th of September, 1701. The English parliament, however, had previously passed another act for the settlement of the crown, after the death of Anne, to the exclusion of all Catholic Stuarts, on the descendants of the Elector Palatine, Frederick V. To this Act of Settlement it is that England stands indebted for the accession of the house of Hanover.

By the peace of Ryswick, we have seen, Louis XIV. had acknowledged William as King of England. Louis had pledged the word and honour of a king, that neither directly nor indirectly would he aid any enemy of William's, or show the least favour to any attempt against the English government. Nevertheless, on the death of James II., Louis did not hesitate to acknowledge the son of the deceased exile as James III., King of Great Britain and Ireland. This step the French king

was led to take, in defiance of the remonstrances of his council of state, by the persuasion of Madame de Maintenon, the Jesuits, the Dauphin, and the other members of the royal family. Louis endeavoured to justify himself by arguing that there was nothing in the peace of Ryswick to prevent him from affording personal protection to James III., or from giving the prince that title, so long as no active step was taken to disturb William in the enjoyment of his throne. Spain, the Pope, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma, imitated the example of Louis. This recognition, however, coming, as it did, almost simultaneously with the occupation of the Spanish throne by Philip of Anjou, and with the prohibition of the importation of nearly every sort of English goods into France and Spain, irritated the English people to such a degree, that the speech with which William opened the new parliament, on the last day of the year, and in which he pointed out emphatically the dangers that threatened the liberties of the Church and the State, was received with unbounded enthusiasm, and all the requisite means for undertaking a new war with energy were voted to the King without the least reserve. A few months

later, however, on the 19th of March, 1702, William died, and Anne, at the age of 38, ascended the throne.

Soon after the death of James II., a prospect opened to his son for the recovery of the lost throne. Scotland and the English Tories were not sorry to see the sceptre pass into the hands of the daughter of the dethroned king, as, relying upon the kindness of disposition so generally attributed to her, they fully expected that she would find means to secure the reversion of that sceptre to the male line of her own house. Many distinguished English statesmen, among whom were Marlborough, Carmarthen, Lord Russell, &c., had been in communication with the court of St. Germain throughout the reign of William III. These men, though they were not disposed to bring about, at whatever cost, a revolution in favour of the royal exile, deemed it not the less prudent to secure themselves a certain position under every contingency; and the ministers of James might, therefore, under certain conditions, count upon their co-operation. The question was no longer whether they should restore an old man, who had sunk to the last stage of gloomy

monkish bigotry: the candidate for the succession to Queen Anne was, on the contrary, a young man, distinguished by many attractive qualities. Prince James was tall, of a noble demeanour, of elegant manners, and of easy and agreeable access. Moreover, it was about this time that the English government revived the old plan of a union between England and Scotland, and the execution of this plan gave rise to much animosity in both, but more particularly in the latter country, where great dissatisfaction was expressed among the highest classes as well as by the people in general.

The first attempt to effect the union, made by the Government in 1702, was defeated by the Tories, to whom, since the Revolution, the name of *Jacobites* had been given. These succeeded even in passing an act of security, to exclude the house of Hanover from the throne of Scotland. In 1706, however, after most violent discussions in both parliaments, a plan for the union of the two kingdoms was submitted to the Queen, and received the royal assent on the 6th of March, 1707. From this time forward, the two countries were to be governed by one parliament, in which Scotland was to be represented by sixteen peers

and forty-five commoners. By the act of union, the two countries are placed on a footing of equality with respect to weights, measures, &c.; are to bear in common the burthens of the state; are to be subject to the same public law and police regulations; the form of church government, however, remaining unaltered; and lastly, the crown of the two countries was to go in the same line of succession.

Although, on the one side, it is evident that, as soon as the union of Scotland with England had really been effected, it could not but be much more easy for the English government to overcome the impediments which its measures often encountered in Scotland, from the stubbornness of national pride and an exaggerated zeal for the purity of Presbyterianism; yet, on the other hand it might be doubted whether an active resistance was not likely to be opposed to the realisation of the union. It not only ran counter to the received prejudices of all ranks, but it wounded the pride of the nation so deeply, that the mortification at the loss of national independence could not even be mitigated by the future advantages which the union seemed to promise. The repug-

nance of the people against this measure was, therefore, general, and may not inaptly be termed the ruling passion of the day, serving as a rallying point for all parties, and affording to the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, to Jacobites and to Whigs, a common ground on which they might forget their mutual animosities, and meet for friendly co-operation.

No means appeared to offer for the gratification of this "ruling passion," but the return of Prince James to his ancestral throne; and his restoration continued for so long a period to be a favourite topic for public opinion to dwell upon, that nothing but a combination of unfavourable circumstances was likely to prevent the early return of the Prince to Scotland. Such unfavourable circumstances, however, were not wanting. The different parties in Scotland, to attain their common end, ought to have laid aside their political and sectarian feuds, and to have entrusted the conduct of the great affair to some intelligent and energetic leader. Such a leader they did not find; and to lay their domestic feuds aside, it was necessary that they should conquer prejudices which had grown with them; and this was a greater

sacrifice than they were able to make. The active assistance of the French king, moreover, was necessary to the re-establishment of the ancient throne. It seemed, therefore, to be an auspicious circumstance, that Louis, at the death-bed of James II., had solemnly recognised the young prince as king, and had promised him protection and support. These assurances, however, were the result of a transitory feeling rather than of a firm determination; the work of female and priestly intrigues, and not the fruit of sober political deliberation. Louis, accordingly, showed no precipitate desire to avail himself of circumstances apparently so promising to the interests of his ward; nor can we be surprised at this, when we reflect that experience must have convinced the king of the extreme difficulty of obtaining information that could be relied on, relative to the state of things in the interior of England and Scotland.

Nor did the personal character of Prince James, and of those who surrounded him, promise to forward the designs of his party. He had grown up at St. Germain, surrounded by all the external parade of royalty. He had seen his father sur-

rounded by men who affected to form a privy council, and who bore the titles of ministers. The old doctrine of the imprescriptible rights of royalty had been one of the earliest principles impressed upon his mind. What he stood most in need of—an intelligent and well-informed tutor, capable of distinguishing between the externals and the essentials of royalty, capable of estimating the true responsibility of a sovereign, of pointing out the errors of James's predecessors, and of indicating the means which alone would lead to the recovery of the lost throne—such a tutor the young prince had never known. The example of the father, as long as the exiled monarch continued to occupy himself with public affairs, could not but exercise a pernicious influence on the mind of the son: while the confidential advisers of the old king—Middleton, the Duke of Melfort, the Duke of Perth, and Lord Waldegrave—though sufficiently qualified to convey, through their own conduct, a just impression of all the conventional frivolities of a court, had no more the ability than the disposition to teach their young prince how he might best profit by the lessons of the school of adversity. Their own selfish interests were the

main object of all their designs for the restoration of James, as of all their uninterrupted correspondence with the Jacobites at home, and with the men of most influence on the Continent; and the steps to which they urged the court of St. Germain were invariably those that best harmonised with their personal antipathies and partialities. The want of an intelligent and faithfnl tutor was the more serious a misfortune to the prince, as, though graced with many agreeable personal qualities, Nature had not gifted him with any remarkable powers of mind. He showed nothing that could lead the world to hope from him that firmness of character, which awakens confidence in the multitude, is able to secure what has once been gained, and struggles undeviatingly onward till it has reached the goal which it had proposed for itself.

Under these circumstances, the union of Scotland with England was effected before one bold or decisive step in James's favour had been attempted; for no one is likely to attach much importance to the manifesto by which Maria, the mother of the prince, shortly after her husband's decease, announced her son's accession to the

English people. It was not till 1708 that Louis determined to send the son of his old ally to Scotland, with a military force of about 6000 men. Twelve battalions embarked at Dunkirk in eight ships of the line and twenty-four frigates; and the whole fleet, amply supplied with transports and boats for landing, was placed under the command of Count de Forbin; while Count de Gaze, afterwards known as Maréchal de Matignon, was at the head of the military part of the expedition. The Pope lent a kind of religious consecration to the enterprise, bestowing on the young prince the title of Chevalier de St. George; and Louis provided in a truly royal manner for the equipment of his departing guest: he presented him with a sword, the hilt of which was richly set with diamonds, and took leave of the son in the same words in which, on a similar occasion, he had once taken leave of the father: "The best wish with which I can accompany you is, that we may never see one another again."

Just at this important moment, the prince was taken ill of the measles at Dunkirk, and the consequent delay afforded time for the news of the meditated expedition to reach England. The

country, stripped of troops, was unprovided for resistance, and some alarm was naturally felt; but no time was lost in taking measures to defeat the hostile attempt. On the 28th of February, 1708, a fleet of forty sail of the line made its appearance off Dunkirk, but was driven away shortly afterwards by stress of weather. This enabled the French fleet to leave Dunkirk, on the 17th of March. On its arrival, however, a few days afterwards, on the coast of Fifeshire, the expected signals were not made from the shore in answer to those of the fleet; and the next day the English squadron was seen bearing down to prevent the landing. James requested to be landed near the old castle of Wemyss, the residence of a Jacobite noble; but Forbin, declaring that such a step would be inconsistent with the orders he had received to be careful of the prince's safety, refused to land him on any point in the north of Scotland, and, after an absence of three weeks, returned to Dunkirk. The English government, in the mean time, had set a price of a hundred thousand pounds upon the head of the prince, who was now for the first time described in official documents under the title of *the Pretender.*

When the danger was over, those who had in any way taken an active part in the enterprise of the Chevalier de St. George were punished with severity.

The prince next served as a volunteer in a campaign in the Netherlands, under the Duke of Burgundy, and was present at the battle of Malplaquet under Villars. During this war, according to the testimony of the duke, James displayed many proofs of personal bravery. He did not, however, lose sight of the object to which all his endeavours were directed; and, actuated by the hope that his sister, Queen Anne, would be more disposed to secure to him than to the house of Hanover the eventual reversion of the crown, he addressed to her, in 1710, a letter, in which he invited her to lend him her assistance, promising that, if he came to the throne, he would reign only according to the laws of the land, and that he would especially maintain the rights and privileges of the English church; and that he would extend to the other religious parties such toleration as parliament might deem expedient. The letter concludes with a wish, that his sister would appoint agents to communicate personally with

him; and he had many grounds for hoping that the queen would not refuse compliance with this request.

The queen knew that in England the universities and a large portion of the clergy of the high church, as well as the Tories, sympathised with her brother. In Scotland this feeling was expressed with much less reserve, and it was not likely to be wanting in Ireland, the last part of his dominions in which James II. was permitted to exercise the power of sovereignty. In complying, therefore, with her brother's request, Anne might be assured that her conduct would have been sanctioned by the approval of a large part of her subjects.

Nor were there other motives wanting, independently of sisterly affection, to induce the queen to lend a willing ear to her brother's suit. At the time of her father's fall, she had severely afflicted him by her defection. The Duchess of Marlborough, who had persuaded her to this act of filial rebellion, and who afterwards exercised, for a long time, a powerful influence over her mind, had lately lost her favour. The queen had also had the affliction of seeing all her children

sink before her into the grave; and now, when age was advancing upon her, the grief which she could not but feel as a bereaved mother, was well calculated to awaken deep remorse for the unkind treatment which her father had experienced at her hands. These several considerations, we can scarcely doubt, acted powerfully on the mind of Anne, and render it highly probable, as it has often been asserted, that she was desirous to secure to the son of her injured sire the crown that was likely soon to pass to a distant relative. Notwithstanding all these motives, however, the fact is not the less true, that her brother's letter remained unanswered.

In the following year, the adherents of the Chevalier de St. George urged him to avow himself a convert to the Protestant religion, or at least to surround himself with Protestants, and to receive a Protestant chaplain upon his establishment. It was not unknown to him, how deeply Popery was detested in the land over which it was his ambition to reign, nor how little prospect he had of compassing his wishes, if he relied for assistance only on the small number of Catholics that were scattered over the land

Nevertheless, he opposed no other argument to the solicitations of his friends than an assurance that the Church of England might rely on his protection; adding that he expected for himself the same toleration in matters of religion which he was ready to extend to his subjects. In the letter, dated the 2nd of May, 1711, in which these sentiments are avowed, he says: "I know that my father and my grandfather had always a favourable opinion of the principles of the Church of England, with reference to the monarchy; and experience has sufficiently shown, that the crown has never been shaken but the church has suffered." Could the young candidate for a crown have divested himself of the hereditary prejudices of his house, it would scarcely have escaped him that these vague assurances offered to the people of England even a less substantial guarantee than the speech delivered in the privy council by his father immediately after his accession; and that, moreover, these emphatic allusions to his father and grandfather were calculated to awaken any but agreeable recollections.

The peace of Utrecht, concluded on the 11th of April, 1712, was an event ardently wished for

by France, which had lost and suffered much in the Spanish succession war. One important article in this treaty was that, by which the King of France not only recognised the legitimacy of Queen Anne's government, but also guaranteed the law of succession, according to which, on her death, the crown of England was to devolve on the house of Hanover. Louis promised at the same time not to tolerate any longer the residence in his dominions of the son of James II.; the prince, however, anticipated any step to which the treaty might have given rise, by retiring of his own accord to Bar, in Lorraine, where the events of the day were less than ever calculated to make him renounce the hope of better times.

Two circumstances occurred, shortly afterwards, to increase the excitement that prevailed in England: these were, first, the enlistments that were going on in all parts of Great Britain, and evidently in the interest of James, as the men were sent over to France; and secondly, the Schism Bill, as it was called, which had been brought into parliament, with a view to exclude from public offices all who were not in communion with the established Church. The

queen was urged to procure the expulsion of her brother from Lorraine, and to offer a reward of 5000*l.* to any one who would deliver him into the hands of justice. The House of Commons added a farther reward of 100,000*l.* The continual struggles of the most opposite parties in religion and politics, the intrigues of the Hanoverian court, rendered apprehensive by the queen's supposed partiality for her brother, the incessant machinations of James himself, all these, and the new causes of uneasiness to which they were daily giving rise, harassed the queen more and more; and perhaps it would not be too much to say, that, since the Revolution, there had been no period at which the government of England was surrounded with greater difficulties. At this period it was that death relieved Anne from the storm which seemed to be gathering around her. A violent scene, to which the rivalry of the Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham gave rise in her presence, caused serious agitation to the queen; and from that moment it became evident that she would not continue much longer to occupy the throne. Five days afterwards she died, and, in dying, confirmed the

belief that had long prevailed of her partiality for the exiled prince, by exclaiming: "Oh, my dear brother, how I pity you!"

On receiving intelligence of the queen's death, James immediately proceeded to Paris, to claim once more the succour of the French court, and to consult with his friends on the measures to which it might be advisable to resort. About this time, an alliance with the Emperor of Germany had appeared so likely to promote his views, that he applied, through the Duke of Lorraine, for the hand of an archduchess, the daughter of the Emperor Charles VI. The Imperial Court, however, declined the proposal, though in the kindest terms, and the King of France expressed a determination not to deviate from the obligations which he had contracted by his last treaty with England. Under such circumstances, a well-meant letter, which James received from the Duke of Lorraine about this time, and in which the duke ventured to predict the approach of more fortunate times, might have seemed calculated to awaken none but painful sentiments; but it appears, on the contrary, only to have heightened the illusions to which the prince abandoned himself. In this letter (25th

April, 1714,) the duke implores his absent guest "to remember, that, by the death of Queen Anne, France had been relieved from every obligation towards England; those incurred by his Most Christian Majesty having been incurred only personally towards the queen, and not towards the English people." The letter then goes on to say, that France may now assist him without exposing herself to the slightest reproach; but this assistance, the duke is of opinion, to be really useful, ought not to be given too ostentatiously, and had, therefore, better consist of money, the enlistment of other than French troops, a secure conveyance to England, &c. The duke concludes by expressing his conviction, that the landing could nowhere be effected with more probability of success than in Scotland, where, by restoring the independence of the country, the prince would secure to himself numerous adherents. In this same letter the prudent counsel is given to the prince, to select some experienced officer to command the military part of the expedition against the existing powers in Great Britain; and this officer, the duke continues, ought not only to be of approved ability, but one familiar with the country. A hint is then con-

veyed that, in the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II., the required qualifications would be found united.

The death of Anne had been preceded only a few weeks by the death of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, the granddaughter of James I., to whom, according to the Act of Succession, the crown was to devolve on the death of the youngest daughter of James II. George Louis, the son of the electress, had succeeded to his mother's rights, and was immediately proclaimed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, under the title of George I. Six weeks after the queen's death, he landed in person at Greenwich. The Whig party had long been the support on which his hopes had leaned, and he soon showed that he had no intention to trouble himself about the amalgamation of parties, but was, on the contrary, resolved to govern through and for those to whom he thought himself indebted for the throne. Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and even the gallant and noble-minded Ormond, were accused of Jacobitical principles; other Tories were daily threatened with prosecution; some were actually prosecuted; and the Earl of Mar, who in the last years of Anne's reign had ad-

ministered the most important offices in Scotland, had become a convert to the Tory opinions of Bolingbroke, but had not failed to offer his duty to the King at Greenwich, and to present him with an act of submission from the Highland chiefs, was informed that he must be prepared to resign the seals of office, that the king had no farther occasion for his services, and that the proffered act would not be received, inasmuch as it was a mere artifice concocted at the court of the Pretender.

When we consider the position of George in England, a petty German prince, whom a singular piece of good fortune had promoted to the sovereignty of one of the most powerful empires of the civilised world ; when we consider that it was to chance, and not to the unanimous voice even of a majority of the people, that he stood indebted for his advancement, it is impossible not to feel that his conduct was altogether unsuited to the circumstances in which he was placed. A mild, though dignified reserve, unaccompanied by harshness, towards individuals whose opinions might admit of suspicion, but who, nevertheless, came forward of their own accord to tender him their

duty, would have been in every way more prudent and becoming, than to drive from his presence men whose importance in the State could not admit of a doubt. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to France, and attached themselves to the service of the Chevalier de St. George. The former became his secretary; and both, by an active correspondence with the most distinguished Tories, kept alive the flame of discord between the new sovereign and the people. Bolingbroke's talent for intrigue eminently qualified him for this office. His dangerous activity was in some measure checked by the vigilance with which the Earl of Stair, the English ambassador at the French court, watched every movement of Prince James and his adherents; but all his vigilance was insufficient to preserve Scotland from another Jacobite civil war, which broke out in the autumn of 1715, just about the time that the long reign of Louis XIV. was closed by his death.

It was at Castleton, in Braemar, on the 6th of September, 1715, that the Earl of Mar, actuated by mortified ambition and a spirit of resentment against the house of Hanover, unfurled the royal banner of the Stuarts, proclaimed the young prince

as James VIII. of Scotland, and James III. of England, Ireland, and their dependencies; and, according to the ancient custom of the land, the fiery cross was sent through the Highlands, to summon the clans to the gathering. Perth was taken by the Jacobites; and, had they been provided with money, arms, and ammunition, had their numerous horde been a disciplined army, but, above all, had they had an able general at their head, one capable of carrying out a well-conceived plan, this insurrection in Scotland might easily have become of serious consequence to the Hanoverian dynasty. All these requisites, however, were wanting. The Earl of Mar, who was not deficient either in talent or bravery, exercised great influence over the Scottish clans, but he was no general. The Earl, it was expected, would soon be relieved from his command by the Duke of Berwick; the latter, however, did not arrive, and Mar had to play out a part for which he was in no way qualified, though assisted by the experience of Generals Hamilton and Clephane, of Caralogie. In the end, the Chevalier de St. George confirmed the Earl in a dignity which, to him who bestowed it, was

not likely to bring profit, nor to him who wore it honour.

James availed himself of such means as were within his reach in exile to encourage the rising of his adherents. What money he could command, and several foreign courts contributed to swell the amount, was expended on the equipment of vessels, which, laden with munitions of war, were to have sailed from Havre de Grace and Dieppe. The Earl of Stair, however, was quickly informed of the destination of those vessels, and the two ports were speedily blockaded by an English fleet, under the command of Admiral Byng. The new ruler in France was at the same time reminded of the obligations of the peace of Utrecht, and was compelled to prevent the farther equipment or despatch of the Pretender's vessels. Under such circumstances, it was in vain that the insurrection spread over the north of England. The battle of Sheriffmuir, on the 24th of November, 1715, added another to the long list of battles, in which both parties claim for themselves the honour of victory; but King George's general, the Duke of Argyle, was left in a position which enabled him to secure

the Lowlands against the incursions of the Jacobites. The Jacobite commanders in England, Forster and Kenmore, were totally defeated, themselves taken prisoners, and their troops dispersed.

The Jacobite army in Scotland, totally discouraged, was on the point of disbanding, when James himself unexpectedly appeared upon the scene of operations. Disguised as a sailor, he had passed through Normandy, had sailed from Dunkirk in a small vessel, well manned and armed, and, accompanied by six noblemen, landed at Peterhead on the 2d of January, 1716. A deputation from the army and from the clergy waited upon him at Fetterasso, where they found him suffering from a violent attack of ague. The information they were able to communicate, relative to the position of his affairs, was as disheartening as his own appearance was discouraging to his already dejected adherents. Nevertheless, the prince was conveyed with some degree of royal state through Brechin and Dundee, and held his entry into Perth, where he nominated a privy-council, which he opened with a speech, the effect of which contrasted singularly

with the object in view. This object must surely have been to revive the hopes of his adherents, and to rouse their sunken spirits. On coming among them, indeed, he assumed an air of confidence in the success of his cause, but any impression which his demeanour might have been calculated to produce his words must have effectually obliterated. He spoke of the misfortunes that had been his constant and faithful companions from his cradle, and declared himself ready, should such be God's will, to endure the heaviest calamities which it might be in the power of his enemies to inflict. He had come to Scotland, he said, merely that those who were not ready to acquit themselves of their duty towards him might not avail themselves of his absence as an excuse for their treason.

To this ill-timed address the council answered, that they were resolved to fight the enemy; and the army, reduced as it was, longed to attack the Duke of Argyle. For a while, therefore, James had it in his power to perform his assumed part in the pageant of royalty. He issued six proclamations. The first expressed his thanks for his safe arrival in his British dominions; the

second directed prayers to be offered up for him in all the churches; the third gave currency to certain foreign coins; the fourth summoned the Scottish parliament together; the fifth commanded all men capable of bearing arms to join the royal standard; and the sixth fixed the 3d of February next ensuing for the solemnity of his coronation. The appearance and demeanour of James, however, operated more powerfully than his proclamations, and in a contrary sense. His recent illness had given him a worn and gloomy look, and his whole manner was destitute of that fire and animation which the occasion called for. He was difficult of access, and showed so little inclination for military exercises, that it was with difficulty he could even be induced to review his troops. His punctual attendance on all the forms of the Catholic Church, and his refusal to join in the devotions of his Protestant adherents, reminded his friends but too strongly of the monkish disposition of his father.

Nevertheless, the intelligence that the Duke of Argyle was marching upon Perth, and that a battle might therefore be daily expected, was so welcome to the military spirit of the Highlanders,

that it was deemed necessary to conceal from the army a resolution adopted in a council of war, to give up the enterprise as lost. A rumour was, therefore, carefully spread among the troops, that the army would retreat to Aberdeen, there to be reinforced by a large foreign auxiliary corps, after which the combined forces were again to march southward. Imposed upon by this artifice, the troops commenced their retreat from Perth on the 9th of February. On the march, a rumour gained ground, that James, the Earl of Mar, and the other leaders, were about to abandon the army, and seek for safety beyond the seas. A new device was necessary to appease the indignation to which this rumour gave rise. On their arrival at Montrose, the horses and carriages of James were drawn up before his quarters, and his guards mounted, as if to protect him on the road. Everything was made to look as if the prince was about to accompany the march to Aberdeen; but, before the hour fixed for setting off, he and the Earl of Mar repaired on board of a small vessel prepared for their reception, and thus effected their escape from Scotland. A paper left behind by the Chevalier de St. George was

opened at Aberdeen. He therein thanked his followers for the services they had rendered him; he told them that the disappointments which he had experienced obliged him to leave the country, and advised them to consult their own safety in the way which they should think most advisable, either to negotiate with the enemy or to disperse. They preferred the latter, and thus terminated an insurrection which had cost the lives of so many brave men, and had been the ruin of many among the best families of Scotland.

It cannot be denied that, when James arrived in Scotland, the whole enterprise was as good as lost; but this offers a poor excuse for his conduct towards a people who so freely ventured their lives and properties in his cause. Even before his departure from Perth, he never appeared but in the deepest dejection; complained that, instead of calling him to a throne, they had betrayed him into a grave; and he was so often in tears, that Prince Eugene might well say, that "it was not by weeping and wailing that kingdoms were to be won." A medal struck about this time has perpetuated the deplorable weak-

ness of James in these words: "Bis venit, vidit, non vicit, flensque recessit."

In France, whither James now returned, Philip, Duke of Orleans, reigned as regent, during the minority of Louis XV. The English ambassador addressed his complaints to the regent, with respect to the succour that the Chevalier de St. George and the Scottish insurgents had received from France; he insisted that the prince should not be allowed to return to Lorraine, and that the officers who had accompanied him to Scotland should be punished. The French government deemed it prudent to comply, at least with the former part of this demand. With the consent of the Pope, James took up his residence at Avignon; and, when the British government required that the prince should be removed to a greater distance from the Jacobites in Great Britain, he soon afterwards removed to Rome, where he was received with all the marks of honour usually paid to a reigning sovereign. The Earl of Mar, among others, accompanied James to Rome, and enjoyed his confidence till 1721, in what the prince was pleased to call his State affairs.

Twice in the ensuing year was James tantalized

with hopes fated to disappointment. Charles XII. and his minister, Baron von Görtz, irritated by King George's occupation of Bremen and Verden, resolved to revenge themselves by restoring the Stuarts. In this design they found an ally, not only in Spain, or rather in Cardinal Alberoni, the all-powerful minister of that country; but even the old enemy of Sweden, Peter the Great, of Russia, showed himself ready to support an expedition against England. It was agreed, that 10,000 men, under the personal command of Charles, should land in Scotland; and such a general, at the head of a Highland army, might have effected even more improbable things than that which he proposed to himself; but the English government obtained timely information of the design, and measures would have been taken to frustrate it, even had not death stepped in, on the 11th of December, 1718, to call Charles XII. away from the scene of his achievements. Alberoni, however, did not on that account abandon the scheme of dethroning George I., but invited the Chevalier to repair without loss of time to Madrid.

James accordingly embarked at Nettino, in a vessel, on the 8th of February, 1719,

after having caused a rumour to be spread, that he intended to travel overland by the way of Milan and Bologna. Two gentlemen of his court, who proceeded by this route, were detained by the Austrians; but he himself passed in safety through the English fleet, and on the 26th of March reached Madrid, where a brilliant reception awaited him. The Spanish government, in the mean time, had embarked 6000 men, and arms for 12,000 more, on board of ten ships of war, and had entrusted the command of the whole to the Duke of Ormond. The fleet set sail, but was overtaken by a storm off Cape Finisterre, and forced to seek shelter in the harbour of Cadiz. Two frigates, with 300 men and some arms and ammunition, landed in the island of Lewis, and the Jacobite noblemen on board—the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, and the Earl of Seaforth—endeavoured, not without some success, to raise an insurrection against the government. Lord Seaforth, being in his own country, was able to procure some reinforcements from among his own clansmen. The insurgents made a gallant resistance at Glenshiel, where Seaforth was severely wounded; but the whole affair was soon termi-

nated; the three noblemen made their escape, and the Spanish troops laid down their arms on the following day. On the 25th of August, 1719, the Chevalier de St. George landed again at Leghorn.

For upwards of a twelvemonth, negotiations had been going on for the marriage of James with Clementine (born 23d of January, 1702), the daughter of the Polish Prince James Sobieski, and grand-daughter of the celebrated John Sobieski, King of Poland, who defeated the Turks before Vienna. Clementine passed at the time for one of the richest heiresses in Europe, but her father was dependent on the Emperor of Germany, whose claims on Sicily were at the time supported by an English fleet, and who, as he was naturally anxious to avoid a rupture with the King of England, could not openly favour the projected union. In the summer of 1718, Clementine and her mother set off secretly for Italy, but were detained at Inspruck, in the Tyrol, by the emperor's command, while Prince Sobieski was confined, as a prisoner of State, in the Capuchin monastery at Brieg, and subjected to examination by the imperial authorities. The

bridegroom had reached Milan, on his way to meet the princess, when he was informed of what had happened. On his return to Rome, he prepared for the journey to Spain; and, during his visit to that country, Clementine was obliged to remain nine months at Inspruck. The emperor, however, was not really desirous to oppose a marriage which had been favoured by his own mother, the aunt of Clementine. The captive bride was, therefore, allowed to effect her somewhat romantic escape from Inspruck, on the 28th of April; Charles Wogan, one of the most faithful adherents to the Jacobite cause, assisting her flight. On the 13th of May, the princess arrived at Bologna, where the marriage was performed by proxy. On the 1st of September, after James's return from Spain, he beheld his bride for the first time at Montefiascone, where their marriage was solemnised, and early in November the young couple repaired to Rome.

Here we shall close our introductory portion of this work, which has brought us to the union from which the hero of the following history sprung. Rapid as the glance has necessarily been, which we have cast over the events that preceded his birth,

enough, we trust, has been said, to justify the assertion with which we set out; namely, that it was no inexplicable fiat of destiny, but an uninterrupted course of errors, continued through a series of generations, that ruined the house of Stuart, and reduced it from its proud elevation to misery and exile, whence it would have required a Stuart very unlike his ancestors to raise the family to its former greatness: nor was it possible that this could be effected, save under peculiarly favourable circumstances.*

* Historians have frequently spoken of the "unhappy destiny" under which the house of Stuart lay for centuries. Among others, Voltaire and Frederick von Raumer have written in this tone. "Peu de princes," says Voltaire, in his *Siècle de Louis XV.*, "furent plus malheureux que Jacques II., et il n'y a aucun exemple dans l'histoire d'une maison si long-tems infortunée. Le premier des rois d'Ecosse ses aïeux, qui eut le nom de Jacques, après avoir été dix-huit ans prisonnier en Angleterre, mourut assassiné avec sa femme par la main de ses sujets. Jacques II., son fils, fut tué à vingt-neuf ans en combattant contre les Anglais. Jacques III., mis en prison par son peuple, fut tué ensuite par les révoltés dans une bataille. Jacques IV. périt dans un combat qu'il perdit. Marie Stuart, sa petite-fille, chassée de son trône, fugitive en Angleterre, ayant langui dix-huit ans en prison, se vit condamnée à mort par des juges Anglais, et eut la tête tranchée. Charles I., petit-fils de Marie, roi d'Ecosse et d'Angleterre, vendu par les Ecossais, et jugé à mort par les Anglais, mourut sur un échafaud dans la place publique. Jacques, son fils, septième du nom et deuxième en Angleterre, fut chassé de ses trois royaumes, et, pour comble de malheur, on contesta à son fils jusqu'à sa naissance. Ce fils ne tenta de remon-

ter sur le trône de ses pères que pour faire périr ses amis par des bourreaux. * * * * Si quelque chose justifie ceux qui croient à une fatalité, à laquelle rien ne peut se soustraire, c'est cette suite continuelle de malheurs qui a persécuté la maison de Stuart pendant plus de trois cents années." In more recent times, another French writer, Sevelinges, describes the race of the Stuarts, as "une race royale poursuivie pendant plus de trois siècles par une fatalité inexplicable."

Frederick von Raumer, in his *Elizabeth und Maria*, expresses himself in a similar manner in speaking of the Stuarts; and again in his *Geschichte Europa's seit dem Ende des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts* "As there are unfortunate individuals," he says, "so there are unfortunate families. The fate of Mary forms but one scene in the terrible and interminable tragedy of the Stuarts. Her ancestor, in the sixth generation counting upwards, King Robert III., had a nephew, Alexander Stuart, who, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, murdered Malcolm Drummond, the brother of the Queen of Scotland, and married his widow with the queen's consent: a companion picture to the history of Darnley, Bothwell, and Mary. The Duke of Albany, Robert's brother, threw his nephew, Robert's son, into prison, and kept him without food till he gnawed away the flesh from his own limbs, and at length died. As soon as Rothsay's brother, James I., had ascended the throne, he sought and found an opportunity to have all the sons of Alexander beheaded, for which, in 1436, he was surprised in his turn, partly by his own relatives, and killed with sixteen wounds. James's widow offered the murderers to the manes of her husband, in a way that reminds one of the vengeance of Queen Agnes after the murder of Emperor Albert, of Germany. James II. caused two of his nephews, the Douglases, to be beheaded, murdered the third with his own hand, and met with a violent death at the siege of Roxburgh. James III. (Mary's great-grandfather) was involved in a sanguinary feud, at first with his brother, the Duke of Albany, and afterwards with his own son. Against the latter, he lost the battle of Sauchieburn, and was assassinated during his flight. James IV. (Mary's grandfather) did not find in his ill-acquired power the enjoyment which he had expected, and was killed in the battle of

Flodden. James V. (Mary's father) was driven mad by the turbulent disposition of his nobles, and died eight days after the birth of his daughter. So much for the ancestors of Mary! Now for her descendants—James I. (VI. in Scotland); Charles I.; Charles II.; and James II.; four kings, of whom it is difficult to say, whether they were more unfortunate, or more deserving of misfortune. Before the Stuarts were driven from power for the second and last time, James II. caused his nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, to be executed: and thus closed the three centuries of blood and misery of this unblest dynasty."

Similar causes, however, under similar circumstances, are always likely to produce similar effects; and there is, therefore, nothing surprising in the similarity of destiny that appears to have attached itself to the whole race of the Stuarts. On the other hand, there certainly is something surprising in the fact, that the whole Stuart dynasty should not present us with one sovereign remarkable for his ability; and here certainly the popular comparison of the Stuarts with the Bourbons is at fault, however applicable the comparison may be in other respects. Yet, even so late as in March, 1830, we find the Baron von Stein writing in these terms:—"The comparison of the Stuarts with the Bourbons is an audacious falsehood, which every page of history disproves. I will content myself with a reference to Hallam's Constitutional History of England. The Stuarts aimed at unlimited power, they governed by ordinances, they levied taxes not voted by parliament, they encroached upon the deliberative freedom of the national representatives by fines and imprisonments, they disturbed the independence of justice, and persecuted the Puritans. From 1667 to 1688 the Stuarts were decidedly anti-European. Opposed to them stood William III., respected alike as a statesman and as a soldier. The Bourbons renounced despotism (1787—1789) of their own accord, and a worthy and estimable king was beheaded. Another, Louis XVIII., gave a constitution that contains all the most valuable elements of civil freedom. The cause of the Bourbons is a European cause, and where is the man that might rise against them? Is it the old babbler, Lafayette, who was carried away by the torrent of the Revolution, to be vomited forth again by the same Revolution? or a republic? of Frenchmen!

How long would it last?" (See *Gagern, mein Antheil an der Politik.* Thl. IV. S. 300.)

We cannot, however, agree with the venerable statesman. The Bourbons obtained the French throne nearly about the same time that the Stuarts ascended that of England. Both dynasties struggled for the possession of absolute power, both were devoted to Popery, and rated its interests higher than the happiness of their subjects, or the security of the throne. The resemblance between the histories of the two houses is, therefore, most remarkable, and the events which occurred in France from 1789 to 1830, or to the accession of Louis-Philippe, the William the Third of France, present almost a counterpart to the history of England from 1640 to 1688; and, even in their duration, the two periods approximate to each other in a remarkable manner. At the same time, the Stuarts and the Bourbons show many points of dissimilarity. Voss observes with justice (*Der Biograph.* Bd. IV. S. 34), in an article headed "James III., otherwise known under the name of the Chevalier de St. George," that with all the similarity between the fortunes of the two houses, "the Stuarts have for them the interest of active enterprise, and an almost romantic alternation of fortune." Besides,—and this appears to me the most important part of the comparison,—we must admit that, among the kings of the Stuart family we vainly look for a Louis XIV. or a Louis XVIII., to say nothing of a Henry IV.; Louis XI., and Francis I. in many respects, and Louis XVI. and Charles X. in almost all respects, find their exact counterparts in the house of Stuart, namely, in Charles I. and James II. Hume says, towards the conclusion of his History of England:—"It was the fate of the house of Stuart to govern England at a period when the former source of authority was already much diminished, and before the latter began to flow in any tolerable abundance. Without a regular and fixed foundation, the throne perpetually tottered, and the prince sat upon it anxiously and precariously." This and similar passages, in which Hume seeks to palliate the conduct of the Stuarts, in no way invalidate the assertion, that the whole dynasty has not one great or wise prince to boast of.

The above remark of the never-to-be-forgotten Stein is the more remarkable, as it was written when Polignac was already in power, and the revolution of July close at hand.

## CHAPTER IV.

BIRTH OF CHARLES STUART, THE YOUNG PRETENDER—DEATH OF HIS MOTHER—HIS OWN AND HIS BROTHER'S EDUCATION NEGLECTED.

IN the very first year of their union, the Princess Clementine was able to gratify the Chevalier de St. George by the hope of an heir to his name and his pretensions. James did not fail to apprise the Pope, in a private audience, of the hopeful condition of his consort, nor did he leave his adherents in England in ignorance of the fact.* Shortly afterwards, by a circular dated the 10th of July, 1720, according to the old established custom of royalty, he invited the

* Bishop Atterbury, in his answer to James (6th May, 1720), says: "I cannot end this letter without my particular congratulation upon the affair of your Majesty's partner, which you have pleased to communicate to all of us. It is the most acceptable news which can reach the ear of a good Englishman. May it be followed every day with such other accounts as may convince the world, that Heaven has at last undertaken your cause, and is resolved to put an end to your sufferings!" (*History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.* By Lord Mahon. In three volumes. Vol. 2, Appendix, p. xii.) In a letter to the Earl of Oxford, James consults him respecting the individuals to be invited as witnesses to the delivery of Clementine.

high dignitaries of Great Britain to be present at the delivery of the queen. At the same time, the prospect of the approaching joys of paternity led the Chevalier de St. George to redouble his attentions to his consort, with whom he now appeared, much more frequently than before, in the higher circles of Rome, and drove frequently with her to Albano, Castel Gandolfo, and other places.

On the last day of the year (1720), at 5 P. M., Clementine was happily delivered of a prince, but not till after a protracted labour of six days, which the Holy Father vainly endeavoured to shorten by the prayers which he offered up to St. Thomas, in the English national church dedicated to that saint, although he chose the saint's own day for these pious supplications. More than two hundred persons of high rank, and of both sexes, were present at the birth of the prince, the hero of our history. Among others, there were seven cardinals, and fourteen English, Scottish, and Irish noblemen, to attest the birth of the new-born infant*: thus leaving

* Among those named as present at the prince's birth, are:—Cardinals Paolucci and Barberini, in the name of the Pope; Gualtieri, as Protector of England; Sacripanti, as Protector of Scotland; Imperiali, as Protector of Ireland; Ottoboni, as Protector of France, and papal vice-chancellor; Aquaviva, as minister of Spain;

no room for any of those doubts which had formerly caused suspicion to hover around the cradle of the father. Nor was the cradle of the infant prince, distant as it was from the palaces of his ancestors, without much of the

Panfili, as senior of the cardinal deacons; and Albani, as camerlengo. Besides the above, there were: Falconieri, Governor of Rome; the senators and conservators of the Roman senate; the deputies from Bologna and Ferrara; the Bishop of Segni, titular Archbishop of Wales; and the Bishop of Montefiascone. Then, as protonotarii apostolici: Colonna, Pancieri, Calicula, and Ruspoli; the Princes of Palestrina and Justiniani; the Duchesses of Fiano, Salviati, Donna Theresia, Albani, &c. (See *History of the Pretender to the British Crown, and the present great Rebellion in Scotland and England*, 1746; and *Merkwürdige Geburts und Lebens Geschichte Jacobi Edwardi Francisci, aus dem Hause Stuart prätendirten Königs von Gross Britannien u. s. w. aus zuverlassigen Nachrichten in beliebter Kürze entworfen von C. F. M. Frankfurt & Leipzig*, 1766.) Although works like these, of which the former has not even attached to it the name of the place at which it was printed, may be worthless authority on important points, yet they may probably be trusted in minor matters like the present. The list of names, no doubt, was borrowed from the public papers of the day, and seems to have been copied from the former into the latter of the two works just named. We may also receive it on the same authority, that James's circular induced three English noblemen to undertake the journey to Rome. There is nothing improbable in the fact, even if it be true, as is stated, that James was imprudent enough to send his circular through the English post-office, where it was treated merely as a seditious writing. That several Polish nobles should also have been present at Clementine's confinement is by no means improbable, when her family connections are considered. Lord Mahon also (vol. ii., p. 46) mentions, on the authority of St. Simon, that seven cardinals were present on the occasion.

pomp and splendour of royalty. Clement XI., on being informed of Clementine's pregnancy, had made her many rich presents, and had provided, as the story goes, consecrated baby-linen to the value of 6000 scudi for the new scion of the ancient house. The artillery of the castle of San Angelo announced to the inhabitants of Rome the birth of the prince, who was immediately exhibited on a state bed, under a splendid canopy. The midwife (her name was Gitta), was complimented by James with a fee of a hundred doubloons and the title of countess. From each princess she received ten, and from each cardinal twenty doubloons; and a pension of 500 scudi was settled upon her. The happy father received, about the same time, a papal grant, to himself and his descendants, of the palace of the Holy Apostles at St. Albano; and a sum of 10,000 scudi was presented to him to furnish the house. Clementine herself received from the pope a present of 10,000 scudi, in bills of exchange; from the Spanish court, through Cardinal Aquaviva, 15,000 doubloons; and from the college of Cardinals the sum of 100,000 scudi.*

* The two little works quoted above, coincide with respect to all these presents; and their authority may fairly be admitted, as it is

**The birth of the prince was, at the same time, announced to every court in Europe, not excepting even that of St. James's; and two medals were struck on the occasion, describing the newly-born**

well known, that not only Clement XI., but his successor also, favoured the cause of the Chevalier de St. George in the most signal manner. The possession of the Sixtine treasury allowed the popes of that time to indulge in these acts of munificence; and it is, therefore, probable that other assertions advanced in those two works are in substance true, namely, that when, in June 1721, Prince Charles was brought by his parents to the Pope for the first time, the latter manifested his favour by a fresh present of 8000 scudi; that Benedict XIII. increased the revenue of James, till it amounted to 60,000 dollars a year; that Clement XII. made a farther addition to it of 10,000 scudi; that, on Prince Charles's twelfth birthday, James again received a present for himself of 10,000 scudi, and for his sons of 4000 scudi. In the year 1733, the court of the royal exiles received an accession of splendour, by the appointment of a body guard, to accompany James when he drove out, on which occasions all other carriages were obliged to make way for him. Voss even goes so far as to say (*Der Biograph. vierter Band, S.* 95) that the pension secured to James, after his marriage, by the papal court alone, amounted to 160,000 scudi; and Desbrosses, (Thl. II. S. 357) mentions a rumour, that the papal court gave itself considerable trouble to obtain for James the important revenues of the dukedom of Urbino, in the place of the annual subsidies which he received. The last-named writer is, moreover, of opinion that James received large sums from some of the Jacobites in Great Britain, but that he had to expend still larger sums on adherents of a lower order. On the other hand, Baron von Pöllnitz (*Mémoires contenant des Observations qu'il a faites dans ses Voyages, et le Caractère des Personnes qui composent les principales Cours de l'Europe*—Liège, 1794) asserts that the pension which James received from the pope in 1731, did not exceed 12,000 dollars. This estimate, however, is probably erroneous.

Prince of Wales as the hope of Great Britain, and his birth as the immediate work of Providence.* In the chapel of the pope, and in his presence, a solemn *Te Deum* was chanted. Nor was popular superstition allowed to remain unprovided with food. It happened that on the night after the prince's birth a violent storm had raged, and had committed fearful devastation in some parts of Germany. The Jacobites, moreover, insisted upon it, that a new star had made its appearance at the moment of our hero's birth; and a variety of similar tales were not wanting as excitement to the imagination of a marvel-loving multitude.

* One of these medals, struck in silver and in bronze, bears the busts of James and Clementine; and on the reverse, a woman, with an infant on her arm, leaning against a column, and pointing to a globe, on which Great Britain is prominently delineated. The legend is: "*Providentia obstetrix.*" The exergue: "*Carolo Principi Valliae nat. die ultima A. MDCCXX.*" The second medal, struck in lead, shows, on the one side, likewise, the busts of James and Clementine, with the words: "*Jacob. III. et Clementina, D.G. Magn. Brit. Reg.*" On the reverse is seen a woman with a child on her arm. The legend: "Spes Britanniae." The exergue: "*Car. Wall. Prin. nat. D. vlt. A. MDCCXX.*" (*Henry Ellis, Original Letters illustrative of English History, vol. I., p.* 360.) In this work will be found a list of all the medals, 71 in number, struck at various times, to illustrate the history of James II. and his adherents, down to the extinction of the race. Of the first of the two medals named here, an engraving is given in the third volume of Lord Mahon's work.

On the evening of the day on which he was born, the infant, in whom were henceforth to centre all the hopes of the adherents of the house of Stuart, was baptized by the same Bishop of Montefiascone, who, sixteen months previously, had pronounced a blessing on the union of the parents. He was baptized by the name of Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir; but never, at any period of his life, made use himself of any but the first of these names.* His first instructors were Colonel John Hay, whom the blind favour of James invested, in 1725, with the titles of Earl of Inverness, Secretary of State, and Governor to

* Many writers, as, for instance, Frederick the Great (*Œuvres Historiques*, &c.), and Rotteck, in his *Allgemeine Geschichte*, speak of the prince under the name of Edward, under which name he is spoken of in several encyclopædias. Others call him Charles Edward; and the poets who have thought fit to make him the subject of their inspiration, seem, by a sort of tacit consent, to give him the two names indifferently. On his monument in St. Peter's church, at Rome, he is also called Charles Edward. In all his letters, however, and in the proclamations issued by him, he always signs his name simply "Charles," and by this name he was known to his contemporaries, whenever they did not speak of him as the "Son of the Pretender," or as the "Young Chevalier." In all the medals that refer to his history, he is likewise invariably called Charles; and this is the inscription on the urn in which his heart is deposited. These are reasons enough to make us reject the names of Charles Edward, or Edward. Modern English historians, among others Lord Mahon, have restored to the hero of these pages his own name, Prince Charles, which is quite sufficient to distinguish him from his ancestors, Charles I. and Charles II.

Prince Charles; the Countess of Inverness, and Miss Sheldon. Subsequently, his education was superintended by Clementine herself, Miss Walpole, the Chevalier Ramsay, Lord James Murray, the Earl of Dunbar, and Thomas Sheridan. The last of these is especially named, but it is impossible to say what share each had in educating the prince. The father, fond as he was of his Charles, appears to have taken no direct share in the boy's education, for nowhere is the least allusion made to his having done so; and the striking dissimilarity between James and his son makes it improbable that such should have been the case. The mother also can have participated only to a very small extent in the office of instruction. Till his seventh year, as we shall immediately see, Charles was entirely withdrawn from his mother's superintendence, and, on the 18th of January, 1735, she died, after having suffered severely from asthma for several years. Something of her character seems to have been instilled into him, for both are distinguished by a remarkable firmness of purpose.

Clementine was interred with royal pomp * in

* A very full description will be found in Lord Mahon's work, and another in Ellis's Original Letters. In the latter the account

St. Peter's Church, by the side of Queen Christina of Sweden and the Italian Matilda; and Pope Benedict XIV. had a splendid monument erected to the memory of the deceased. It was not merely in her health, however, that the princess had suffered before she was snatched away in the prime of life. On the 20th of March, 1725, she presented her husband with a second prince, Henry Benedict Edward Alfred Louis Thomas, who was created Duke of York and St. Albano by his father; * but, even before the birth of this second son, serious differences had arisen between the parents, partly from the horror with which Clementine, a devout Catholic, saw her son's education entrusted to the hands of Protestants, more particularly of the Earl and Countess of Inverness, and afterwards of the brother of the latter, Lord Murray. This was not all, however. The Countess, who had acted as nurse to the Chevalier's children, afforded only too sufficient grounds for the jealousy of Clementine.†

is given under No. 58 of the Stuart medals, one of which was struck on the occasion of Clementine's death.

* This event, also, according to Ellis, was commemorated by the striking of a medal, of which the inscriptions are given in his work, but apparently incorrectly.

† Baron von Pöllnitz, in his *Mémoires*, &c. (T. ii., p. 291)

These differences rose afterwards to such a height, that, on the 15th of November, 1725, the princess quitted her husband's palace, and took shelter in the Benedictine convent of St. Cecilia, whence she appeared perfectly willing to return to her native country, when her husband intimated to her father that he was at liberty to take her away. A kind of reconciliation was effected in October, 1726; not only Innocent XIII., but still more his successor, Benedict XIII. took a great interest in bringing it about; but even the College of Cardinals, the French, and,

expresses himself ambiguously on the subject, when, speaking of James, he says: "La *médisance* dit que Madame Hayes, ou Inverness, a eu pendant quelque tems l'honneur de lui plaire;" but a little way farther on he says, speaking of the same prince, "Il aime les plaisirs, et il serait même galant, s'il n'était pas autant observé par les prêtres." There are many grounds, however, for believing that Clementine had abundant reasons to complain of her husband's infidelity. On this subject we may refer to a letter from Queen Elizabeth of Spain to Clementine, dated 29th Dec., 1725, and to a second letter from Clementine to her father, written on the 15th Nov. of the same year. See G. A. Stenzel, Beiträge zur Geschichte Polens und der Familie Sobieski, aus handschriftlichen Quellen (F. C. Schlosser und G. A. Bercht, Archiv. für Geschichte und Literatur, fünfter Band. Frankf. A.M. 1833. S. 349—362). At all events, Lord Mahon is guilty of a strange mistake when he says (vol. ii. p. 136), "Nor, in fact, do Clementina's own letters seem to speak of jealousy," for in these letters the Countess of Inverness is spoken of as "the king's mistress," without the slightest reserve.

above all, the Spanish court, exerted themselves to the same end. Clementine, while in the convent, received a visit from her husband, and James allowed the children to be taken to her.

The reconciliation, however, was a very imperfect one, and of short duration; for, soon afterwards, the Chevalier de St. George, with his sons, the Earl and Countess of Inverness, and the remainder of his little court, undertook a journey to Bologna, with the intention of making a stay there of considerable length. It was not till the following year that a reconciliation was again effected, by the dismissal of the Earl and Countess of Inverness. To bring this about had been the almost incessant endeavour of the Pope, and particularly of Cardinal Alberoni, who, having been banished from Spain, was at that time residing in Rome, and took a lively interest in the cause of Clementine. The court of Spain went so far as to threaten the withdrawal of the large pension which the Chevalier de St. George received from Madrid; and the father of Clementine, on the other hand, used the most urgent entreaties to induce his daughter to consent to the re-establishment of her domestic relations with her hus-

band. She returned from the convent, and from this moment assumed the direction of the education of her children; this being the only condition on which the insulted mother and wife could be brought to consent to a reconciliation. Miss Walpole, a Catholic, was appointed in the place of Lady Inverness.

From this time forward, the maternal influence of Clementine may, no doubt, have had its share in forming the character of her son; but to what extent this may have been the case, it is impossible to say, for James was not long before he gave his wife fresh cause for jealousy, and soon afterwards her health began rapidly to decline. Nor can it now be known to what extent the Earl of Dunbar, a man of talent and deservedly esteemed, and who continued about the prince till 1740, contributed to his education. On this point, the only thing known to us with certainty is, that the Chevalier Ramsay, a pupil and friend of Fenelon's, devoted himself zealously to the improvement of the promising boy. Ramsay took great pains to correct the timidity of his pupil, owing, perhaps, to the exclusively feminine education which he had till then received. Among

other things young Charles was exceedingly afraid of thunder, and this and other childish fears Ramsay was anxious to remove, that he might give the young Prince that habitual boldness for which it was probable he would one day have so much occasion. Thomas Sheridan, one of the Prince's tutors, continued about his person as a friend, so late as in 1746. Ramsay cannot, however, have superintended the Prince's education for a very long time. He was dismissed in consequence of some court intrigue, to make room for a brother of the Earl of Inverness. Of this brother we find Clementine making mention, as her son's tutor, in a letter to her father, dated the 5th of January, 1726; so that Ramsay's share in the child's education can scarcely have extended beyond his fifth year. Sheridan, moreover, who was a Catholic, seems to have been distinguished rather by his devotion to the Prince than by any active share in his instruction; but there is little ground for the assertion frequently made, that Charles's education was grossly neglected, or for the suspicion, as often expressed, that Sheridan was in the pay of the English government, and designedly guilty of the neglect imputed to him.

The boy acquired great dexterity in all manly exercises, and learned to endure bodily exertions with much facility. In the acquirements suitable to his rank, as we shall find in the sequel, he cannot have been deficient, and he was well versed in the history of England and of his family. He may not have been acquainted with all the details of the constitution of his paternal country, but his acts and words show him to have been familiar with, and able to estimate, all the more important points. He was well versed in the English, French, and Italian languages, and had a taste for the fine arts, particularly for music. That his letters are not always orthographically correct, and his handwriting not remarkable for elegance, can scarcely be received as proofs of a neglected education.*

* See Charles Desbrosses, *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie. Nouvelle édition: à Paris*, 1804, t. ii. p. 355.—It is difficult to conceive what could have led Lord Mahon (vol. iii. p. 281) to say that Charles was deficient in the "most common elements of knowledge." We need only look at any collection of the autographs of distinguished men, to convince ourselves how few of them wrote elegant hands, and how many were neglectful of orthography. We need only mention here Frederick the Great and Napoleon. The latter, in a letter to Tissot, dated 1st April 1787, and only lately printed, begins thus: "Vous avés passés vos jous." (*Der Freimüthige*. 1840. No. 34.)

That Charles, from his earliest youth, should have looked upon the claims of his family to the British throne as the most legitimate of all possible claims, is easily explained by a reference to the prevailing opinions of the day; but his whole conduct, during the most active period of his life, proves that his elevated notions of the *rights* in no way blinded him to the *duties* of royalty. That he was dutiful as a son, affectionate as a brother, and just and magnanimous to friend and foe, no one who has studied the records we possess of his life will for a moment deny; at the same time, these characteristics must have been the result of natural disposition, for his education was certainly not calculated to call them forth. That Charles, as a child, was distinguished by an amiable disposition, we have the testimony of a most acute observer, of one, moreover, entirely devoted to the reigning family.*

It is not quite clear what the motives were that induced the Chevalier de St. George to entrust the education of his children to Protestants. The

* The Baron von Pöllnitz; who (t. ii. p. 290), speaking of Charles and his brother, the former of whom was then in his eleventh year, describes them as "les plus aimables enfants" in the world. The letter in which the expression occurs, is dated the 10th March, 1731.

wish has been attributed to him, of making it appear that he was less blindly devoted to Catholicism than was generally supposed, in order to awaken in Great Britain hopes which Charles was one day to realise. Some motive of the kind may, no doubt, have partially actuated him, but he must have known that such an artifice could produce only a very incomplete effect, so long as he continued, with his little court in Rome, in utter dependence on the Pope, on the College of Cardinals, and on the Bourbon Courts; a state of dependence which, as we have already seen, forced him, at the end of a few years, to renounce the plan of mystification, if he ever seriously entertained it. The real cause, probably, was his infatuation for the Countess of Inverness, and the influence which she and her family were, consequently, enabled to exercise over him. This infatuation led him to heap marks of favour and confidence on the family; and made him, for a time, regardless of the remonstrances of Clement XI. against the appointment of a Protestant nurse for Charles, and the repeated entreaties of Benedict XIII. that the children might not be left in the hands of Protestants. What the remonstrances

and entreaties could not obtain, the pecuniary menaces of Spain promptly effected. Ill placed favour, therefore, had probably a much larger share in assigning Protestant tutors to Charles, than the deep political designs which have often been attributed to the father; at the same time, to judge from the accounts that have reached us of those tutors, they were little likely to instil religious sentiments of any kind into the mind of their pupil.*

* One whose testimony may be relied on (Lockhart Papers, published from Original Manuscripts in the possession of Anthony Aufrere, Esq., vol. ii. p. 340) calls the Earl of Inverness "a cunning, false, avaricious creature, of very ordinary parts, cultivated by no sort of literature, and altogether void of experience in business, with insolence prevailing often over his little stock of prudence." The same writer speaks of the Countess as "a mere coquette, tolerably handsome, but withal prodigiously vain and arrogant." He adds that the Earl of Dunbar, a man of considerable talent, and of great knowledge of business, but who suffered in public estimation in consequence of his connection with the Inverness family, looked upon all the scandalous rumours respecting James and the Countess as entirely unfounded. Supposing this to be true, and supposing all the rumours to have been false respecting the early life of the earl and countess, and all the stories (see Lord Mahon's History, and likewise the Jacobite Memoirs) respecting their subsequent conduct in Paris, still the Lockhart Papers, coinciding as they do with the letters of the Princess Clementine, justify our entertaining the very reverse of a lofty opinion of James's favourites.—Desbrosses speaks (vol. ii. p. 357) of a man who, though not enumerated among the tutors of Charles, may have exercised some influence in the formation of his

In the outward position of James, the death of his wife, as may be supposed, occasioned very little change; but his constitutional melancholy and his taste for retirement became more marked. He continued to reside in the Palazzo Muti, and the marks of honour usually paid to reigning sovereigns, which he knew how to receive with much outward dignity, continued to be rendered to him; but, generally speaking, he led a very retired life. The forenoon was mostly spent in prayer, at the tomb of his wife. His dinner party was usually composed of ten persons attached to his court, but he spoke little at table, though always with much affability and good sense. His conduct, at this period of his life, was perfectly decorous, and suited

character. In the following passage, written about the year 1740, the individual in question is mentioned, and a sample is given at the same time of the etiquette that prevailed at James's court :— "Les jeunes princes (Charles and Henry) ont pris Legouz en grande affection. Sa gaieté les réjouit infiniment, et ne déplait point au roi. Lorsqu'il vient se mettre à table, ses deux fils, avant que de prendre place, vont se mettre à genoux devant lui, et lui demander sa bénédiction. Il leur parle ordinairement en anglais, et aux autres en italien ou en français. La bouteille dont on se sert est toujours sur la table entre les mains d'un de ses officiers. C'est l'étiquette de ne point demander à boire, que le roi n'ait bu une première fois. J'en ai pensé gagner la pepie une fois qu'il oublia d'en demander de bonne heure."

to the circumstances of his position. He never supped; and at the entertainments which were given from time to time by his sons to the ladies of Rome, he seldom appeared among them for more than an hour. He was tall and thin, like all the members of the house of Stuart; and his contemporaries agree in representing him to have possessed, in a remarkable degree, the features of his father, as well as those of his natural brother, the Duke of Berwick.

## CHAPTER V.

PRINCE CHARLES had scarcely entered his fourteenth year, the year in which, according, to a prophecy* current in Rome, his father was to have succeeded to the peaceable possession of the British throne, when a suitable occasion offered itself to allow the boy to witness military operations, under proper superintendence and guidance, and without exposing him to any very imminent danger. The Spaniards, engaged in a war with the emperor Charles VI., had laid siege to the fortresses of Capua and Gaëta, and the Duke of Liria (afterwards Duke of Berwick, and son of a natural brother of the Chevalier de St. George)

* This prophecy, said to have been found among the papers of Pope Benedict XIII., ran, according to Von Pöllnitz, thus:

Dum Marcus cantabit *Hallelujah*,
Et Antonius *Veni Creator*,
Et Joannes Baptista *Coenatio*,
Tunc regnabit et triumphabit Rex in Anglia Jacobus III.

came to Rome in February, 1734, on his way to join the besieging army. To the care of his cousin, the Duke of Liria, Charles was intrusted without hesitation. Before his departure, the Prince was again presented to the Pope (Clement XII.), by whom, as on all other occasions, the boy was received as heir-apparent to a throne; in which character an arm-chair was placed for him, and precedence yielded him by all the cardinals.* The Pope presented him with an order for 3000 scudi, to cover the cost of his military outfit.

The conduct of Charles, while with the besieging army, was commended by all, and inspired the adherents of his family with the most flattering presentiments of his future greatness. He was an attentive observer of all the details of a military life, and above all, of those active operations from which his former life had held him remote, but which, though known to him only by hearsay, he had always so ardently longed to witness. He gave many proofs of intrepidity, that were deemed surprising at so early an age. He had the art of winning the affection of those

* The rank of his brother, as Duke of York, at the Papal Court had not been definitely fixed, at least not in 1731.

about him: a remark that applies in an equal degree to his cousin, Don Carlos, of Spain, with whom he happened to be in the trenches on the day (6th of August) when Gaëta was forced to surrender. Don Carlos, on a previous occasion, had taken a valuable jewel out of his own hat and fastened it, with his own hand, in that of Charles, saluting him at the same time with the titles of "Royal Highness," and "Prince of Wales."

The most satisfactory testimony, however, to the conduct of the prince, may be gleaned from the following extract from a letter addressed by the Duke of Berwick to his brother, the Duke of Fitzjames, then at Paris:—

"Thank God, we have brought the siege of Gaëta to a close. Though it lasted but for a short time, I suffered more than in any other at which I have ever been present. You may imagine my uneasiness, when I tell you that it referred to the Prince of Wales. * * * * I can assure you he made my heart beat faster than all the misfortunes that have ever befallen me could have done. Immediately on his arrival, he accompanied me into the trenches, where he appeared quite regardless of the bullets that were whistling

about us. The next day, I commanded in the trenches. I was in a house that stood somewhat detached, into which the besieged fired five cannon balls, so that I was obliged to leave it. Immediately afterwards, the Prince came to me, and no representation of the danger to which he exposed himself could deter him from entering the house. He remained there for some time, perfectly cool, though the walls were riddled by bullets. The Prince, in a word, shows that, in men born to be heroes, valour does not wait on years. From all these causes of uneasiness I am now relieved, and enjoy the gratification of seeing the prince adored by officers and soldiers. His manner is charming; and be assured, if it were otherwise, *I would tell you so in confidence.* The day after to-morrow we start for Naples, where, I have no doubt, His Royal Highness will captivate the people as well as the soldiers. The King of Naples thinks him extremely pleasing. He never requires to be prompted as to what he ought to say or do. Would to God the bitterest enemies of the house of Stuart had been witnesses of the Prince's conduct during this siege; it would, I believe, have changed the minds of

many of them. I remark in him, particularly, a happy physiognomy, that is full of good promises."

The tender age of the prince may no doubt have led the duke to form a partial judgment, but neither this, nor the relationship in which they stood to each other, is sufficient to induce us to look upon this letter as a mere tissue of exaggeration. On the contrary, it bears with it every outward mark of candour.

The duke had correctly anticipated that the prince would be well received in Naples, particularly by the court. On the passage across from Gaëta to Naples, an accidental remark of the young Stuart showed how fully his mind was at all times occupied by the thought of England and the crown of which his family had been deprived. His hat having fallen into the sea, the people in the vessel were endeavouring to save it, when he told them to desist, adding, "he should be obliged before long to go and fetch himself a hat in England." *

The first campaign of Prince Charles was now concluded, and on the 14th of September following, the duke resigned his young protégé to his

* Desbrosses, vol. ii. p. 362.

father, who happened at the time to be at Albano. A few days afterwards they returned to Rome together, where the pope received Charles most graciously, and by a special bull declared him qualified to enjoy all spiritual benefices, and conferred on him the general expectancy to the same.

Having, in the ensuing year, been again present at a successful campaign with the allied army in Lombardy, Charles spent the two following years in retirement, during which time his natural talents were more and more developed. In 1737, at which time he spoke English, French, and Italian with equal facility, it was resolved that he should make a tour through all the principal cities of Italy, under the title of Count of Albany, and with a suite of about ten persons. With this view he left Rome on the 29th of April, and passed through Loretto, Bologna, Parma, Genoa, Milan and Venice. At the last named city he made some stay, and returned by Padua, Bologna, and Florence, to Rome, where he arrived again on the 9th of July. During this tour the young Prince had been the object of much respectful attention. In Bologna, the Cardinal Legate and a deputation of four Sena-

tors, came to wait upon him; in Genoa, the same compliment was paid him by the Spanish Envoy and the heads of the noble houses; and at Milan he was visited by the aged General von Traun, then Governor of Lombardy. In Venice, he was not only invited to the Senate, but the seat was assigned to him that had usually been reserved for crowned heads when they visited the city. At Venice also he had an opportunity of conferring, for about an hour, in the church of St. George, with the young Elector of Bavaria, who afterwards wore the imperial crown of Germany, under the title of Charles VII. In Florence, a variety of balls and entertainments were given in honour of the Count of Albany's visit; and at the Court he would likewise have been an object of the most marked attention, had it not been for the jealous interference of the English minister. This interference was perfectly in accordance with the steps to which the Prince's Italian tour gave rise in London. The British Government, without the least reserve, required of Guastalli, the Genoese resident Secretary at London, that he should intimate to the authorities of the republic, that its interests would be better consulted by showing

respect to the reigning dynasty in England than to the family of the Stuarts; and the reception which Charles had met with in Venice was taken so much amiss, that Busiriello, the Venetian resident in London, was directed, without ceremony, to leave England within three days.

The civilities paid to the Prince in the Italian cities, flattering as they were to the young exile, could have no real value in his eyes, except as they flattered his imagination by nourishing the chief idea of his life, which he had imbibed with his earliest years, and which had strengthened with his own growth. He longed ardently to assume among the princes of Europe the place to which he considered himself entitled by his birth. This one idea occupied his mind almost exclusively; and, while wandering among the classical monuments of Italy, his mind's eye was incessantly directed towards England, the constant object of all his waking dreams. His eye rested always with particular delight upon the open sea, where he sought eagerly to distinguish the British flag; and none of the museums or palaces which he visited afforded him half the pleasure that he derived from the occasional converse with English

travellers on matters relating to England. With his mind thus pre-occupied, it may easily be supposed that no kind of glory had a higher value for him than military glory; on the other hand, it may readily be assumed that the fall of his family from their hereditary throne—his exile, which had even preceded his birth—his youth—his lively character—his romantic ambition—his entire innocence of all the misfortunes of his house—to say nothing of his personal recommendations—could not but awaken sympathy and kindness at the petty courts which he visited, and often even elicit an avowed wish that he might eventually accomplish the object of his hopes. On these courts, however, his future fortunes, it was evident, could never be dependent. The most superficial glance at the political relations of Europe sufficed to convince him that his dependence must rest wholly on France—the country which for so many years had been the refuge of his exiled family; but the co-operation of France, towards the realisation of his hopes, depended, in turn, on the line of policy which the French Government might deem it its interest to adopt towards that of Great Britain. It was on the position of France towards England,

therefore, that his attention was incessantly directed; but, at the time of which we speak, scarcely a ray of hope appeared for him in the political horizon. Europe enjoyed profound peace. On the death of George I. in 1727, George II. had peaceably succeeded his father; and, among the leading statesmen of the day, none were more averse to any measure likely to disturb the general harmony than Cardinal Fleury and Sir Robert Walpole, who might be said to wield the sceptres of Great Britain and France, in the names of Louis XV. and George II.

With this conflict in his mind, caused by the ardour of his wishes and the unpromising appearance of his affairs, Charles attained his twentieth year. An accurate observer, Charles Desbrosses, First President of the Parliament of Dijon, who had an opportunity about this time of seeing much of Charles and his brother, speaks of them in these terms:—"There is a strong family likeness between them. They are amiable, well-bred, and good-looking. The English, of whom there are always a great many in Rome, avail themselves of every opportunity to see the two princes; and though the English law prohibits a visit to the

palace of the Stuarts, or any intercourse with them, under pain of death (?), still British travellers know how to evade the law, by visiting the public places where the princes are most in the habit of appearing. The younger (Henry) is the general favourite; but those who know both intimately give the preference to the elder, who is beloved by the whole household for his courage and kindness of disposition; he feels deeply the oppressive character of his present position, and, should he not one day be relieved from that oppression, a want of enterprise will certainly not be the cause. * * * Both princes are passionately fond of music, and are finished musicians. The elder plays the violoncello, and once a week they give a concert, by far the best in Rome, and at which I never fail to be present. Yesterday, I entered the room as they were executing the celebrated composition of Corelli, the *Notte di natale*, and expressed my regret at not having heard the commencement. When it was over, they were going to commence a new piece, when Prince Charles stopped them, saying, 'Stop, I have just heard that Mons. Desbrosses wishes to hear the last composition complete.' I give this

little anecdote with pleasure, as it manifests at once a true spirit of politeness and a kindness of disposition."

About this time, there had occurred an event, the consequences of which, in a short time, affected every court in Europe, not excepting that of our exiles at Rome. Charles VI., the last German emperor of the male line of the house of Habsburg, had sunk into the tomb of his ancestors on the 20th of October, 1740, after having, as he flattered himself, succeeded in his endeavour to protect the rights of his daughter, Maria Theresa, from the cupidity of his contemporaries, by the Pragmatic Sanction, recognised by nearly every power in Europe. His laborious efforts did not, however, effect the end he aimed at. The emperor had scarcely been dead two months, when the young King of Prussia, destined, in the sequel, to attain so high a pinnacle of glory, invaded one of the fairest provinces of the imperial orphan; yet Frederick the Second's aggression on Silesia was but a sanguinary prelude to the general war which was to be lighted up by the pretensions raised, either to the whole or to part of the rich inheritance, by the Elector

of Bavaria, the Kings of Spain and Naples, and, at a subsequent period, by the Elector of Saxony and the King of Sardinia.

France and England did not long remain inactive observers of the war. The former had not, indeed, the most remote pretext for preferring a claim to any portion of the imperial inheritance; but an opportunity seemed to present itself, such as might never occur again, to humble the rival house of Austria. With this feeling it was that France proclaimed the cause of Bavaria to be the just cause, and it was thought the more honourable for France to support it, as she would appear to act without any view to her own interest. These considerations overcame even the scruples of the pacific Fleury, and seduced him into a belief, that, by a small military aid to the allies of Bavaria, the wished-for humiliation of Austria might be easily effected. The relative position of England and France made it from that moment tolerably certain for which party England would declare herself. Public opinion, in England, had, from the beginning, favoured the cause of Maria Theresa, and this feeling was heightened into

enthusiasm by the gallant bearing of the queen and by the exemplary fidelity of her subjects, which baffled the apparently overwhelming coalition formed against her. Private individuals in England had already afforded Maria Theresa large pecuniary assistance in her present emergency; but still, Walpole, anxious not to involve his country in a war, had prevailed on his king to abstain from all active interference in the struggle. It was not till commercial interests of a second order had led to hostilities between England and Spain, that the British Government determined to step forward as the active ally of Austria. Walpole retired from power, and was succeeded by Carteret, a more zealous advocate of the Austrian interest. The cabinet of St. James's resolved to confine its succour no longer to mere negotiation, or to pecuniary aid, but sent a fleet into the Mediterranean, forced the King of Naples to desist from hostilities against Maria Theresa, and in the following year (1743), an Anglo-Hanoverian army, known as the Pragmatic army, was assembled in the German provinces of George II., who soon joined it in person.

This position of affairs appeared to hold out

more favourable prospects for the house of Stuart, than any that had presented themselves since their expulsion from the throne. Several years previously, as early indeed as in the beginning of 1740, the old spirit of attachment to the Stuarts had again manifested itself. At that time an association was formed of some of the most zealous Scottish Jacobites, including Lord Lovat, the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Lochiel, John Stuart, Lochiel the Younger, and Lord John Drummond. The object of their association was to bind themselves to unite all their efforts, and to expose themselves to every hazard, to effect the restoration of the ancient royal house, provided they could depend on their enterprise being supported by French troops. MacGregor (Drummond), of Bohaldie hastened, in a personal interview at Rome, to acquaint the exiled king with the institution of this association, and to lay before him a list of his numerous Scottish adherents. Almost simultaneously, another negotiator for the Stuarts, Colonel Bratt, arrived from England, with a still more numerous list of English Jacobites, but who, like those of

Scotland, urged James to secure the co-operation of Louis XV. as a prelude to the open declaration of their designs. These communications induced James to send Bohaldie to Paris to join his endeavours to those of Lord Sempill, James's agent at the French court. Their combined efforts were so far successful, that Cardinal Fleury sent a secret agent, the Marquis de Clermont, who confirmed the representations made by the Jacobites, whereupon the cardinal promised to assist James with a French military force of 13,000 men; of whom 1500 should be landed in the Scottish Highlands, near Fort William; 1500 on the western coast of Inverness; and 10,000, under Marshal de Saxe, as near to London as possible.

The fulfilment of this promise was delayed from time to time, and the promise itself would, perhaps, have sunk into total oblivion, had not the death of Fleury (29th January, 1743) and the lively interest taken in the cause of the Jacobites by the Duchess de Chateauroux, mistress of Louis XV., contributed to bring them into favour again at the French court. Amelot, the French secretary of state for foreign affairs, told

Lord Murray, a Jacobite agent, that Cardinal de Tencin, who had succeeded Fleury in the direction of public affairs, had placed in his (Amelot's) hands, all papers relating to the cause of the Stuarts, and added that the king intended to augment to 15,000 men the corps destined for the invasion of England. The execution of the whole plan, he said, must, however, be delayed for some time, owing to political considerations. The result of this interview was, that Murray quitted Paris, and an active correspondence followed between the several parties to the conspiracy.*

In the summer of 1743, Cardinal de Tencin invited the Chevalier de St. George to send Prince Charles to France, to take the command of the corps to be landed on the coast of Great Britain. James, in a letter dated Albano, June 29, 1743, declared his readiness to accept the invitation, but observed, at the same time, that the corps in question had not yet been assembled, and that the premature arrival of Charles might endanger the whole enterprise, by awakening the attention of King George's ministers. The French Government could not deny the justice of these

* See Appendix, No. I.

objections. The cardinal, therefore, proceeded zealously with the armament, and, in the following December the moment seemed to have arrived when, after so many oral and epistolary communications, decisive steps were to be substituted for friendly assurances and tantalising promises. A secret agent arrived from France, to apprise James that Louis not only acknowledged him as James VIII., but again invited him to send Prince Charles immediately to Paris, all the requisite arrangements for the proposed attack on Great Britain having been completed. James immediately called his council together, where it was determined to accept the invitation of the king of France, and at the same time to furnish the young prince with full powers to act as Prince Regent in the absence of his father, and also with a proclamation calling on the English people in King James's name, to rise in behalf of their lawful sovereign.

To go in person to France, and to take an active share in the war, could not enter into James's views. He had never possessed a military spirit, was now advancing in age, and his courage had been broken by the failure of his former

attempts to recover the throne. Nor was it on him that the confidence of his adherents rested, and the arrangements to which he consented were, therefore, no less suited to the circumstances of the time and to the views of France than to the wishes of the young prince, who longed for nothing more ardently than to assert the cause of the Stuarts in open battle against the house of Hanover. That, however, on this, or on any other occasion, James ever abdicated his claim to the English throne in favour of his son, as it has sometimes been asserted, is abundantly disproved by the two documents just referred to, with which Charles was provided on his departure for Paris. In both, the Chevalier de St. George styles himself "James VIII., by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.," and both are "Given from our Court in Rome, on the 23d of December, 1743, and in the forty-third year of our reign." In the one document, deep sympathy is expressed for the sufferings inflicted on Scotland by a foreign rule; the burthens are deplored that have been imposed on the country in consequence of its union with England; the disarming

of the people and the erecting of fortresses are spoken of as degrading measures; a full and free pardon is promised for the past; the immediate convocation of a free parliament is promised; and all men capable of bearing arms, from sixteen to sixty, are called on to range themselves under the royal banner. In this proclamation, James pledges his royal word to protect his Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, in the full enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the possession of all churches, universities, schools, and colleges, according to the laws of the land. In the other document, the inhabitants of Great Britain are called on to obey Charles "as the direct representative of Our royal person, and acting with full authority from Us."

The relations still existing between England and France made it necessary that the Prince's journey should be kept secret as long as possible. On leaving Rome, therefore, (9th of January, 1744,) a report was spread that he was going to join a boar-hunt, as he was every winter in the habit of doing. He set off, accompanied by a single servant,* who passed for a Spanish

* The British Government received a private but very circum-

secretary, while he himself travelled as a Spanish courier, under the name of Marquis Spinelli. Through the medium of Cardinal Aquaviva, he is said to have been provided with passports, that he might be promptly supplied with horses in Tuscany. Passing through Massa, on the 11th, and through Genoa on the 13th of January, the Prince embarked at Finale, in a felucca, and, after a fair passage, during which he passed through a squadron of British vessels, he landed safely at Antibes, not far from the spot destined, in the nineteenth century, to acquire an historical celebrity by the landing of Napoleon from Elba. At Avignon, Charles had an interview with the aged Duke of Ormond, and other Jacobites, and then proceeded with such expedition to Paris, that he arrived there on the 20th of January. Singularly enough, he seems not to have been able to obtain an interview with Louis XV., on this, his first visit to the French metropolis, much as he wished to see the king, and often as the contrary has been asserted.* He soon, however, became acquainted

stantial account of Prince Charles's departure from Rome. This report, dated the 25th January, 1744, is printed in Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. Appendix, p. xviii.

* That Charles did not see Louis XV. in 1744, whatever Tindal

with all the officers of rank that were to serve under him, as also with the Marshal de Saxe, upon whom, as upon all with whom he came into contact, he made the most favourable impression. He held frequent conferences with Lord Marshal, his open, and Lord Elcho, his secret adherent.

In a short time the equipment of the French corps at Brest, Rochefort, Lille, St. Omer, Aire, and Bergues, was complete. The harbour of Dunkirk, the point of rendezvous for the expedition, filled rapidly with transports, and a French fleet of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates made its appearance in the Channel. The English ministry, fully aware of the presence of Charles in Paris, demanded in vain an explanation of the armament. The Dutch ambassador

and those who copy him may say to the contrary, is sufficiently proved by a letter from James (11th August, 1745) to O'Brien. "Depuis que le prince était en France," says the Chevalier de St. George, "il a été tenu guère moins que prisonnier; on ne lui a pas permis d'aller à l'armée, et il n'a même jamais vu le roi." Charles himself, in a letter to his father, dated Navarra, 12th June, 1744, says:—"I have tried all possible means and stratagems to get access to the King of France, or his minister, without the least effect," &c.; and farther on he says, that on his departure for Scotland, he should leave a letter to the King of France, to declare it had been "a great mortification never to have been able to speak and open my heart to him."

was equally unsuccessful in his inquiries. Every question was met either by evasive answers, or by a direct refusal of the required information; and so far did the cabinet of Versailles carry their anxiety to involve the whole affair in mystery, that M. de Roquefeuille, who was to command the fleet till the landing had been effected, received sealed orders, which he was not to open till he had reached a certain latitude. Great anxiety was naturally excited in England by the French armament, and by the presence of Prince Charles in Paris, and, to allay this anxiety, the most energetic measures were deemed necessary.

On the 26th of February, the King of England sent a message to inform parliament of the danger with which the country was threatened. Both houses voted addresses, to assure the king of their readiness to make every sacrifice that the occasion might call for. All officers absent on furlough were ordered to their posts; the garrisons of all the seaports were reinforced; the departure of some troops for Flanders was postponed; the States General were called on, as by treaty bound, to furnish an auxiliary corps of 6000 men; the militia was armed; the Habeas Corpus act sus-

pended; and many persons suspected of Jacobitism were arrested, including the octogenarian Colonel Cecil, and several ladies who were accused of a secret correspondence with Cardinals Aquaviva and Tencin. The Earl of Stair was appointed to command the troops in Scotland, and General Cope those in England. A fleet, intended to observe all the movements of the French at Dunkirk, was placed under the command of Sir John Norris; but the greater part of the British naval force was at the time in the Mediterranean, only six vessels were ready for sea at Spithead, and, had the wind not been unfavourable to the French, the British admiral would scarcely have had time to collect a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line, for the observation of the squadron collected at Dunkirk.

Marshal de Saxe and Prince Charles, meanwhile, were zealously engaged in accelerating the embarkation of the troops. Charles, shortly after his arrival at Paris, had gone to Gravelines, accompanied only by Bohaldie, who served him as secretary. At Gravelines, Charles lived in strict retirement, under the name of the Chevalier Douglas; and his incognito was so well preserved,

that few individuals were acquainted with the place of his retreat. The last preparation for the enterprise was completed towards the end of February. Prince Charles and the Marshal de Saxe embarked in the same vessel, and the fleet put to sea, but was not fated to reach its destination. On the 6th of March a violent storm arose, and lasted for seven days. The fleet was dispersed —several transports were lost with all the troops on board—and the remaining vessels returned shattered and dismasted into the different French harbours. The immediate consequence was the abandonment by France, at least for a time, of the meditated invasion of England; while Charles, bitterly mortified, was obliged to postpone his hopes of achieving military renown, and of recovering the lost diadem of his family. He accompanied the Marshal to Versailles, where they arrived on the 18th of March. The young prince remained there a short time incognito; but the story told of his having had a private audience of the king, which lasted three hours, is entirely unfounded. The summer of 1744 he spent at Gravelines again as the Chevalier Douglas, where he was visited by Lord Marshal, to whom he

proposed to embark in a small fishing-boat for Scotland, where his friends were so numerous and zealous, and there at once to unfurl the royal banner of the Stuarts. Lord Marshal resolutely combated this design, fully convinced that it was not by an act of wild temerity that the wished-for end could be compassed. He also dissuaded Charles from joining the French army that was about to commence a campaign against the English, justly conceiving that such a course would not do the prince any good in the eyes of his English friends. It was most unwillingly that Charles renounced these two favourite designs; but he continued to keep up an active correspondence with the adherents of his house in England and Scotland, whose hopes were greatly encouraged when at length, on the 14th of March, war was publicly declared against France.

The prince wished for nothing more anxiously than that the French government should resume the plan for the landing in England, and his devoted agent in Paris, Lord Sempill, exerted himself most zealously, till the close of the year, to prevail upon the ministers of Louis to do so. All the ministers, however, showed great back-

wardness in holding out any encouragement, with the exception of Cardinal de Tencin, a man of a proud and enterprising character, who had succeeded to the influence formerly exercised by Fleury over the public affairs of France. Tencin had been indebted for his cardinal's hat to the interest of James, and, relying on the partiality of the king's mistress for the Stuarts, he scrupled the less to manifest his own zeal for the exiled family. Still, to every application of the Jacobites, it was reasonably objected, that France was now engaged in a war, that all her troops were required in Flanders, Germany, and Italy, that a corps sufficient for the purposes of an invasion could not be spared, that Marshal de Saxe was indispensable on the continent, and that the king himself was about to repair to Flanders. Charles, hoping to overcome these difficulties by his presence in Paris, repaired thither towards the beginning of winter; but all his endeavours to convince the French cabinet, how advantageous to France such a diversion was certain to be, and how trifling comparatively were the sacrifices required, were just as ineffectual as all the previous negotiations. At one time, he was told of the difficulties that

opposed the undertaking, and of the embarrassments of France on the continent; at another time, he was amused with idle hopes, to have them only adjourned from one week to another.

Thus, alternately buoyed up with hope and embittered by disappointment, the proud, bold, and energetic mind of Charles became daily more familiarised with an idea, which was shortly to produce to the astonished world the unprecedented spectacle of a prince who, relying on the justice of his cause, the *prestige* of his name, and the tried fidelity of his adherents, departed, unaccompanied by any military force, on an expedition having for its object the conquest of three kingdoms.

## CHAPTER VI.

REVIEW OF THE STATE OF PARTIES IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, AND OF CHARLES'S PROSPECT OF SUCCESS.

BEFORE, however, we accompany the prince in his preparations for so stupendous an enterprise, we shall do well to consider three questions that naturally present themselves for our consideration, as necessary to enable us to pass a fair judgment on the motives that led to the adventurous undertaking. Firstly: Did the idea originate in Charles's own mind, or was it suggested to him by others?—Secondly: Was the bold step the result of blind temerity, or had its author reasonably weighed the difficulties which he should have to overcome?—And thirdly: Was the French government aware of the design previously to its execution?

Some French writers would have us believe that it was Cardinal de Tencin who first sug-

gested to Charles the possibility, even without the assistance of France, of making an attempt on Great Britain, where his name would suffice to collect an army around his banner, after which the active assistance of France would not long be denied him.* There is, however, very little ground for believing that such was really the origin of this idea. Bold undertakings are much more likely to be conceived by the ardour of youthful ambition, than to spring from the cautious calculations of an aged minister; but, from what has already been said, it is evident that the question of a landing of James or his son in Great Britain, even without an army, had been discussed in the correspondence between the Chevalier de St. George and his adherents. It is difficult to believe that the English and Scottish Jacobites would have

* *Voltaire, Précis du Siècle de Louis XV.* (*Œuvres complets, t.* xxx. *À Gotha,* 1785. *P.* 188). *M. L. de Sevelinges* (*Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne, t.* xliv. *Paris.* 1826. *P.* 96). Frederick the Great, speaking of the landing of Charles, says:— "*On disait à Londres que cette rebellion était la saillie d'un prêtre jacobite* (*le Cardinal Tencin*)." According to others (*Ausführliche Staats und Lebensgeschichte Georgs des Andern, Königs von Grossbrittannien*) not only was the expedition from Dunkirk the work of Cardinals Tencin, Aquaviva, and Alberoni, but the first went so far as to hold out hopes of the hand of a French princess, in case the enterprise succeeded.

suggested the practicability of such a design, without some previous hint from Rome; and it is therefore all but certain that the feasibility of such a landing, as a last resource, must have been matter of deliberation at James's court as early as 1743, so that Cardinal de Tencin could scarcely have suggested the notion for the first time in autumn, 1744. It is, therefore, quite consistent with the character of Charles to suppose that, having discussed every probable contingency before leaving Rome, and being fully resolved to leave no resource untried which with the aid of courage and perseverance might lead to the wished-for end, he did cling, as long as he could, to the hope that France would make a powerful demonstration in his behalf; but, when that hope was necessarily abandoned, he had no occasion to borrow, either from the cardinal or from any other individual, the idea of his chivalrous expedition.

In the position in which his affairs then stood, he may, likewise, have felt some compensation for the disappointment to which he had been subjected by the French court, in the hope of achieving the dazzling prize, without subjecting

himself to obligations that, in the sequel, could not but entail upon him a painful dependence, and without the co-operation of an auxiliary, whose interference was certain to place the cause in an unfavourable light in the eyes of a large part of the British nation, and to inspire plausible doubts of his own free agency in the exercise of the power he might acquire. It is not the less probable, however, that Charles communicated his design to the cardinal, and the latter may have done all in his power to encourage it. Willing as the young prince may have been to owe the possession of his crown, as little as possible, to a foreign power, and little as he needed a prompter to induce him to enter on the struggle without the aid of France, still he must have been desirous to maintain his interest at the French court, and with that view he may have opened his plans to the powerful cardinal. The latter, on the other hand, had several motives to induce him to encourage the romantic scheme, which, whether in the end successful or not, relieved the French court for the moment of one whose remonstrances, though just, were inconvenient, and which, at all events, might cause

a powerful diversion in England, where the unexpected appearance of a Stuart might make him a doubly formidable enemy. It is, likewise, probable, that the cardinal encouraged Charles in his design, by assuring him that its execution would make it impossible for France to withhold the promised succour. Such an assurance could but act as an additional stimulus to the prince to embark in an enterprise, which might be profitable, and could not be detrimental, to France.

On the other hand, a vague promise, not conveyed in an official form, would leave the French government at liberty to regulate its subsequent conduct according to the course that events might take. Should the prince succeed, and be likely to stand in no need of foreign assistance, the aid of France might be freely given; but, should it appear, that no advantage was likely to result to France from interfering in his concerns, Charles might quietly be abandoned to his fate. In a letter to his father, he assigns as motives for his departure for Scotland the invitations which he had been receiving from his British friends for six months preceding, the coincidence of a variety of favourable circumstances, and his vexation at

the treatment that he had experienced from the French court.*

We have called the enterprise a "stupendous"

* In a paper, of which mention will be made farther on, (John Home, *History of the Rebellion in the year* 1745. London, 1802. Appendix,) the Prince says: "Having it always at heart to restore my royal father by the means of his own subjects alone," &c. In a letter already mentioned as having been addressed to his father, Charles says that, having been unable to obtain access to the king or his minister, he finds himself obliged "to steal off" from the French court. He speaks of having been obliged to keep his whole design a secret from the French court; and says of the cardinal, "He is not much trusted or well looked upon by Adam (the King of France), who is timorous, and has not resolution enough to displace him." From this it would appear, not only not certain, but even altogether improbable, that Tencin should have awakened in the prince's mind the first idea of the enterprise. That the cardinal, however, should not have known of the prince's intention appears equally improbable; and, if informed of it, the motives above alluded to are very likely to have induced the minister to raise anew the prince's hopes of French succour. If Charles's letter, however, seems to sanction the belief that the reports of French participation in the design are unfounded, it must not be lost sight of, that the prince avowedly avoids committing to paper many facts at which he simply hints. Speaking of his projected enterprise, he says:—"The particulars of which would be too long to explain, and even impossible to convince you of by writing, which is the reason that I have presumed to take upon me the managing of all this, without even letting you suspect there was any such thing a-brewing, for fear of my not being able to explain andshow you demonstratively how matters stood, which is not possible to be done by writing, or even without being upon the place and seeing things with your own eyes."—Colonel Power, one of Charles's cotemporaries, assures that the latter informed the cardinal of his design.

one, and the epithet is well deserved. Courage of a lofty order was required in the conception as in the execution; but such courage is very different from that uncalculating temerity, which often hazards the loss of the highest for the chance of obtaining what is comparatively worthless. The design was by no means one the success of which was impossible; on the contrary, a number of circumstances concurred at the moment to hold out stronger hopes of a favourable issue than had ever before presented themselves. It is true that fifty-six years had elapsed since the expulsion of James II. from the throne; Great Britain had for more than a generation become familiarized with the government of her Hanoverian sovereigns; and the melancholy impressions left on the public mind by the occurrences of the last two reigns of the Stuarts, had not had time to become obliterated. On the other hand, the known adherents of the exiled dynasty were numerous in England, more numerous in Scotland, and formidable, not merely on account of their numbers, but also on account of their position in society. Should he succeed in forcing his way to the throne, he might hope to

conciliate the enemies of his family by the various resources that are always within the reach of a sagacious prince; and his conduct during the trying period on which we are about to enter, justifies the belief, that Charles on the throne would not have played a less distinguished part than his ancestor, Henry IV. of France.

That Great Britain had derived the most important advantages from the revolution of 1688, could not escape the most superficial observer; but those advantages were not so much owing to the personal characters of the sovereigns who had succeeded William III., as to the constitutional reform effected by the Bill of Rights. Such a guarantee for their liberties the English nation had neglected to secure on the restoration of Charles II.; but, having once become established, it would have been binding to the Stuarts as much as to the princes of the house of Hanover, and it would have been equally incumbent on the descendants of James II., as on those of the new dynasty, to sacrifice to the obligations of the solemn compact between prince and people whatever disposition might remain to encroach upon the freedom of the subject. The adherents of the

Stuarts, moreover, had industriously disseminated among the people such reports of the personal character of Charles as were most calculated to win the affections of the multitude; and he might reasonably hope by his own conduct to confirm the favourable impression thus produced, and to gain over those whose less easy faith might still keep them undecided.

It may not be out of place here to introduce a description of the character and personal appearance of Charles. He was tall and of a powerful frame, but at the same time light in all his movements. His face formed a complete oval, his eyes were of a light blue, his mouth was small, and a slight dash of melancholy made a noble and expressive countenance doubly attractive. According to the custom of the time, he wore no wig, but his own light hair hung in long curls down the back of his neck. All accounts, in short, agree in representing him as a remarkably handsome young man. He had prepared himself for active military service by the dexterity which he had acquired in all manly exercises, and had obtained no inconsiderable experience in his Italian campaigns. He was able to bear the greatest fatigues, and the

severest privations, with apparent ease; and, after the most astonishing pedestrian efforts, he showed no signs of exhaustion. To these qualities he united a mind and a disposition equally calculated to inspire affection and respect. He was not able, like his father, to express himself in writing with clearness and elegance, but he excelled him very far in all those qualities which constitute the man of active enterprise. Their personal resemblance excepted, the father and the son presented in their characters a perfect contrast. Charles was of quick conception and prompt in his decisions, and these—though he was not a great military captain, in the true sense of the word,—seldom led him astray when in presence of the enemy. His contempt of danger, and his exquisite sense of honour, reminded his friends of the poetical chivalry of the middle ages. In a resolution once taken he remained inflexible. His manners were irresistibly engaging, full of dignity, but not the less replete with grace. He knew how to converse with all men, in the way most fitted to their respective positions and to the circumstances of the moment. When he wished to convince, he seldom failed; and, while his natural affability

won the hearts of all who approached him, his habitual dignity sufficiently prevented all unseemly familiarity.

The success of his great undertaking depended chiefly on his finding, immediately after his landing, such necessary means as might enable him to overcome the material force which the government should be able to send against him. A sanguine temperament might easily lead him to believe that these means would be within his reach. Great as the anxiety had been, with which the Cabinet of St. James's had been filled by the meditated expedition from Dunkirk, the security seemed to be still greater to which that Cabinet abandoned itself after the French fleet had been driven back by the storms of heaven, rather than by the ability of the English admiral. All apprehension of a hostile landing seemed to have been laid aside. Nearly the whole English army had been sent to Flanders; Scotland was completely stripped of troops; George II. had followed his soldiers to Hanover; and his second son, the Duke of Cumberland, was in command of the army there. The war had long ceased to be a popular one in England. In 1743, the Opposition had already made it matter

of complaint, that the king cared more for the interests of the house of Austria than for those of Great Britain. Hanover had been spoken of as an abyss in which the wealth of England was engulfed, and as a beggarly electorate that was growing rich by a prodigal expenditure of English treasure. It had been noticed that, at the battle of Dettingen, George II. had worn a Hanoverian uniform; and a motion had even been made in parliament to request the king to take no farther share in the continental war. On the reverse of a copper medal struck about this time, Power tells us, England was represented as a sitting Pallas, at whose bowels a number of rats were gnawing. Should such a feeling gain the upper hand—should Charles, immediately on landing, be able to rally around his banner a small but gallant body of men—should he then at the head of his faithful adherents, without loss of time, march rapidly to London, there was nothing very preposterous in the idea that he might reach the seat of government before any formidable force could be brought together to oppose him, and that he might see himself installed in St James's palace, before king George and his army could have time to return from Hanover.

The first point, however, was one respecting which Charles had every reason to be in doubt; namely, whether it would be possible, immediately after his landing, to assemble even a *small* army. His adherents in Scotland, as well as those in England, had, in 1740, declared their readiness to hazard everything in his cause, but had annexed, as a positive condition, that he must come supported by a powerful foreign demonstration. Murray of Broughton, an ambassador from the Jacobites, renewed the same declaration to the prince towards the close of 1744, adding, that, if he did not bring with him at least 6000 men and arms for 10,000 more, he would destroy his own cause and involve his friends in ruin. Should he, therefore, land in Scotland without foreign troops to support him, Murray told him he must not expect many of the adherents of his family to join him. Neither these assurances, nor even the warning voice of Marshal Keith,* could induce Charles to abandon his design. This has led some to infer that he was drawn into the scheme by the

* George Keith, who, on his deathbed, avowed himself a stanch Jacobite, rose to the rank of field-marshal in the Prussian service. He enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Frederick the Great in a high degree.

cajolery of a few adventurers, who had nothing to lose and everything to gain by the undertaking. By such men, it has been assumed, he was led to believe that the whole English nation was hostile to the Hanoverian dynasty, and was groaning under an intolerable and increasing load of taxation; that he had but to show himself, in short, to make the whole population rise to a man in his behalf. We shall see, however, from the events which followed his landing, that the prince had not formed a very inaccurate judgment of the state of things in Great Britain, particularly in Scotland; and that, on many points, his own views were more correct than those of his adherents living in the country to which he was about to proceed.*

* Smollet, who in his continuation of Hume's History, speaks of the prince as having been ill-advised, admits, however, at the same time, that "the present occasion, in many respects, was propitious to his design." The same author adds afterwards, "Without doubt, had he been properly supported, he could not have found a more favourable opportunity of exciting an interim commotion in Great Britain." It was upon the state of society which then existed in the Scottish Highlands, that Charles rested his chief reliance. The feudal authority of the chiefs over their clans was still unbroken; but our readers are, no doubt, too familiar, through the *Waverley Novels*, with the state of the Scottish Highlands, in the early part of the last century, to make it at all desirable that we should interrupt the narrative by a detailed description of a state of things of which few traces now remain.

The reigning dynasty had made great efforts to obliterate the desire of independence that existed in Scotland, and formed the great point of union there of the adherents of the exiled family. The first and most important step was the act of union, a measure contemplated by James I., but not carried out till 1707, when the act was passed under Queen Anne, by which England and Scotland were subjected to the same legislature. After the insurrections of 1715 and 1719, an act of parliament was passed to disarm the Highlanders, and several other acts were passed for the express purpose of weakening the connection between the chieftains and their clans. Companies of Highlanders were enrolled, and afterwards formed into a regiment, known, on account of the darkness of its uniform, under the title of the Black Watch. These companies were officered by Highland gentlemen, and were employed to maintain the authority of the crown among the mountains of Scotland. These measures, however, at the time here referred to, had tended rather to embitter the prevailing animosity against England than to strengthen the govern-

ment in the remote parts of the island. The Scots generally, but the Highlanders in particular, looked upon the union with England as a slavish subjugation; and, whatever advantages Scotland might ultimately derive from it, the immediate motive, it was well known, that induced the government to pass the law, was a dread that Scotland might attempt to make herself independent of England. The disarming of the clans had been but very partially effected, except in the case of the Duke of Argyle's clan. In general, none but old and worn-out weapons were delivered up to the agents of government, while all that were serviceable were carefully concealed. Even the confiscation of the estates of the fugitive Jacobites had been difficult to effect, and had often been completely defeated by the fidelity of the clans. Thus the Earl of Seaforth, who was banished in 1719, continued, for many years after his arrival in France, to receive the rents of his estates in the Highlands. Even in the Lowlands, no buyers could be found for the confiscated property. Alexander Murray, of Stanhope, had bought the estate of Ardnamurchan, in the hope of deriving a large profit from

the lead mines situated upon it. The property lay within fifteen miles of Fort-William, but this proximity afforded no protection to its owner. Such was the hatred with which the Highlanders looked upon the intruder, that in a short time they burnt all his buildings, destroyed his cattle, killed a number of his workmen, and the rest, including himself, were indebted for their safety to a precipitate flight. For these outrages, no magistrate was able to afford the least redress, and the ruined speculator was forced to abandon the Highlands altogether.

The Black Watch contributed but little to the end for which it was enrolled. The exiles and outlaws had their best friends and nearest relatives in the corps itself. The chiefs, moreover, availed themselves of the corps as a means to keep alive the martial spirit of their clans. Many among the Jacobites, particularly Lord Lovat, induced numbers of their people to enrol themselves, and thus was the act for disarming the Highlanders defeated by the very measure that was to have completed it.

Thus was the whole population of Scotland, in one way or other, estranged from the existing

government; the Jacobites by their attachment to Popery and their devotion to the house of Stuart, and the mass of the people by the mortification of their national pride, in consequence of the union of the two kingdoms. This hostile feeling had been embittered by a recent measure of the government. On the breaking out of the war, the Black Watch had been ordered to embark for Flanders, although the corps had been enrolled, with an understanding that it should not be called on to serve out of the country. This breach of faith induced many at the moment of embarkation to quit the ranks, taking their arms and accoutrements with them. The terms of their engagement, to which they appealed, did not protect them from severe punishment. They were arrested and brought up to London, where they were accused of desertion; and the greater part were sentenced to be transported to the plantations. Many of them were men of no mean consideration in their own country; and their treatment was looked on among the Highland clans as a new national insult, to be avenged on the first favourable occasion.*

* A multitude of national ballads remain to testify the hatred of

The public feeling in England was less favourable to the Stuarts than in Scotland. Walpole had succeeded in attaching many an English Jacobite to the Hanoverian interest, by various appointments in the public service. Still the restoration of the Stuarts was not an idea universally abhorred, nor even generally treated with derision. George II., as his father had done before him, occasioned much discontent by the unseemly preference which he was thought to show for his Hanoverian subjects, and particularly for his Hanoverian troops. This preference was thought, not without reason, to be highly unbecoming in a king of England. He was also accused of a very insufficient acquaintance with the laws and constitution of England. Many of the nobility were still zealous Jacobites; and the feudal system had not yet been so completely obliterated, but that the noble, in many parts of the country, might have easily raised and armed his tenants for the Stuarts. Even in London the

the Highlanders against England, and their devotion to the ancient dynasty and the religion of their fathers. How much George I. and George II. injured themselves with the English people, by their partiality for their Hanoverian electorate, is forcibly but correctly described by Fielding in his *Tom Jones*, though Fielding was not the less a zealous Whig.

political attachment of the people was rather to the constitutional guarantees that had been secured, than to the personal character of George II., or to that of any member of his family. Had no apprehension existed that the old love for arbitrary power would have returned with the Stuarts, there would probably have been comparatively few who would not have preferred the ancient to the new dynasty.

There was no part of the British islands where there was less prospect for the Stuarts than in Ireland. That fertile land had been much more favoured than Scotland. Agriculture and manufactures flourished; and the general wish which seemed to prevail among all classes that tranquillity might be maintained, overbore any friendly feeling that still might linger among the people for the descendants of James II. In Ireland, therefore, Charles had no prospect of active support; and to have attempted a landing in England, in the first instance, would have been mere folly. Everything depended on the Scottish Highlanders; and it remained to be seen, whether Charles had not judged more accurately of them than they had of themselves, when they warned

him not to venture on Scottish ground, unless supported by a foreign military force.

The question most easily answered is, whether the French cabinet knew of the prince's design? Such knowledge has frequently been denied, but an affair of the kind could hardly have been concealed from the court of Versailles, after it had become known to Cardinal de Tencin, and to many other distinguished individuals, of whom we shall shortly have occasion to speak. Nor was it likely that Charles should have been so little observed while in France, that the ministry and the court would remain in ignorance of the important preparations which were going on. That the prince, however, believed his design a secret to the French government, is evident from his own letters. He feared that steps might be taken to prevent the execution of his plan, and that little or no value was attached by the court of Louis to the promises and invitations of Charles's friends in Great Britain. It was only a fortnight before his embarkation that he made an unreserved communication on the subject to his father; but there is every reason to believe that James had been for some months fully aware that

his son had it in contemplation to attempt some *coup de main*, and neither James nor the French court was mystified to the extent that Charles himself believed.

English historians have again asserted in recent times that the enterprise of Charles was undertaken without the knowledge and "in spite of France," and Lord Mahon refers to some secret papers recently discovered in support of this opinion; but the letters in question, of which further notice will be taken in the following pages, are easily accounted for, by supposing Charles himself to have been deceived on the subject. Till more satisfactory proofs have been discovered, the opinion of Mahon must remain undemonstrated, and the more cautiously to be adopted, as it is entirely at variance with probability.*

* Smollet says that the prince was "furnished with a supply of money and a supply of arms, on his private credit, without the knowledge of the French court:" it is difficult, however, to suppose that Charles should, unknown to the French government, have obtained the services of a vessel belonging to the French navy. Voltaire indeed says:—"C'était alors l'usage que le ministère de la marine prêtât des vaisseaux de guerre aux armateurs et aux négociants, qui payaient une somme au roi, et qui entretenaient l'équipage à leurs depens pendant le temps de la course. Le ministre de la marine et le roi lui-même ignoraient à quoi ce vaisseau devait

servir." This may be true enough as a general remark, but can scarcely apply on the present occasion, more especially as it was through the medium of a lieutenant-general in the French army that Charles was put in possession of the Elizabeth. Nor is Home literally correct when he calls the expedition one "which it was easy to keep secret, for nobody could possibly believe that it was intended against the government of Britain." The same writer probably comes nearer to the truth when he says:—"When the French ministers were made acquainted with this peremptory resolution, they did not choose to commit themselves by appearing openly to aid and abet an enterprise which they were not prepared to support; but, willing to procure a diversion in favour of their master's arms, they contrived in a very underhand and indirect manner to enable Charles to leave France as he did." Mahon, on the contrary, says:—"It must be owned that the charm of this romantic enterprise seems singularly heightened, when we find, from the secret papers I have now disclosed, that it was undertaken, not only against the British government, but without and in spite of the French."—(Vol. iii. p. 340.)

## CHAPTER VII.

FORCE AND OBJECT OF THE PRINCE'S ARMAMENT.—HE SAILS FROM THE LOIRE FOR SCOTLAND.

At the commencement of 1745, Charles had fully resolved on his adventurous undertaking. Murray, in the mean time, had returned to Edinburgh from the mission entrusted to him by the Jacobites, and had informed them that Charles was not to be dissuaded from the idea of landing in Scotland, even without an army. One voice only in the council of his friends approved of the determination. All, with the exception of the Duke of Perth, blamed the resolution; and Murray undertook once more, in writing, to warn the prince against an enterprise to which his friends were so decidedly opposed. Had this letter, which was despatched in January, been received by the prince, it would probably have deterred him as little as the oral remonstrances of its author had

done; but the prince never received the letter, which was returned to Murray in the ensuing April, no safe medium having presented itself for forwarding so dangerous a paper. Murray afterwards went to the coast, that he might be at hand, should the prince arrive there, to warn him immediately to return to France. Murray remained there through the whole month of June, when, seeing no signs of the expedition, he returned to his own seat in the south of Scotland, fully persuaded that the prince had abandoned his design as hopeless.

An event, however, had occurred during the spring, calculated to strengthen Charles in his resolution. This was the victory obtained over the English army by Marshal de Saxe, at Fontenoi, on the 11th of May, after which it seemed less probable than ever that English troops could be spared from Flanders. Even James, with all his natural timidity, could not but have admitted, that a multitude of fortunate circumstances combined at the moment to favour the project of his heroic son; but we have already seen that the prince, notwithstanding the habitual respect which he showed to his father on all other occasions, had

not ventured to solicit the sanction of his weak and undecided parent to so unprecedented an undertaking.

The first step now to be taken was, to procure the necessary advance of money. In March, Charles had obtained 180,000 livres from two of his adherents, and had ordered his jewels to be pledged at Rome, and the money to be remitted to him in France. In the letter in which he requests his father to undertake this matter for him, he says:—"The prince sees almost everything at the French court sticks at the money, as it did in this last enterprise, which was when the prince insisted for an expedition in Scotland at the same time with England. They answered they would give me troops, but had not or would not give money or arms; for which reason the having such a sum at command would be of great use; but at the same time the court of France must not suspect in the least that I have such a sum; for perhaps they may give it now, though they would not then." In another passage of the same letter, after apprising his father that he had raised money for the purchase of arms, Charles says:—"It is but for such uses that the prince

shall ever trouble Trig (the king) with asking for money; it will never be for plate or fine clothes, but for arms and ammunition, or other things that tend to what I am come about to this country. I therefore wish that Hanmer (the king) would pawn all Isham's (the prince's) jewels, for, on this side the water, Howell (the prince) would wear them with a very sore heart, thinking that there might be made a better use of them."

About the beginning of June, we find the prince a guest of his enthusiastic friend the Duc de Bouillon, at the chateau of Navarre, near Evreux, once a favourite residence of Henry IV., and in later times the retreat of the Empress Josephine. Charles occupied himself there chiefly in hunting and fishing, exercises that had the effect of strengthening his health, and better qualifying him for great physical exertions.

For the immediate succour requisite to the execution of his enterprise, our hero was to be indebted to a family that had already made the greatest sacrifices in the cause of the Stuarts. The family of Walsh were of Irish origin, and had gone into exile with Charles II. On the restoration of that prince they returned home,

but found that all their property had been confiscated. Nevertheless, they manifested to James II. the same fidelity which they had shown to his brother. It was a Walsh who commanded the vessel in which the last sovereign of the Stuart dynasty escaped to France. Shortly afterwards, Walsh returned on a secret mission from the exiled king to England, where he was recognised and arrested.* Two sons of this Walsh, whom James the Second created an earl, were living in France, one at Nantes and the other at St. Malo, at the time when Charles was seeking to obtain possession of an armed vessel. They were endeavouring, particularly Anthony Walsh, at Nantes, to restore the fortunes of their house by commercial speculations to the West Indies, and by acting as shipowners, a department of commerce in which, according to the ideas then in vogue in Bretagne, a noble might engage without thereby committing an act derogatory to his rank. Lord Clare, at this time a lieutenant-general in the French army,

* Those who arrested him required of him to drink the health of King William, who would probably forgive him his sins. "Then he will do more," returned Walsh, "than God himself can do, for he will pardon one who will not have repented."

introduced Anthony Walsh and another countryman, of the name of Ruttledge, a banker at Dunkirk, to Prince Charles, as men likely to be of service to him in his present emergency. Walsh and Ruttledge had just obtained from the French government the grant of an old man-of-war, the Elizabeth, of sixty-seven guns, and they had bought the Doutelle, a brig of sixteen guns, and intended to fit out both vessels as privateers, to cruise against the English during the war. Devoted as these men were to the house of Stuart, Lord Clare was soon able to induce them to apply the two vessels to the prince's use, and they were easily persuaded to undertake to raise the money necessary for the purchase of arms, ammunition, &c.

They fulfilled their promises faithfully. At the time of Charles's embarkation there were on board of the Elizabeth 2000 muskets and 1800 claymores, twenty small field-pieces, together with a large supply of powder, ball, &c. The prince himself was able to take with him about 4000 louis-d'or in ready money.*

* The number of guns mounted by the Elizabeth and the Doutelle, the quantity of arms on board, and the amount of money

All the necessary preparations had been completed, when the prince addressed to his father, on the same day, the two letters above alluded to, and a third to Edgar, his father's secretary. They are important, inasmuch as they show Charles's own view of his position at the moment, and afford at the same time a proof of his amiable

with which Charles was provided, are given very differently by different writers. Voltaire is altogether incorrect. He represents Charles as embarking on the 12th of June, whereas, on the 20th of June, Charles was still at Chateau Navarre. Voltaire says the prince had only 40,000 francs with him; but we may see from his own letters to Edgar that he had double that sum. Home gives the sum, apparently with great accuracy, when he says: "The sum of money furnished by Walsh and Ruttledge to Charles was 3800*l.*, which the old Pretender repaid some years after by a bill drawn upon John Habburton, at Dunkirk, in favour of Ruttledge." How Pichot came to describe the Doutelle as a vessel of thirty-five guns, it is difficult to conceive; all other authorities, with one exception, ranging only between fifteen and eighteen guns. Power is the only authority that approximates on this point to Pichot's estimate. Colonel Power, an Irishman by birth, was in the Spanish service, and bore a part in the Austrian succession war in Italy, where he officiated as adjutant-general to the Infante Don Philip. In Power's work (*Tableau de la Guerre de la Pragmatique Sanction en Allemagne et en Italie, avec une rélation originale de l'Expédition du Prince Charles Edouard en Ecosse et en Angleterre.* Deux volumes. Berne. 1785), all the details respecting Charles's enterprise are described as having been communicated to the author by Charles himself, or by some of his companions. When Power, however, describes the Elizabeth as mounting seventy, and the Doutelle thirty guns, he is unquestionably in the wrong.

disposition. The first of these three letters is as follows:—

"*Navarre, June* 12, 1745.

"SIR,—I believe your Majesty little expected a courier at this time, and much less from me; to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have, above six months ago, been invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the crown, and them to their liberties.

* * * * * *

"After such scandalous usage as I have received from the French court, had I not given my word to do so, or got so many encouragements from time to time as I have had, I should have been obliged, in honour, and for my own reputation, to have flung myself into the arms of my friends, and die with them, rather than live longer in such a miserable way here, or be obliged to return to Rome, which would be just giving up all hopes. I cannot but mention a parable here, which is, that if a horse which is to be sold if spurred does not skip, nobody would care to

have him, even for nothing; just so my friends would care very little to have me, if, after such usage as all the world is sensible of, I should not show I have life in me. Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year 15; but the circumstances now are indeed very different by being much more encouraging, there being a certainty of succeeding with the least help; the particulars of which are too long to explain, and even impossible to convince you of by writing, which has been the reason that I have presumed to take upon me the management of all this without even letting you suspect there was any such thing a-brewing, for fear of my not being able to explain and show you demonstratively how matters stood, which is not possible to be done by writing, or even without being upon the place, and seeing things with your own eyes: and, had I failed to convince you, I was then afraid you might have thought what I was going to do to be rash, and so to have absolutely forbidden my proceedings.

* * * * *

"I have tried all possible means and stratagems

to get access to the King of France, or his minister, neither could I get Littleton (Sir Thomas Sheridan) an audience, who, I was sure, would say neither more nor less than what I desired him, and would faithfully report their answer. As for Wright (the Cardinal), he is not much trusted or well looked upon by Adam (the King of France), who is timorous, and has not resolution enough to displace him. Now, I have been obliged to steal off without letting the King of France so much as suspect it, for which I make a proper excuse in my letter to him, by saying it was a great mortification to me never to be able to speak and open my heart to him; that this thing was of such a nature that it could not be communicated to any of the ministers, or by writing, but to himself alone—in whom, after Almighty God, my resting lies, and that the least help would make the affair infallible. If I had let the French court know this beforehand, it might have had all these bad effects:—1st. It is possible they might have stopped me, having a mind to keep measures with the Elector, and then, to cover it over, they would have made a merit of it to you, by saying they had hindered me from

doing a wild and desperate thing. 2dly. My being invited by my friends would not be believed, or, at least, would have made little or no impression on the French court. . . . . .

"I have sent Stafford to Spain, and appointed Sir Thomas Geraldine to demand succours in my name to complete the work, to whom I sent letters for the King and Queen, written in the most engaging terms, to the same purpose. Let what will happen, the stroke is struck, and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die, and stand my ground as long as I shall have a man remaining with me.

"I think it of the greatest importance your Majesty should come as soon as possible to Avignon, but take the liberty to advise that you would not ask leave of the French court; for if I be not immediately succoured they will certainly refuse you. . . . . .

"Whatever happens unfortunate to me cannot but be the strongest engagements to the French court to pursue your cause. Now if I were sure they were capable of any sensation of this kind, if I did not succeed, I would perish, as Curtius did, to save my country and make it happy; it being

an indispensable duty on me as far as lies in my power.

"Your Majesty may now see my reason for pressing so much to pawn my jewels, which I should be glad to have done immediately, for I never intend to come back, and money, next to troops, will be the greatest help to me. I owe to old Waters about 60,000 livres, and to the young one about 120,000 livres. I and Sir Thomas will write more fully to Edgar about these matters, both as to the sum I carry with me and arms, as also how I go. I write this from Navarre, but it won't be sent off till I am on shipboard. If I can possibly I will write a note and send it from thence at the same time. I have wrote a note and sent it to Lord Marischal, telling him to come immediately, and giving him a credential to treat with the minister for succours.

"To the Duke of Ormond I have writ a civil letter, showing a desire of his coming here immediately, but at the same time leaving it to his discretion so to do.

. . . . . I should think it proper (if your Majesty pleases) to be put at his Holiness's feet, asking his blessing on this occasion;

but what I chiefly ask is your own, which I hope will procure me that of Almighty God upon my endeavours to serve you, my family, and country, which will ever be the only view of

"Your Majesty's most dutiful Son,

"CHARLES P."

A second letter to his father, dated the same day, refers to some private affair, and serves to show the tone of their correspondence.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

"I made my devotions on Pentecost day, recommending myself particularly to the Almighty on this occasion, to guide and direct me, and to continue to me always the same sentiments, which are rather to suffer anything than fail in any of my duties. I write to you this apart, for to entreat your Majesty in the most earnest manner to desire Grevill (the king) for God's sake not to give to Howell (himself) what he designed, that is a secret; for it would be of the greatest hurt to his farm. Let not his engagement with a certain person be any hindrance, for circumstances are changed, by which, if there was any question of that, one can find ways

to come off on't. I must repeat this, that Grevill and his family is ruined if he does that thing. Grevill thinks that this is an absolute secret; but he is mistaken, for I have heard it from several people, to whom I flatly denied it, and said I was very sure it was not true, to which every one of these said, God be praised; for if it were so both father and son would be undone. Sovereigns upon the throne can do such things; and even then it is not advisable; but a private man ruins himself and his family in doing on't, especially one that has a great many enemies. I lay myself again most humbly at your Majesty's feet; and remain your most dutiful son,

"CHARLES P."

The letter written, on the same day, to Edgar, his father's secretary, is too important to be omitted.

PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

"*Navarre, June* 12, 1745.

"I here inclose you the king's and duke's letters; one for Lord Dunbar, and another for S. Tencin. If the bearer be one Plene, I know him to be very honest and a good servant. Macdonald is his

master, whom I carry with me; so the servant deserves to be taken care of. Having writ a long letter to the king, I chose to refer some particulars to be added to yours, which are these: —I owe old Waters about 60,000 livres, part of which went to the payment of my debts last winter, which the French court did not think fit to complete. Young Waters has advanced me 120,000 livres, and promised to pay several other things which I have referred to him. It will be absolutely necessary to remit these two sums immediately; and young Waters desires that his money may be sent by Belloni directly to himself, without letting the old man know he made any such advance; and whatever other money may be remitted for my use, the best way will be to send it to the young one—for the other, I believe, will be glad to be eased of that trouble. All this money I have employed in my present undertaking, having bought fifteen hundred fuzees, eighteen hundred broadswords mounted, a good quantity of powder, ball, flints, dirks, brandy, &c., and some hundred more of fuzees and broadswords, of which I cannot at present tell the exact number. I have also got twenty small field-pieces, two of which a

mule may carry; and my cassette will be near four thousand louis d'ors; all these things will go in the frigate which carries myself. She has twenty odd guns, and is an excellent sailer, and will be escorted by one, and perhaps two men-of-war, of about seventy guns each. It will appear strange to you how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French court. I employed one Ruttledge and one Walsh, who are subjects. The first got a grant of a man-of-war to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is, luckily, obliged to go as far north as I do, so that she will escort me without appearing to do it. Walsh understands his business perfectly, and is an excellent seaman. He has offered to go with me himself, the vessel being his own that I go on board of. He has also a man-of-war that will likewise go with me, if she can be got ready in time, and a frigate of forty-four guns, which he took lately from the English, and is manning to be sent out with all expedition. He lives at Nantes, and I expect a courier every moment from him, with an account that all is ready; and then I must lose no time to get there, and go directly on board. If there be no danger of being

stopped or discovered, I shall write from thence. Adieu, friend. I hope it will not be long before you hear comfortable news. In the mean time be assured of my constant friendship.

"CHARLES P."

"P. S. I send you here also enclosed an authentic copy of what is to be printed and dispersed at my landing. I have forgot also to mention that I intend to land at or about the Isle of Mull. I enclose you here five letters, and one open, to yourself; all from Sir Thomas."

Nantes was the place fixed on by the Prince as the point of rendezvous for all who were to take part in the enterprise. To avoid notice, they journeyed thither by different routes, took lodgings in different quarters of the town, and, if they happened to meet in the street, they allowed no stranger to notice any mark of recognition between them. Among the companions of the enterprise were, the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had been attainted by the English government, after the affair of 1715, the Duke of Athol, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service, Francis Strickland, an English

gentleman, Æneas Macdonald, who had remained in Paris as a banker, and with whom the Prince had always lodged when in the French metropolis; Buchanan, who had been employed by Cardinal de Tencin on several confidential missions to Rome, and Kelley, a priest.

The Prince himself arrived, under a disguise, after having paid a visit to the Duke of Fitzjames, and embarked, on the 2nd of July, 1745, in the harbour of St. Nazaire, at seven o'clock in the evening. He had to wait off the island of Belle-isle, till the 13th, for the Elizabeth. Thence it was that he sent his last salutations to Italy. The following letters were begun at St. Nazaire, but not closed till after the arrival of the Elizabeth.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

"*St. Nazaire, at the Mouth of the Loire,*
"*July* 2, 1745.

"SIR,—The contrary winds that have been blowing hitherto, have deferred my embarking, which will be this afternoon at seven, for to go to the rendezvous of the man-of-war, of sixty-seven guns, and seven hundred men aboard; as also a company of sixty volunteers, all gentlemen, whom

I shall probably get to land with me, I mean to stay; which, though few, will make a show, they having a pretty uniform. The number of arms are just as I mentioned in my last of the 12th, that goes with this, except the augmentation I was in hopes of is of a hundred or two less than I expected, which is of no odds. I keep this open, and do not send it till I am fairly set out from Belleisle—*id est* the rendezvous—so that I may add a note to it, if being sea-sick does not hinder; if it does, Sir Thomas will supply in mentioning what more may occur. It is a mortification to me to want so many of your packets, which are lying at Paris, because of the daily expectation of parting. We have nothing to do now but to hope in the Almighty favouring us and recompensing our troubles; which, as you may see by the nature of the thing, were but small. I hope in God my next will bring comfortable news. In the mean time, I remain, laying myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking your blessing,

"Your most dutiful Son,

"CHARLES P."

"PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

"*St. Nazaire, July* 2, 1745.

"This being the last note I shall write this side of the seas, I would not fail to give you adieu in it, making my compliments to Lord Dunbar, and to as many of my friends as you shall think convenient and proper. I enclose herewith letters for the king and duke. I hope in God we shall soon meet, which I am resolved shall not be but at home.

"In the mean time, I remain, &c.

"CHARLES P.

"P.S.—*Belle Isle, à la Rade, the* 12*th July*.—After having waited a week here, not without a little anxiety, we have at last got the escort I expected, which is just now arrived; *id est*, a ship of sixty-eight guns, and seven hundred men aboard. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, but have been a little sea-sick, and expect to be more so; but it does not keep me much a-bed, for I find the more I struggle against it the better."

During the passage, Charles wore the habit of a student of the Scots College at Paris; and the

more effectually to conceal his rank from the crew, he allowed his beard to grow until his arrival in Scotland.

The Elizabeth was under the orders of the Marquis d'O, but the smaller vessel, which bore one of the most amiable princes of his time, carrying "Cæsar and his fortunes" to a memorable destiny, was commanded by Captain Durbe. The two ships in company pursued their momentous course, the result of which an eminent modern writer has justly called "an awful example of courage, fidelity, and a sense of duty, struggling against destiny; one of those enterprises which the injustice of human laws brands as crimes, or exalts to deads of heroism, according to the success that attends them; to which success assigns a civic crown, and failure the headsman's axe."

## CHAPTER VIII.

ONE OF THE PRINCE'S VESSELS, DISABLED IN ACTION WITH A BRITISH SHIP, IS OBLIGED TO RETURN TO FRANCE—HE LANDS IN SCOTLAND—UNWILLINGNESS OF THE CHIEFS TO JOIN HIM WITHOUT THE AID OF FRENCH TROOPS—RANALD—THE INFECTION OF ENTHUSIASM.

ON the fourth day after leaving Belleisle, the Prince's vessels fell in with a British man-of-war, the Lion, of 58 guns, commanded by Captain Brett, the same officer who, in Anson's expedition, distinguished himself by the storming of Paita. The Lion appeared to be waiting the arrival of a consort, to attack the Elizabeth and the Doutelle. The Marquis d'O proposed to Walsh to anticipate the attack; but the stanch Jacobite, anxious to avoid endangering the valuable life of his important charge, declined all participation in the combat, from which, however, he was unable to dissuade the commander of the Elizabeth. The

latter vessel accordingly engaged the Lion, and, after a battle of four or five hours, they parted, both being nearly disabled. Thirty officers had been killed and wounded on board of the Elizabeth; the captain himself was wounded, the rigging cut to pieces, and a new mainmast indispensable. Nothing therefore remained for the Elizabeth but to run into Brest, to be repaired. Had Walsh complied with the Prince's request, to let the Doutelle take her share in the engagement, the result might have been very different.

A short time before the battle, Charles had expressed a wish to remove to the Elizabeth, the Doutelle being so exceedingly crowded. Fortunately, perhaps, for himself, he afterwards gave up the idea; but during the engagement he urged Walsh repeatedly to bear down to the assistance of the Elizabeth, which, with a little assistance, might be enabled to capture the Lion. Walsh, however, was inflexible in his refusal, and at last threatened to enforce his authority as owner of the vessel, and, if the Prince did not desist, to order him into the cabin.

By the return of the Elizabeth to France, Charles lost nearly the whole of the arms and

ammunition, to collect which had cost him so many efforts; and no loss could at such a moment be of more serious importance. On the other hand, however, it was fortunate for him that the apparent insignificance of the Doutelle prevented any attack from being directed against her.

The Doutelle now proceeded on her passage alone. By way of precaution, no lights were burnt at night, with the exception of one for the compass. Nevertheless, on the second day after the engagement, she was descried and chased by an English man-of-war, but escaped by her better sailing. This was the last danger of the kind that Charles experienced during the passage, which lasted, in all, eighteen days. On the 2nd of August, 1745, he anchored off the little island of Erisca, one of the Hebrides, and situated between Barra and South Uist. As they neared the shore, an eagle came hovering round the ship, and accompanied her for some time on her course. This was taken for a favourable omen by those on board. "Here," said Lord Tullibardine, turning to his young master, "is the king of birds come to welcome your Royal Highness to Scotland!"

On the following morning, Charles sent a messenger to Macdonald of Clanranald, the proprietor of that and the neighbouring islands, and whom he knew to be devoted to his cause. Clanranald happened to be absent on the mainland; the prince, therefore, despatched a second messenger to Clanranald's uncle, Macdonald of Boisdale, who chanced at the time to be in the vicinity, and whom he invited to repair immediately on board of the Doutelle. Boisdale appeared, but only to express his firm conviction that the enterprise must necessarily end in disaster; without the least reserve, he called it one verging on insanity; assured the prince that, as he had arrived in Scotland without French aid, he must neither reckon on Clanranald, nor on Alexander Macdonald, nor the Laird of MacLeod, two chiefs on whose devotion to his cause Charles had placed the firmest reliance. The old man urged the immediate return of the whole expedition, as the only course that remained open. It was in vain that Charles employed all his powers of persuasion to represent his affairs in a more favourable light to the ancient partisan of his family; Boisdale remained inflexible, and went back to his isle in a boat.

It has been said that, on the departure of Boisdale, Charles called a council of war, to deliberate on the motives for and against a return to France; that, in this council, Sheridan was the only man who urged the policy of persisting in the enterprise; and that the prince himself was at one time disposed to abandon all hopes of success. The statement, however, is unauthenticated and highly improbable; whereas, it is certain that, when, shortly after the interview with Boisdale, Hugo Macdonald urged Charles to return to France, the latter replied that his father should owe his throne, not to foreigners, but to his own friends, who should have the undivided honour of his restoration. With regard to himself, he said, the world should never have to reproach his friends with having turned their backs upon him, and made him return to strangers; if he could only find six stout honest lads willing to share his fortunes, he would rather roam with them through the Highlands than return to France.

The Doutelle, meanwhile, was bearing away towards the mainland, and soon came to anchor in the Bay of Lochnanuagh, in Inverness-shire, between Moidart and Arisaig. A messenger was

immediately sent to Clanranald, to invite him on board. The young chief quickly obeyed the summons, and came, accompanied by several of his clan, and, among others, by Macdonald, of Kinloch Moidart, but it was only to renew the scene that had so recently been enacted at Erisca. It was in vain that Charles exerted all his eloquence to inspire his friends with his own confidence. They replied to him, with the same pertinacity as Boisdale, that to take arms without concert or foreign support could only end in the ruin of all concerned. Devoted as they were to the cause, the chiefs remained proof against all Charles's supplications; and, but for an accidental and apparently unimportant circumstance, but which he turned with great dexterity to his own advantage, the young prince himself, convinced of the hopelessness of the enterprise, might have been persuaded to abandon the Scottish coast, and the civil war would have been extinguished, even before the first spark had had time to kindle into a flame.

During their conversation, Charles and the chiefs had been walking up and down the deck. A Highlander stood near them, armed at all

points, according to the custom of the country. He was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, and had come into the vessel without the slightest knowledge as to who was on board. The conversation, however, to which he had been a witness, had made him aware of the truth, and had evidently thrown him into the greatest agitation. When he gathered from the discourse that the stranger was the Prince of Wales, and when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms for their rightful sovereign, as they believed him, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place, and instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword. Charles observed the excitement of the young mountaineer, and suddenly turned upon him with the words, "Will you, at least, assist me?" "I will, I will!" cried Ranald; "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword for you, I am ready to die for you." Charles eagerly thanked the warm-hearted youth, saying that he only wished all the Highlanders were like him. The implied reproach was scarcely needed. The enthusiasm of Ranald immediately communicated itself to the chiefs. The voice of pru-

dence was no longer listened to. They at once declared themselves ready to make every sacrifice, and to use every exertion to arm their countrymen once more for the house of Stuart, if the prince was not to be shaken in his resolution to hazard everything on a desperate throw.

In the Lockhart Papers* is an interesting journal of Prince Charles's expedition, "by a Highland officer of his army." From this account, it appears that, while Charles was conversing with the chiefs, the rest of the Highlanders who had gone on board were accommodated with wine and other refreshments, under a tent or awning, erected on a different part of the deck. "After being three hours with the prince," says the author of the journal, "Clanranald returned to us, and in about half an hour there entered the tent a pale youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain blue coat, with a plain shirt, not very clean, and a cambric stock, fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvas string, having one end tied to one of his coat buttons; he had black

* Vol. ii. p. 479.

silk stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes. At his first appearance, I found my heart swell to my very throat. We were immediately told by one O'Brien, a churchman, that this youth was also an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders. When this youth entered, O'Brien forbade any of those who were sitting to rise; he saluted none of us, and we only made a long bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me, but immediately started up again, and caused me to sit down by him upon a chest. I, at this time, taking him to be only a passenger, or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity, yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habit (viz. the Highland garb); I answered, I was so habituated to it, that I should rather be so, if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laughed heartly; and next inquired how I lay with it at night, which I explained to him; he said that by wrapping myself so close in my plaid,

I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered that, in such times of danger, or during a war, we had a different method of using the plaid; that with one spring I could start to my feet, with drawn sword and cocked pistol in my hand, without being the least encumbered by my bed clothes. Several such questions he put to me; then, rising quickly from his seat, he calls for a dram, when the same person whispered me, a second time, to pledge the stranger but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I was confirmed in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand, he drank to all around, and soon after left us."

Charles, being now assured of the support of at least a few chiefs, landed on the 4th of August (O. S. 25th July), 1745, and with him the seven companions who had embarked with him at Nantes, and who from that time forward were known among the Jacobites as "the seven men of Moidart." The cargo of the Doutelle, consisting of a few thousand arms of different kinds, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition, some provisions, and what was scarcely of secondary

importance in the Highlands, a good stock of brandy, was safely landed. The prince himself was conducted to Borodale, one of the most inaccessible points of Scotland, and particularly well suited for communicating with the Highland chiefs, on whom the farther progress of the daring undertaking must mainly depend. The Highland officer, from whose journal an extract has already been given, describes the arrival of Charles at Borodale. "No one could fail to see the perilous nature of the enterprise we had engaged in," observes the journalist; "nevertheless, we were determined to follow our gracious prince, and to share danger and death with him. For the first, however, we did our best to give him a hearty welcome in our country. The prince, his companions, and a guard of about a hundred men were entertained at the house of Angus Macdonald, at Borodale in Arisaig, with all the hospitality that the place allowed of. His Royal Highness sat where he could conveniently survey our whole company and all who came in and went out; for men, women, and children, came pouring in to see the prince. After we had eaten and drunk abundantly, H.R.H. drank

to us in the English language, which most of those present understood. When my turn came, I cried out in Gaelic, '*Deoch slaint an-Reogh.*' H.R.H., understanding that I had proposed the king's health, made me repeat the words, and then he also gave the king's health in the Highland dialect. When the prince was told by those present that I was particularly well versed in Gaelic, H.R.H. said I should be his tutor in that language. Afterwards I had also to propose the healths of the prince and the duke."

Before leaving the Doutelle, the prince wrote a short letter to his father to acknowledge the important services rendered by Anthony Walsh, and requesting that the title of Earl of Ireland should be conferred upon that gentleman, by way of a recompense.* By the same opportunity he

* Lord Mahon (vol. iii. p. 350) tells us that he was acquainted at Baden with a Count Walsh, whom he understood to be the descendant and representative of that gentleman, and thence concludes that the prince's request was complied with by his father. The title of Earl had, however, been already conferred on Walsh's father by James II. Charles's request was not simply that Walsh should be made an Irish earl, but that he should have the title of Earl of Ireland. The following is Charles's letter, dated "*à l'ancre dans la baie de Longhaylort, 2 Août, V.S.*"—

informed his father of his progress. "I am, thank God," he says, "arrived here in perfect good health, but not with little trouble and danger, as you will hear by the bearer, who has been with me all along; that makes it useless for me to give any accounts and particulars on that head. I am joined here by brave people, as I expected. As I have not yet set up the standard, I cannot tell the number, but that will be in a few days, as soon as the arms are distributed, at which we are working with all speed. I have not yet got the return of the message sent to the Lowlands, but

"SIRE,—J'ai reçu des services si importans de M. Antoine Walsh, qu'il n'y a rien que je ne me croie obligé de faire pour lui en témoigner mon agrément. Ainsi je lui ai promis d'employer tout mon crédit auprès de Votre Majesté pour lui obtenir le titre de Comte d'Irlande. Il est issu d'une fort bonne famille, très en état de soutenir la dignité de ce nouveau titre, et n'a pas besoin d'autre chose. C'est la première grace que je vous demande depuis mon arrivée dans ce pays. J'espère bien que ce ne sera pas la dernière, mais, en tout cas, je vous supplie de me l'accorder. Je la regarderai comme une obligation particulière, accordée à votre très obéissant fils, CHARLES, P."

According to the *Jacobite Memoirs*, edited by Robert Chambers, Charles knighted Walsh immediately after his landing, paid him two thousand pounds as an indemnity for the costs he had been at, and presented him with a sword, which had been bought for Charles at Dunkirk, and for which eighty louis-d'or had been paid. By way of inscription, Charles had had the words *Gratitudo fidelitati* engraved on the blade.

expect it very soon. If they all join, or at least all those to whom I have sent commissions, at request, everything will go on to a wish. Sir Hector's (Sir Hector Maclean is here meant) being taken up is of no consequence but of perhaps frightening some few, for they can make nothing of him, nor of some papers that were found in his room, which he denies having any knowledge of. The commissions, along with the declaration, are arrived safe, and in a proper hand. The worst that can happen to me, if France does not succour me, is to die at the head of such brave people as I find here, if I should not be able to make my way; and that I have promised to them, as you know to have been my resolution before parting. The French court must now necessarily take off the mask, or have an eternal shame on them; for, at present, there is no medium, and we, whatever happens, shall gain an immortal honour by doing what we can to deliver our country, in restoring our master, or perish with sword in hand. Your majesty may easily conceive the anxiety I am in to hear from you. Having nothing more particular at present to add (not being able to keep the ship longer, for fear of men-of-war stopping her

passage entirely), I shall end, laying myself with all respect and duty at your majesty's feet, most humbly asking a blessing."

The above letter is signed "Charles P." Most of those afterwards written from Scotland are signed "Charles P. R." (Charles Prince Regent.)

## CHAPTER IX.

LOCHIEL—THE UNFURLING OF THE STUART BANNER—DUKE OF PERTH—CHARLES'S PROCLAMATION.

THE first and most urgent business of Charles, at Borodale, was to inform those Highland chiefs, whom he knew or believed to be zealous in the cause of Jacobitism, of his arrival in Scotland; Cameron of Lochiel, Alexander Macdonald, and MacLeod, were summoned to Borodale. Lochiel obeyed the summons without delay, but, with all his hereditary devotion to the house of Stuart, his only intention, when he set out for the head-quarters of Charles, was to urge the latter to return immediately to France. On his way to Borodale, Lochiel called on his brother, Cameron, of Tassefern, who concurred in his opinion as to the "madness and rashness of the whole undertaking," but advised him to communicate his sentiments only by letter. "I know you," said

Tassefern, "better than you know yourself. If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases." Lochiel, however, pursued his way, and, on his arrival at Borodale, resisted the prince's eloquence for a considerable time. At last, Charles exclaimed, "I am resolved to put all to the hazard. In a few days I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, or perish in the attempt. Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince!"

The proud faithful Highlander was stung by these words, and all his resolution to resist his prince's entreaties vanished in a moment. "Not so," he replied; "I will share the fate of my prince, whatever it be, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power."—"Such," observes Mr. Home, "was the singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war; for it is a point agreed among the Highlanders, that, if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal to take arms, the other chiefs

would not have joined the standard without him, and the insurrection must immediately have been suppressed, had it even broken out at all."*

It was soon evident that Charles had been perfectly correct in his estimate of the Highland character. In their eyes he was the legitimate Prince of Wales, the son and representative of their rightful king. The entire confidence with which he had thrown himself among them strengthened in their estimation his claims on their fidelity, and made it yet more imperatively their duty to rally around him in the struggle that was about to ensue. Charles was surrounded by the clans that, from the days of Montrose, had never for a moment shrunk from their devotion to the house of Stuart. The most powerful chiefs arrived daily. Macdonald of Keppoch and Macdonald of Glengarry came, with many others, to offer their services to their prince, and left him only to muster their men. Many, who could not come, wrote to assure him of their devotion. Upon all who approached him, the fascination of his

* Lochiel stood deservedly high in the confidence of the house of Stuart. In 1729, the Chevalier de St. George sent him full powers to act for him as a negotiator with the Highland chiefs, in all matters relating to the restoration of the ancient dynasty.

manners worked like magic, strengthening the impression of past events, and heightening their enthusiasm for the impending struggle.

While the chiefs were mustering their clans, Charles availed himself skilfully of the interval that necessarily elapsed before his banner could be unfurled. He studied to ingratiate himself with all the Highlanders who approached his person. He assumed the national costume; he was careful to do nothing that might in the slightest degree offend their local customs and prejudices; he was at pains, as we have already seen, to make himself acquainted with the Gaelic dialect, and on all public occasions failed not to turn his little knowledge to the best account; he distributed in person the arms he had brought with him, and, in doing so, knew how to avail himself of a multitude of little arts to win the hearts of those whom he was desirous of attaching to himself.

Alexander Macdonald and Macleod, in the mean time, declined every invitation. They were among the most powerful chiefs of the Highlands, for each, had he been willing, might have raised a force of at least fifteen hundred men. Clanranald went over to Skye, to endeavour to persuade them

to an active participation in the insurrection, but they appealed to the terms of their engagement; they had promised to raise their clans only on one condition, namely, the arrival of foreign succours, and, as an additional motive for delay, they pleaded that a great number of their men resided in the distant islands. They were evidently anxious to gain time, that they might be able, in due season, to declare for the victorious party, whichever that might be. They professed zeal to the government as well as to the prince, but rendered honest service to neither. Thus, for instance, they sent word to Edinburgh that young Charles Stuart had landed on Scottish ground; but this intelligence they cautiously delayed for nine days, at a period when time was of the utmost importance.*

From Borodale, after a few days, the prince went by water to Kinloch Moidart, a better house,

* *Culloden Papers.* Comprising an extensive and interesting correspondence, from the year 1725 to 1748. From the originals in the possession of Duncan George Forbes, of Culloden, Esq., London, 1815. P. 203.—In the postscript to his letter, MacLeod says: "Young Clanranald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence!" In another letter, of Aug. 17, MacLeod adds, "In my opinion it would be a very wrong step to draw many of the troops to Scotland, as there can be but little danger here!"

belonging to the chief of that name, and situated about seven miles farther. He arrived there about the 21st of August, and was joined by Murray of Broughton, who had effected the dangerous mission of getting James's manifestoes printed, as well as other papers, inviting voluntary gifts of arms and money. Murray had been for three weeks at his house in the south of Scotland, and in constant danger of being arrested, the unwonted activity of the Jacobite party being of a nature to attract the notice even of the least vigilant government.

The Duke of Perth, a devoted adherent of the Stuarts, and a son of the Lord John Drummond who played so conspicuous a part in the insurrection of 1715, had escaped a yet more imminent danger in a somewhat singular manner. A Captain Campbell had been sent to Drummond Castle to arrest the duke. As they were leaving the room together, the latter politely made the captain walk before him, then suddenly closed the door after him, escaped through an adjoining apartment, threw himself on a horse that was fortunately found ready saddled, and, having gained the start of his pursuers, reached the Highlands in safety, where

he joined his prince, of whose arrival he had received timely notice. Murray, meanwhile, whose active and intriguing mind was incessantly occupied with devices* for injuring the reigning dynasty, was appointed Secretary of State, in which capacity he continued to act during the remainder of the expedition. O'Sullivan,† an Irish officer, joined about the same time, and was appointed Quarter-Master General to an army that had yet to be created.

Charles had not yet unfurled his standard when a number of vague rumours began to reach the English governor of Fort Augustus, respecting the movements that were evidently taking place in

* Among others, he proposed a plan for seizing the Duke of Argyle in his castle of Inverary, and to forward to the government apparently correct accounts of the impending insurrection, but so artfully devised as to lead those in power to adopt such measures as might be best suited for the Jacobite interest.

† According to the *Jacobite Memoirs*, there were not seven but eight individuals, including O'Sullivan, who embarked with the prince at Nantes. Charles, however, in one of his proclamations, says expressly that he had only seven companions. Hence the *Memoirs* infer that Buchanan is not reckoned among them, but counted rather as a servant. Considering the important and confidential services in which he had been employed, this is scarcely probable, and it may therefore be assumed that those accounts are more correct which state that O'Sullivan landed with a number of French officers on the eastern coast of Scotland, and joined the prince shortly after his landing.—(See *Culloden Papers*, p. 398 .

the Highlands. He determined, therefore, to send a reinforcement of two companies, under the command of Captain Scott, to Fort William, distant about twenty-eight English miles, but in the more immediate neighbourhood of the preparations that appeared to be going on. These two forts had been erected under the direction of General Wade, for the express purpose of keeping the Highlanders in check, and had been united by a military road running between the mountains and the banks of the lakes Loch Oigh and Loch Lochie. Captain Scott, with his detachment, consisting chiefly of newly raised recruits, had marched without molestation for about twenty miles, and were in expectation of reaching Fort William the same day, when suddenly, in the narrow ravine called High Bridge, they were beset by a party of armed Highlanders. These were only about twelve or fifteen in number, under the orders of Macdonald of Tierndraich; but Scott was not aware of the real amount of the force opposed to him, and some men, whom he had sent in advance to reconnoitre, having been taken prisoners, he determined to retreat. The sound of the pipes and the report of musketry had, in the mean time, served as signals to call together a

number of other Highlanders belonging to the clans of Lochiel and Keppoch, and in this way the Jacobite party was increased to about fifty men, when the soldiers commenced their retreat. The latter were fatigued by the march, and had wasted their ammunition on an all but invisible foe. New to the service they were soon discouraged, and, being harassed by an incessant fire, laid down their arms on being summoned to do so by Keppoch. Five or six of them had been killed, and about as many wounded—Scott himself being among the latter. The prisoners were all treated with marked humanity; the wounded were carefully attended to at Lochiel's own house at Auchnacarrie; and, as the governor of Fort Augustus refused to send his surgeon to attend on Captain Scott, the "Gentle Lochiel" sent the captain to the fort for that object on receiving his parole.

This affair, though it scarcely deserved to be looked on as more than a skirmish, tended greatly to increase the confidence of the Highlanders in their ability, notwithstanding their irregular mode of warfare, to contend with a disciplined enemy, even when superior to them in number.

On the 30th of August, the standard of King

James was solemnly unfurled. Charles had chosen for the scene of the solemnity the wild sequestered vale of Glenfinnan, where the river Finnan flows between high and craggy mountains. The place is about fifteen miles from Fort William, and at about the same distance from Borodale. The friendly clans had been summoned to the glen, in which the prince, accompanied by one or two companies of Macdonalds, appeared early in the morning. His partisans, however, had been too busy with their preparations to be able to muster in sufficient force at so early an hour. He expected to find the whole valley alive with the assembled clans, but on his arrival not a man was to be seen except those of his own party. It was not till he had spent several hours in a neighbouring hovel, that Lochiel arrived with about seven hundred Camerons, who were shortly followed by Keppoch with three hundred men, and by several chiefs of minor note. Between the two lines formed by the Camerons, were drawn up the English prisoners taken four days previously. A small hillock, situated in the centre of the glen, was fixed on as the spot on which was to be placed

the standard* that Charles had brought with him for the purpose from France. It was of red silk, with a white space in the centre, on which the celebrated motto "Tandem Triumphans" was a few weeks afterwards inscribed. The Marquis of Tullibardine, as Duke of Athol, the highest in rank among the assembled Jacobites, was appointed to unfurl the banner. The crowd, in the mean time, had been constantly growing, and among the spectators was the celebrated Jenny Cameron, to whom a prominent place was afterwards assigned in Jacobite annals.†

At the appearance of the standard waving in the mountain breeze, to use the somewhat hyperbolical expressions of a popular ballad of the day, the shouts of the Highlanders, mingled with the shrill tones of the pibroch, startled the young eagles from their nests in the adjoining mountains, while the bonnets thrown up into the air formed a cloud that for a

* A small monument, with a Latin inscription, has since been erected on the spot.—See note to *Waverley*, vol. i. p. 238, ed. 1829.

† According to the *Jacobite Memoirs*, she was a handsome widow, upwards of forty years of age, never followed the army of Charles, and never met him except on public occasions.

moment darkened the sun. After this scene of exultation, the prelude to so much blood and so many tears, the proclamations of King James the Third were read, setting forth his claim to the crown, and authorising Charles Prince of Wales to act as regent in his absence.

The prince himself next addressed the multitude. He told them he had come to Scotland to vindicate his own rights for the people's sake; that he had preferred landing in Scotland, because he expected to find more honest men there than in any other part of his father's dominions; men who, he felt assured, were worthy of their ancestors, and would be as ready to live and die for their rightful king, as he (Charles) was ready to shed his last drop of blood for them. When all was over, the banner,* escorted by

* Home says (p. 50), that the banner was of white, blue, and red silk, and when unfurled was of about twice the size of an ordinary pair of colours. Another account states a coffin and a throne to have occupied the centre. Walter Scott, contrary to his custom, has left us no description of it; and in the *Jacobite Memoirs* the fact of the unfurling of the banner is simply stated, without any account of the banner itself. The description above given is borrowed from Lord Mahon, who does not, however, mention his authority. It may not be out of place to make mention here of two medals that were struck on the occasion of Charles's landing in Scotland. On the one is a bust of the prince with the legend

fifty Camerons, was carried in state to the prince's tent, and the assembled clansmen spent the following night in the open air.

About this time a proclamation, composed by Charles before leaving Paris, was distributed through the Highlands, but was not read at Glenfinnan. In this proclamation the people of Great Britain were called on to throw off their allegiance to the usurper, and to rally without loss of time round the standard of their rightful sovereign. The document is given by Pichot in French, in which language it was perhaps originally composed. It is couched in the following words:—

"CHARLES P. R.

"By virtue and authority of the above commission of Regency, granted unto us by the King

"Carolus Valliae Princeps. 1745." On the reverse, Great Britain is represented under a female figure, holding a lance in her hand, leaning on a shield, and contemplating some vessels that are sailing towards the shore. The legend is "Amor et Spes," and in the exergue is the word "Britannia." The other medal represents Charles in Highland costume, with a claymore in one hand, and in the other a shield, on which are engraven the words, "Quis contendat mecum?" The legend is, "Nullum non moveto lapidem, ut illud adipiscar. 1745." The reverse represents a rose, with the legend, "Mea res agitur."

our royal Father, we are now come to execute his Majesty's will and pleasure, by setting up his royal standard, and asserting his undoubted right to the throne of his ancestors. We do therefore, in his Majesty's name, and pursuant to the tenor of his several declarations, hereby grant a full and general pardon for all treasons, rebellions, and offences whatever, committed at any time before the publication hereof, against our royal grandfather, his present Majesty, and ourselves. To the benefit of this pardon we shall deem justly entitled all such of his Majesty's subjects as shall testify their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence, by setting up his royal standard in other places, by repairing for our service to any place where it shall be set up; or, at least, by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the Usurper, and all obedience to his orders; or to those of any person or persons employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

"As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of his Majesty's just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to have them rewarded

according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and general pardon, to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the Usurper; provided, that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against his Majesty's forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foreign Usurper can dispense with the allegiance they owe to their native Sovereign. And, as a further encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same or a higher post, in our service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him at the time of his declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for us, and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdoms shall be in a state of tranquillity.

"We hereby further promise and declare, in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the abovesaid commission, that, as soon as ever that happy state is attained, he will, by and with the advice of a free parliament, wherein no corruption or undue influence whatever shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected, settle, confirm, and secure, all the rights, ecclesiastical and civil, of each of his respective kingdoms; his Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the Church of England, as by law established; and likewise the Protestant churches of Scotland and Ireland, conformable to the laws of each respective kingdom; together with a toleration to all Protestant Dissenters; being utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion. And we ourselves, being perfectly convinced of the reasonableness and equity of the same principles, do, in consequence hereof, further promise and declare, that all his Majesty's subjects shall be by him and us maintained in the full enjoyment and possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities; and especially of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conformable to the laws of the land;

which shall ever be the unalterable rule of his Majesty's government and our own actions. And, that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconvenience as possible to the King's subjects, we do hereby authorise and require all civil officers and magistrates now in place and office, to continue, till further orders, to execute their respective employments, in our name and by our authority, as far as may be requisite for the maintenance of common justice, order, and quiet; willing and requiring them, at the same time, to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may from time to time be issued out by us, or those who shall be vested with any share of our authority and power.

"We also command and require all officers of the revenue and excise, all tax-gatherers, of what denomination soever, and all others who may have any part of the public money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal commander authorized by us, and take his receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient discharge; and, in case of refusal, we authorize and charge all such our commanders to exact the same

for our use, and to be accountable for it to us or our officers for that purpose appointed.

"And, having thus sincerely, in the presence of Almighty God, declared the true sentiments and intentions of the King our Royal father, as well as our own, in this expedition, we do hereby require and command all his subjects to be assisting to us in recovery of his just rights and of their own liberties; and that all such, from the age of sixteen to sixty, do forthwith repair to his Majesty's Royal standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective shires for his service; and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for our use or the use of our forces.

"Lastly, we do hereby require all Mayors, Sheriffs, and other magistrates, of what domination soever, their respective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market-crosses of their respective cities, towns, and boroughs, and there to proclaim His Majesty, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law for the neglect of so necessary and important a duty. For, as we have

hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general pardon for all that is past, so we, at the same time, seriously warn all his Majesty's subjects, that we shall leave to the rigour of the law all those who shall from henceforth oppose us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any act or acts, civil and military, to the let or detriment of us, our cause, and title, or to the destruction, prejudice, or annoyance of those who shall, according to their duty and our intentions thus publicly signified, declare and act for us.

"Given at Paris, the 16th May, 1745.

"C. P. R."

Sevelinges, in his Biographic Universelle, asserts that Voltaire was employed by the French ministry to draw up the manifestoes of the Pretender; but it is only common justice to say that, neither in the foregoing proclamation, nor in any of those drawn up in the name of James, previously to Charles's departure from Paris, is any trace either of the genius or of the elegance of Voltaire to be found. It is but seldom that Charles appears to much advantage in any of his addresses to the public, and his proclamations certainly contributed

at no time much to his success. To have been well-timed, they ought to have appealed to all those recollections most likely to revive or stimulate the attachment of the people to their exiled kings; and all the faults committed since the Revolution, by the English government, and particularly by the two Georges, ought to have been placed in the strongest light. The object was to excite popular enthusiasm, without which the whole expedition was a hopeless one. In this respect, Napoleon's proclamations, on his landing from Elba, may be studied as models. In the above manifesto of Charles, on the contrary, it would be difficult to discover any one of the qualities which are most called for in a document of the kind.

The festivity of Glenfinnan was heightened by the arrival of a MacLeod, who solemnly renounced his chief, and declared himself determined to follow the standard that had just been unfurled. This induced several of the Jacobite leaders to renew their attempts on Alexander Macdonald and MacLeod. Letters were written to the two waverers, calling on them to remember that their own honour required them to give undoubted proofs of their loyalty to King James.

Among the spectators of the solemnity, an unwilling one it is true, was Captain Swetenham, an English officer, who had been taken prisoner a few days previously, on his way to Fort William, to which place he was going to assume the command. The prince treated him with the utmost courtesy, and at the end of the ceremony dismissed him with these words: "You may go to your general; say what you have seen; and add that I am coming to give him battle."

## CHAPTER X.

DUNCAN FORBES—SIR JOHN COPE, COMMANDER OF THE ROYAL ARMY—REWARD OFFERED FOR THE APPREHENSION OF CHARLES—HE MARCHES AGAINST COPE, WHO RETREATS TO THE NORTH, LEAVING THE ROAD TO EDINBURGH OPEN—DUPLICITY OF LORD LOVAT—DEVOTION OF CHARLES TO HIS MILITARY DUTIES—HIS MARCH TO EDINBURGH.

HOWEVER difficult it may be to decide whether the French government was informed beforehand of the nature of Charles's projected expedition, it is at all events certain that the English government received no notice of the threatening danger, nor indeed any information that could at all be relied on, till some time after the landing. A letter, dated the 19th of August, from Lord Tweeddale, the Scottish Secretary of State, shows that at that date, nearly three weeks after the arrival of Charles on the coast, his departure from Nantes was still only a matter of belief, while the rumour

of his arrival in Scotland was treated as absurd and incredible.

No time was indeed lost in forwarding such information as the government was possessed of to Edinburgh, where the persons most relied on were the Lord President, Duncan Forbes; Lord Milton, the Chief Justice Clerk; and Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief. These gentlemen, however, received the news with the same incredulity as the authorities in London had done. Duncan Forbes, a man devoted to the house of Hanover, though he befriended the ruined Jacobites in their days of adversity, in a letter, dated the 19th of August, still speaks of the rumours as unlikely to be true.* He is "confident," he says, speaking

* The correspondence between the Marquis of Tweeddale and Lord Milton, relative to Charles's landing, will be found in the Appendix to Home. So late as the 24th of August, Tweeddale writes: "Though . . . . it is not absolutely certain that the Pretender's eldest son is actually landed," &c. The Lord President's letter, mentioned above, will be found in the *Culloden Papers* (p. 240).—In the *Quarterly Review*, No. XXVIII., will be found some admirable remarks on the character of Duncan Forbes, supposed to be from the pen of Sir Walter Scott.—George Lockhart writes on the 29th of January, 1728 (*Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 405), "Whilst no party is acting for his (James's) interest, no projects formed, nothing done to keep up the spirits of the people, the old race drops off by degrees, and a new one sprouts up, who, having no particular bias to the kirg, as knowing little more of him

of Charles, "that young man cannot with reason expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands;" and he goes on to show how much the Jacobite party had been reduced since 1715.

Sir John Cope, meanwhile, did not neglect to issue the necessary orders for concentrating his troops near Stirling, after having submitted his plans to the Lords Justices in England, and obtained their approval. They ordered him to oppose every obstacle that the force under his command might enable him to offer to the advance of the armed Jacobites; and forwarded to him a proclamation, issued in the London Gazette, a few days previously, offering a reward of 30,000*l.* to any person that should seize and secure "the pretended Prince of Wales."

The forces at Cope's disposal, however, did not exceed three thousand men. The regular troops

than what the public newspapers bear, enter on the stage with a perfect indifference, at least coolness, towards him and his cause, which consequently must daylie languish, and in process of time be totally forgot. In which melancholy situation of the king's affairs, I leave them in the year 1728."—The attachment of the Scottish people to the house of Stuart was indeed certain to die away gradually, and, under a wise direction, would have done so at a much earlier period than it did. The events of 1745 and 1746 showed, however, that the ancient feeling survived longer and in greater force than Lockhart supposed.

were for the most part on the Continent, and a few companies of a Highland regiment, under the Earl of Loudon, were stationed for the most part in the north, beyond Inverness. Cope left Edinburgh on the same day on which the standard was unfurled in Glenfinnan, and proceeded in the direction of Fort Augustus, at the head of fifteen hundred men, leaving behind the whole of his cavalry, for whom it would have been difficult to obtain forage in the Highlands, where, moreover, they could not have afforded any very valuable services. From Fort Augustus it was his intention to direct his operations against the insurgents, whom he expected to reduce with ease. He had been deluded, however, by a multitude of false reports, spread by the Jacobites about him, and so completely had they deceived him with respect to the popular feeling, that he took with him a thousand stand of arms, to equip the volunteers, who, he was told, would come pouring in from all directions. On his arrival at Crieff, he sent back the greater part of his useless muskets, Captain Swetenham having joined him, in the mean time, and apprised him of the real state of affairs. On his arrival at

Dalwhinnie, Cope was apprised that the Highlanders had possessed themselves of the pass of Carry Arrack, and were prepared to dispute it with him.

On the day after that on which Charles had unfurled the banner of the Stuarts, he repaired to Auchnacarrie, the house of Lochiel, where he was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe, with a hundred and fifty men, by Ardshiel with two hundred of the Stuarts of Appin, and by the younger Glengarry, who likewise brought two hundred men with him. Thus the Highland force under the prince's command amounted to about sixteen hundred men, which was soon augmented by the arrival of a hundred men belonging to the Grants of Glenmorriston, while the deserters from Lord Loudon's companies were constantly bringing intelligence of Cope's movements. Animated by the prospect of an approaching battle, Charles determined to set forth without delay in search of the enemy.

On the 6th of September, Charles arrived at Aberchalder, three miles from Fort Augustus, and, on the following morning, before daybreak, commenced his march toward Carry Arrack.

To reach this point before the English troops arrived there, was of the greatest importance, and to prevent all unnecessary delay, Charles ordered everything that could encumber the men on the march to be burnt, and that none might complain, he sacrificed his own baggage along with the rest. On the 7th, he reached the northern side of Corry Arrack, a steep lofty rock, over which a part of General Wade's military road was carried by a succession of ramps or traverses, that led the Highlanders to give the name of the Devil's Staircase to this formidable zig-zag road. Here it was that the prince expected to see some signs of the English general. It is recorded that, as he put on his new Highland brogues that morning, he exclaimed with delight, "Before these are unloosed I shall be up with Mr. Cope." As he walked up, he sent forward Macdonald of Lochgarry and Secretary Murray to report what they could see of the troops who were supposed to be ascending on the other side. The scouts, on reaching the summit, could see no trace of the expected enemy, with whom they thought the windings of the road would have been filled; and when at length a few Highland

soldiers made their appearance, instead of forming, as was supposed, the advanced guard of Cope, they turned out to be deserters, from whom intelligence was obtained that Cope had suddenly altered his line of march, and was on his way to Inverness.

Cope had resolved on this movement, because he felt it impossible to attack the insurgents on Corry Arrack, was unwilling to remain inactive at Dalwhinnie, and felt apprehensive that a retreat to Stirling might be deemed disgraceful. "Sir John Cope," says Lord Mahon, "has, for this and his subsequent conduct, been sometimes called a coward, and sometimes a traitor. He was neither. He was a plain dull officer, of indisputable fidelity and courage, who had been previously in action, and behaved respectably under a superior; but, endowed with very moderate abilities, and overwhelmed by the feeling of his responsibility as chief." By a march to Inverness, he hoped, at least, that he should be adhering to Lord Tweeddale's orders to advance into the Highlands. At Inverness, too, he would be in communication with the friendly clans; and it seemed to him that the Highlanders would scarcely advance into the low country, while a hostile force remained in

their rear. As a support to his own weakness, Cope summoned a council of war, the members of which, with one exception, approved of the general's plan, and gave their signs manual in support of his proposed march to Inverness.

The majority of the Highland leaders were for walking into the trap so clumsily laid for them, and urged the prince to pursue Cope and his fugitive troops; but Charles had discernment enough to discover the fault of his antagonist, and resolved to lose no time in taking advantage of it. He determined on an immediate advance into the Lowlands. Two days were occupied in conducting his men through the steep and rugged mountains of Badenoch, and on the third day the pleasant vale of Athol lay spread before his view. Every day his little army increased in number. Lord Lovat, the aged but powerful chief, could not indeed be induced to declare himself; but, actuated by the natural duplicity of his character, adopted a line of policy by means of which he hoped to promote his interest most effectually, by remaining in favour with both parties. Charles omitted nothing that was at all likely to flatter the old intriguer, whom he was desirous to gain.

Lovat was not only one of the old adherents of the family, and one of those Scottish chiefs who in 1740 had entered into a league in support of the Stuart cause, but his clan was at the same time one of the most numerous and best disciplined, and many persons of considerable power were more or less under his immediate influence.

When, therefore, Fraser of Gortulegg, a confidential agent of Lovat's, arrived at the prince's quarters at Invergarry, to assure him of Lovat's fidelity, to request him to excuse the non-appearance of the clan on the ground of their chief's age and infirmities, and to solicit that the patents of the dukedom of Fraser and lord-lieutenant of Inverness-shire, granted by King James, might be sent to "the faithful chief,"—all these demands were unhesitatingly complied with, though Charles was not so dull as to be deceived by the old man's artifices. The patents in question had been brought from France, but had remained behind with the rest of the baggage. New copies were, however, immediately made out, and delivered to Lovat's ambassador. Another request of the old man was, that he might be authorised to seize the Lord President Forbes, dead or alive. This

application was only partially complied with, Charles contenting himself with issuing an order for the arrest of the Lord President; a man whose active exertions made him, perhaps, the most dangerous of all Charles's enemies, but one whose blood the prince felt must not be shed to gratify the personal animosity of a Lovat.

This double-faced traitor,* while he was devis-

* As soon as it was known that Charles had landed, the Lord Advocate wrote to Lovat, who immediately replied that no hardship or ill-usage he had met with could alter or diminish his zeal and attachment for his Majesty's person and government. "But," he continues, "my clan and I have been so neglected these many years past, that I have not twelve stand of arms in my country, though, I thank God, I could bring 1200 good men to the field for the king's service, if I had arms and other accoutrements for them. Therefore, my good lord, I earnestly entreat that, as you wish that I would do good service to the government on this critical occasion, you may order immediately a thousand stand of arms to be delivered to me and my clan at Inverness; and then your lordship shall see that I will exert myself for the king's service. Although I am entirely infirm myself these three or four months past, yet I have very pretty gentlemen of my family, that will lead my clan wherever I bid them for the king's service; and if we do not get these arms immediately, we will certainly be undone. For those madmen that are in arms with the pretended Prince of Wales threaten every day to burn and destroy my country, if we do not rise in arms and join them; so that my people cry out horridly that they have no arms to defend themselves, nor no protection nor support from the government. So I earnestly entreat your lordship may consider seriously on this; for it will be an essential and serious loss to the government, if my clan and kindred

ing schemes against the Lord President's life, continued, in his letters to him, to sign himself "your most affectionate cousin, and most faithful slave," and to express the most unqualified determination to remain faithful to King George. To Lochiel, at the same time, he wrote, "My service to the Prince; I will aid you what I can; but my prayers are all I can give at present." "Prayers from such a saint," observes Mahon, "must of course have been doubly precious!"

In the person of Lovat's son-in-law, Macpherson of Cluny, Charles obtained, however, a valuable accession of strength. Cluny, who pos-

be destroyed, who possess the centre of the Highlands of Scotland, and the countries most proper, by their situation, to save the king and government. . . . I hear that mad and unaccountable gentleman (Charles) has set up a standard at a place called Glenfinnin, Monday last." To the Lord President he writes on the 27th of August, "I own I must regret my dear cousin Lochiel, who, contrary to his promise to me, engaged in this mad enterprise; but if Sir John Cope is beat (which I think next to impossible) this desperate prince will be the occasion of much bloodshed, which I pray God may avert; for to have bloodshed in our bowels is a horrible thing to any man that loves Scotland, or has a good stake in it, as your lordship and I have. Therefore, I pray God that we may not have a civil war in Scotland." Lovat, as Walter Scott says, was at all times profuse of oaths and protestations, and more so than ever when he had determined in his own mind to break them.

sessed great influence in the counties of Aberdeen and Inverness, had been appointed by the government to the command of an independent company. He had been ordered by Cope to muster his clan; but, the day after that order reached him, he was taken prisoner in his own house by some Highlanders, and carried away to the Prince's camp, whence, after one or two interviews with Charles, he returned to raise his clan for the Stuarts. It has been said by some that Cluny's arrest was merely a device of his own contriving, but it would be difficult to assign any but the most childish motive for such an artifice, which could not possibly tend to exonerate him in the eyes of the government. To a friend, as an apology for his change, he said, that "even an angel could not resist such soothing close applications."

Indeed, the fascination of Charles's manners was felt by all who approached him, and no one could have been better fitted to keep alive the enthusiasm which his name had first kindled among the Highlanders. They "were delighted," says Mahon, "at his athletic form and untired energy. Like one of Homer's heroes, he

overtopped them all in stature,* and they found that he never required from them any hardship or exertion which he was not willing to share. Thus, at Dalwhinnie, he slept with them upon the open moor, covered only by his plaid. Every day he marched beside some one or other of their bands, inquiring into their national legends, or listening to their traditionary songs. At table, he partook only of their country dishes, seeming to prefer them to all others. He wished to be, as he said, 'a true Highlander,' and his few phrases of Gaelic were used whenever occasion offered. On the other hand, the simple and enthusiastic Highlanders were prepared to find, or to fancy, every possible merit in their long-expected prince. Upon the whole, it might be questioned, whether any chief has ever, in so short a period, so greatly endeared himself to his followers."

It was the night of the 8th of September that he spent at Dalwhinnie. The following day,

* One of Sir John Cope's spies from Perth describes the young Chevalier as "in a fine Highland dress, laced with gold, wears a bonnet laced, wears a broadsword, had a green ribband, but did not see the star; a well-made man, taller than any in his company."—(Sir John Cope to the Lord President, September 12, 1745).

taking advantage of Cope's march to Inverness, he possessed himself of the passes between Badenoch and Athol, and on the 10th he reached Blair, the seat of the Duke of Athol, who hastily fled at his approach; while the elder brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, resumed possession of his paternal halls, and gave a stately banquet to his ancient vassals, and to his young master.

At Blair, the Prince was joined by several gentlemen of distinction: by Mercer of Aldie; by Murray, the brother of the Earl of Dunmore; by Lord Strathallan and his son; by Oliphant of Gask, and by Lord Nairn, the son of the peer of the same name who was attainted and condemned to death in 1716; among others also, by John Roy Stewart, a skilful partisan, who had just arrived from the Continent, with numerous letters from persons of influence abroad, full of the most liberal promises of support. After a two days' halt, to rest his troops, Charles proceeded on his march, and, on the evening of the 14th, his advanced guard arrived at Perth; into which place he made his public entry on the following day, on horseback, and amid loud and general acclamations.

The occupation of Perth, coupled with Cope's retreat, spread exultation among the Jacobites and dismay among the adherents of the house of Hanover. Many people thought Scotland lost. Horace Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann, says: "The young Pretender, at the head of 3000 men, has got a march on General Cope, who is not 1800 strong, and, when the last accounts came away, was fifty miles nearer Edinburgh than Cope, and by this time is there. The clans will not rise for the government. I look upon Scotland as gone!"

Charles remained at Perth some days to drill his irregular bands, to recruit his exhausted treasury, and to allow time for more of his partisans to join his standard. He did not, as his father had done twenty years before, take up his quarters in the ancient palace of Scone, but lodged himself, during his stay at Perth, in an antique house in the town, belonging to Lord Stormont, the proprietor of Scone. Here, as elsewhere, he soon became exceedingly popular; while his fine person, his graceful deportment, and the winning affability of his manners, endeared him to the women of all classes, a circumstance which, there is little doubt, con-

tributed not a little to the rapidity of his early successes. To approach so amiable a prince, a prince of the old royal line, to obtain from him a gracious smile or a kind word, to kiss his hand, to be led out by him to a dance, or to receive from him a kiss on the cheek, was to the noblest dames an envied distinction.

Surrounded by so many auspicious circumstances it was that Charles had his father proclaimed at Perth, and shortly afterwards at Angus and Fife, as King James the Eighth. On the following Sunday (19th of September) the Prince attended divine service in a Presbyterian church, on which occasion the clergyman chose for his text the first and second verses of the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah :—" For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land: and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place; and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids: and they shall take them captives whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors."

The money which Charles had brought with him from France had been reduced, when he entered Perth, to one louis-d'or, which he showed to Kelly, observing, that his wants would soon be supplied now: a prediction which failed not to be speedily fulfilled. Dundee, Aberbrothwick, Montrose, and all the lowland towns north of the Tay, as far as Inverness, were now under his control; and the public taxes were collected throughout that part of the country by the agency of flying corps, who fulfilled their mission in a perfectly regular manner, except that, wherever they came, they set at liberty all persons confined for debt. The city of Perth paid the Prince 500*l.*, and many of his adherents, who had not joined him in person, sent him pecuniary assistance. Among these were a number of his partisans who resided at Edinburgh.

Some progress was made at Perth in drilling the troops. Charles not only held a grand review, at which he could not forbear smiling at the evolutions of some of his new recruits, but at an early hour every morning he rose to exercise his men; the ladies of Perth are even said to have taken it much amiss that, at a ball to which they

had invited him, he only danced one measure, and then made his bow and withdrew, alleging the necessity of visiting his sentry posts. By this constant attention to military duties, something like discipline was introduced among these irregular levies; but, to convert the Highland clans into well trained regiments, the time was wanting, and it is doubtful even, whether the men would not have lost as much as they would have gained by the change. The Highlanders were accustomed to attack the enemy with impetuosity; they fired with precision, and their accustomed arms, the target and claymore, of the use of which they were perfect masters, were not without their advantage, when opposed to an enemy wholly unacquainted with their use. With a few of the more general rules of military tactics, the Highlanders were soon made familiar, and they ardently longed to display their newly acquired knowledge in a general battle.

It was at Perth that Charles was joined by Lord George Murray, and by the Duke of Perth, at the head of two hundred of his men. The duke, as it has been related a few pages back, had had some difficulty to escape from arrest. He was a grandson of

Chancellor Drummond, of James the Second's time, had received a strictly Catholic education in France, and had spent the first twenty years of his life in that country. His manners were highly polished, and eminently calculated to please the Prince: the more so as the duke was a man of unquestionable courage. Charles, accordingly, appointed him his lieutenant-general: an appointment in which there would have been nothing to object to, if the duke had possessed distinguished abilities either as a statesman or a military leader; or if he had had modesty enough to feel his own deficiencies, and to allow himself to be guided by the abler men to be found at the Prince's head-quarters.

Among these abler men, Lord George Murray deserves especial mention. Like his brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, he had borne a share in the insurrection of 1715, and had been at the battle of Glenshiel in 1719. For some time afterwards, he served in the Sardinian army, but, having obtained a pardon from King George, he had returned to Scotland, where he had since lived quietly on his estate, had married, and was the father of a family. He had even applied for an appointment in the British army, which, however,

was refused him. Older than the Duke of Perth, he was in no way inferior to him in courage, and far excelled him in real experience and in natural ability. "None could vie with him," says Lord Mahon, "in planning a campaign, providing against disasters, or improving victory; yet so far was he from being a formal tactician or lover of strict rule, that he strongly advised the Prince to trust to the national weapons and mode of fighting of the Highlanders, with some improvements of discipline, rather than attempt to instruct them in any more scientific manœuvres."

To this nobleman Charles gave the rank of lieutenant-general, and appointed him to the command of the troops: an office for which his talents would have fully qualified him, had it not been for the waywardness of his temper, an impatience of contradiction, and a blunt and supercilious address. "A rivalry," continues Mahon, "almost immediately sprang up between him and the Duke of Perth, which, as we shall see, afterwards ripened into a quarrel very hurtful to their common cause. In these broils the part of the duke was always espoused by Secretary Murray, an able and active, but selfish and intriguing man, who expected to

wield a greater influence over Perth than over the superior genius of Lord George. Sir Thomas Sheridan also, whom Lord George once or twice fiercely rebuked for his ignorance of the British laws and constitution, became of course his personal enemy. On the day, therefore, on which the Jacobite army received in the person of Lord George Murray a leader of distinguished ability, the seed was sown of feuds and dissensions among those immediately about the Prince's person; and those feuds and dissensions could scarcely fail to ripen rapidly into open cabal and avowed animosity, the consequence of which must have been calamitous to any army, but particularly so to one circumstanced like that of Charles.

The two manifestoes of James, and the proclamation of Charles, drawn up at Paris, of which mention has already been made, were printed at Perth, and widely distributed. It was a long time, however, before he could be prevailed on to retaliate upon King George, by issuing a counter-proclamation, to set a price upon the "Elector of Hanover's head." For several days, Charles stubbornly refused to follow what he termed "a practice unusual among Christian princes;" and when

at length he yielded to the necessity of conciliating his officers, he refused to offer more than 30*l.* for the head of "a usurper." The jest, however, did not please his Highland friends, to gratify whom he was at length prevailed on to raise the proffered reward to 30,000*l.*, the sum which the British government had offered as a recompense for the life of Prince Charles. The document which he was so unwillingly induced to sign concluded with these words:—"Should any fatal accident happen from hence, let the blame lie entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example."

While at Perth, Charles was informed that General Cope, mortified at the descent of the Highlanders into the Lowlands, was directing his march from Inverness to Aberdeen, with the intention of embarking his army, and returning with it for the protection of the capital. To anticipate this movement, by seizing upon Edinburgh before Cope could arrive to the rescue, was immediately determined on by Charles. Having completed his preparations, he commenced his adventurous march on the 22d of September, at the head of his advanced guard, for it was no easy matter to make the Highlanders leave their

pleasant quarters at Perth. Their conduct there had, on the whole, been unexceptionable; and though the tax-gatherers were everywhere compelled to deliver up the public moneys to the "rightful" prince, yet private property was universally respected; and all the strangers who were attending the fair at Perth when Charles made his entrance there, received passports to protect their persons and goods from depredation. With several of them he courteously conversed; among others with a linen-draper from London, who was desired to inform his fellow-citizens, that they might expect to see their prince at St. James's in the course of two months. From Perth also he wrote to Lord Barrymore in London, urging the friends of the house of Stuart to renewed and strenuous exertions in favour of the cause.

The army had broken up from Perth. Before, however, we accompany Charles on his bold and adventurous march, we will here insert a letter which, on the day before his departure, he addressed to his father. This letter, in many respects, throws a strong light upon the character and views of our hero.*

* The first portion of the *Jacobite Memoirs*, under the title of "The Prince's Voyage in Scotland, and subsequent Movements,

"*Perth, Sept.* 10, 1745.

"SIR,—Since my landing, everything has succeeded to my wishes. It has pleased God to prosper me hitherto even beyond my expectations. I have got together thirteen hundred men; and am promised more brave determined men, who are resolved to die or conquer with me. The enemy marched a body of regular troops to attack me, but when they came near they changed their mind, and, by taking a different route and making forced marches, have escaped to the north, to the great disappointment of my Highlanders; but I am not at all sorry for it—I shall have the greater glory in beating them when

by Æneas Macdonald and Duncan Cameron," relates the events which followed the landing at Moidart, and closes with the departure from Perth. Only a few lines, however, are devoted to the Prince's stay in that city. On this point we obtain more information in the second portion, entitled "Marches of the Highland Army, by Lord George Murray, Commander-in-Chief." In this portion of the work the above letter from Charles to his father will be found. On the narrative of Lord George, which takes us as far as the battle of Culloden, the editor of the *Memoirs* very fairly remarks: "Lest it should appear that Lord George, in this narrative, too frequently and too warmly presses his own services upon our attention, it should be recollected that he wrote to a friend, not to the public; and was conscious of many false imputations being urged against him by his late companions in arms, which it was natural that he should rebut by all the means in his power."

they are more numerous and supported by their dragoons.

"I have occasion to reflect every day on your Majesty's last words to me, that I should find power, if tempered with justice and clemency, an easy thing to myself and not grievous to those under me. 'Tis owing to the observance of this rule, and to my conformity to the customs of these people, that I have got their hearts, to a degree not to be easily conceived by those who do not see it. One who observes the discipline I have established, would take my little army to be a body of picked veterans; and, to see the love and harmony that reigns amongst us, you would be apt to look on it as a large well-ordered family, in which every one loves another better than himself.

"I keep my health better in these wild mountains than I used to do in the Campagna Felice, and sleep sounder, lying on the ground, than I used to do in the palaces of Rome.

"There is one thing, and but one, in which I had any difference with my faithful Highlanders. It was about the price upon my kinsman's head, which, knowing your Majesty's generous humanity, I am sure will shock you, as it did me when I was shown the proclamation setting a price upon my

head. I smiled and treated it with the disdain I thought it deserved; upon which they flew into a violent rage, and insisted upon my doing the same by him. As this flowed solely from the poor men's love and concern for me, I did not know how to be angry with them for it, and tried to bring them to temper by representing that it was a mean barbarous principle among princes, and must dishonour them in the eyes of all men of honour; that I did not see how my cousin's having set me the example would justify me in imitating that which I blame so much in him. But nothing I could say would pacify them. Some went even so far as to say, 'Shall we venture our lives for a man who seems so indifferent of his own?' Thus have I been drawn in to do a thing for which I condemn myself.

"Your Majesty knows that in my nature I am neither cruel nor revengeful; and God, who knows my heart, knows that if the prince who has forced me to this (for it is he that has forced me) was in my power, the greatest pleasure I could feel would be in treating him as the Black Prince treated his prisoner, the King of France—to make him ashamed of having shown himself so inhuman an enemy to a man for attempting a thing, whom

he himself, if he had any spirit, would despise for not attempting.

"I beg your Majesty would be under no uneasiness about me. He is safe who is in God's protection. If I die, it shall be, as I lived, with honour; and the pleasure I take in thinking I have a brother, in all respects more worthy than myself to support your just cause, and rescue my country from the oppression under which it groans (if it will suffer itself to be rescued), makes life more indifferent to me. As I know and admire the fortitude with which your Majesty has supported your misfortunes, and the generous disdain with which you have rejected all offers of foreign assistance, on terms which you thought dishonourable to yourself and injurious to your country; if bold but interested friends should at this time take advantage of the tender affection with which they know you love me, I hope you will reject their proposals with the same magnanimity you have hitherto shown, and leave me to shift for myself, as Edward the Third left his brave son, when he was in danger of being oppressed by numbers in the field. No, sir, let it never be said that, to save your son, you injured your country. When

your enemies bring in foreign troops, and you reject all foreign assistance on dishonourable terms, your deluded subjects of England must see who is the true father of his people. For my own part, I declare, once for all, that, while I breathe, I will never consent to alienate one foot of land that belongs to the crown of England, or set my hand to any treaty inconsistent with its sovereignty and independency. If the English will have my life, let them take it if they can; but no unkindness on their part shall ever force me to do a thing that may justify them in taking it. I may be overcome by my enemies, but I will not dishonour myself; if I die, it shall be with my sword in my hand, fighting for the liberty of those who fight against me.

"I know there will be fulsome addresses from the different corporations of England; but I hope they will impose upon none but the lower and more ignorant people. They will, no doubt, endeavour to revive all the errors and excesses of my grandfather's unhappy reign, and impute them to your Majesty and me, who had no hand in them, and suffered most by them. Can anything be more unreasonable than to suppose that

your Majesty, who is so sensible of, and has so often considered, the fatal errors of your father, would, with your eyes open, go and repeat them again?

"Notwithstanding the repeated assurance your Majesty has given in your declaration that you will not invade any man's property, they endeavour to persuade the unthinking people, that one of the first things they are to expect will be to see the public credit destroyed; as if it would be your interest to render yourself contemptible in the eyes of all the nations of Europe, and all the kingdoms you hope to reign over, poor at home and insignificant abroad. They no doubt try to frighten the present possessors of church and abbey lands with vain terrors, as if your Majesty's intention was to resume them all; not considering that you have lived too long in a Catholic country, and read the history of England too carefully, not to have observed the many melancholy monuments to be seen there of the folly of those pious princes, who, thinking to honour religion, have lessened it by keeping superstitious rites in the church, whereby they have insensibly raised up a power which has too often proved an over-match for their successors.

"I find it a great loss that the brave Lord Marishal is not with me. His character is very high in this country, and it must be so wherever he is known. I had rather see him than a thousand French, who if they should come only as friends to assist your Majesty in the recovery of your just rights, the weak people would believe came as invaders.

"There is one man in this country whom I could wish to have my friend, and that is the Duke of Argyle, who, I find, is in great credit amongst them, on account of his great abilities and quality, and has many dependants by his large fortune; but I am told I can hardly flatter myself with the hopes of it. The hard usage which his family has received from ours, has sunk deep into his mind. What have those princes to answer for, who by their cruelties have raised enemies, not only to themselves but to their innocent children?

"I must not close this letter without doing justice to your Majesty's Protestant subjects, who, I find, are as zealous in your cause as the Roman Catholics, which is what Dr. Wagstaff has often told me I should find when I came to try them.

I design to march to-morrow, and hope my next shall be from Edinburgh.

"I am your Majesty's, &c. &c."

It can scarcely be necessary to direct the reader's attention to the fact, that maxims of government are adopted in this letter very different from any by which the monarchs of the Stuart dynasty had been guided. For Charles, at least, there is every reason to believe that the past had not been a barren instructor; nor is it possible to read the unstudied effusions of the preceding letter, which was never calculated for the public eye, without feeling that it speaks the sentiments of an upright and a truly noble mind.

## CHAPTER XI.

PANIC IN EDINBURGH—CHARLES GAINS POSSESSION OF THE CITY WITHOUT RESISTANCE—HE TAKES UP HIS RESIDENCE IN HOLYROOD PALACE.

AT Dumblane Charles was joined by the remainder of his army, with which he arrived on the 24th of September at the Fords of Frew, on the Forth, about eight miles above Stirling. The Forth, which had offered an insurmountable obstacle to the Earl of Mar, was passed by Charles and his Highlanders without difficulty, the river being low, in consequence of dry autumnal weather; while a party of Gardiner's dragoons, stationed to defend the ford, galloped away to Leith, without making the slightest attempt to impede the Highlanders. Charles could not have attempted to cross the Forth below Stirling, several English ships of war being stationed at the head of the Frith; nor could he have made his way over

Stirling Bridge, which was commanded by the guns of the castle. As his army marched by Stirling Castle, several cannon-shot were fired, aimed, it is said, at the Prince himself, but without doing mischief to anybody. The town readily opened its gates, and furnished the troops with provisions, which were paid for in ready money. The strictest discipline was maintained by the exertions of the chiefs; and so far was this carried, that Lochiel, with his own hand, instantly shot a Highlander whom he detected in the act of plundering.

After crossing the plain of Bannockburn, the army reached Falkirk on the evening of the 25th; there Charles was entertained at Callender House, the adjoining seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock, who hailed him as his sovereign, and assured him of his future services. The earl apprised Charles that the dragoons intended to dispute the passage of Linlithgow Bridge next day; whereupon Charles, hoping to surprise them, sent forward Lord George Murray with a thousand Highlanders. The nest, however, was found empty. The dragoons had decamped, and Lord George took quiet possession of the town and ancient palace of Linlithgow,

where the Prince soon after arrived in person, his entrance into Linlithgow assuming all the characteristics of a popular festivity, in consequence of the enthusiasm with which the inhabitants received him. The vanguard, in the mean time, pushed on to Kirkliston, only eight miles from Edinburgh.

Since their departure from Perth, Charles and his Highlanders had been constantly marching over ground memorable in Scottish history. Near Dumblane, thirty years previously, the battle of Sheriffmuir had been fought by the fathers of those who now followed the standard of Charles; and many even of those who now marched along to assert the rights of the Stuarts to their ancestral throne, had shed their blood upon that ground in vindication of the same cause. At Bannockburn, under Robert Bruce, the freedom of Scotland had been achieved. The battlements of Stirling had guarded the cradle of James VI.; the Forth had often presented an insuperable barrier against the incursions of the wild Highlander; and the castle of Linlithgow had been the birth-place of the ill-fated Mary, and afterwards her residence during the few brief intervals of peaceful sovereignty that marked her unhappy reign. "Even a

passing stranger could never gaze on such scenes without emotion, still less any one intent on like deeds of chivalrous renown, least of all the youthful heir of Robert Bruce, and of the long line of Stuart kings." The most memorable epoch of his own life was, however, at hand; for, on the 28th of September, Edinburgh, the ancient capital of the Stuarts, stood exposed to his delighted gaze, as he ascended the heights of Corstorphine.

Since the arrival of the first certain intelligence of the Prince's landing, the capital had been agitated by a constant alternation of confidence and terror, according to the various rumours that arrived. The first news excited but little apprehension, and the Jacobite party did what they could to confirm the feeling of security to which the inhabitants of Edinburgh abandoned themselves. James Macgregor returned to Edinburgh from Lochaber on the 5th of September, and, being called upon by the authorities to communicate every information he had received respecting the Jacobite army, he endeavoured to represent the whole enterprise as an insignificant one; while he was, in secret, printing and circulating the proclamations of James and Charles. On the 11th of September,

news was received of Cope's march to Inverness, and of Charles's descent from the mountains, and all but the Jacobites were struck with consternation at the intelligence. About the same time, Macgregor disappeared, to join the prince at Dumblane, and the fugitive Duke of Athol arrived from Blair to render a more correct account of the state of affairs.

The government newspaper, the Edinburgh Evening Courant, continued indeed to speak of the Highlanders with contempt, as "a pitiful ignorant crew, good for nothing, and incapable of giving any reason for their proceedings, but talking only of snishing (tobacco), King Jamesh, ta Rashant (the Regent), plunter and new progues;" but this assumed confidence was belied by the preparations that were anxiously made for the defence of the city. The magistrates returned to their previous sense of confidence, on the arrival of one of Sir John Cope's captains, who came to require that transports should be sent to Aberdeen, for the embarkation of the troops. The transports sailed on the 21st, and from this time the good burghers were continually looking to the vanes and weathercocks, as though they were conscious

that their destiny hung upon the winds. This last hope, however, soon deserted them, on hearing that Charles had crossed the Forth, that the government troops had again fled before him, and that he was now only a few miles from the gates of the city, and no security remained for the partisans of the reigning dynasty but in their own brave defence of the place.

The circumstances of Edinburgh at the time were little calculated to facilitate such a defence. The south side of the town was defended only by an old wall, of very unequal height and strength, with parapets too narrow to allow of cannon being mounted upon them, and in many places little stronger than a common garden wall. On the north side, there was a broad ditch (the North Loch) in many places completely dry, and a few additional works, hasty, slight, and incomplete, thrown up under the direction of Professor Maclaurin, bore too evidently the stamp of the hurry in which they had been constructed, to furnish any very efficient means of defence. "The defenders," says Lord Mahon, "were still more contemptible than the defences. There was a Town Guard, the value of which may sufficiently be estimated from

their conduct in the Porteous mob. (See Scott's Heart of Mid Lothian.) There were Trained Bands of militia, but these had never been called out since the Revolution, except for a yearly parade on his Majesty's birthday, and a dinner afterwards. There were also some volunteers, who had offered their services at this crisis; but their numbers never exceeded four hundred, and they required to be taught the first elements of military discipline." Home, in his History of the Rebellion, gives a humorous account of the valorous display of the Edinburgh volunteers, who showed very little real disposition to face the wild Highlandmen; but, in judging of the conduct of those holiday soldiers, one important fact must be borne in mind, namely, that many of them were, in secret, more disposed to wish well to the house of Stuart than to that of Hanover; and no one really knew to what extent the Jacobite feeling prevailed among the majority of the inhabitants.

The events that followed were such as might have been anticipated from such defences and such defenders. The dragoons having retired to Corstorphine, within three miles of the city, it was resolved that detachments of the city-

guard and volunteers should be sent out to support them. This plan had been recommended by General Guest, the commandant of the castle of Edinburgh, who imagined that the two regiments of horse would make a great impression, if they had only a body of foot with them to draw off the enemy's fire. It was arranged that all the volunteers should repair to the Lawn-market, under arms, whenever the fire-bell of the town was rung. This alarum was sounded on Sunday (Sept. 26), during church-time, and, according to Scott, "instead of rousing the hearts of the volunteers like a trumpet, it rather reminded them of a passing knell. Nevertheless, they mustered in the market-place, while Hamilton's regiment of horse was on its way through the city, to join Gardiner's men at Corstorphine. The volunteers hailed the dragoons with loud huzzas, and the dragoons replied by similar expressions of alacrity, and by clashing their swords, in token of their ardour for battle; but, at these martial sounds, the mothers, wives, and sweethearts of the volunteers came pouring out of the churches, mixed in the ranks, and implored them with tears not

to think of risking their precious Christian lives against a beggarly heathenish set of Highlanders."

There is nothing, as Sir Walter Scott truly observes, of which men are more easily persuaded than of the extreme value of their own lives, particularly on an occasion like that here referred to, when few feel any real enthusiasm for the cause they are engaged in, and many are in secret wishing for the failure of their own party. A clergyman, who happened to be present, supplied a new argument by declaring that such brave men ought not to go forth, but ought rather to reserve themselves for the defence of the city. The sense of shame, however, prevailed, and the volunteers commenced their march; but, at the corner of every street they passed, the ranks grew thinner; and, when their commander arrived at the city gate, he was surprised to find himself at the head of only a dozen or two of men. One of their own number afterwards compared their course to that of the Rhine, "a noble river as it rolls its waves to Holland, but which, being then continually drawn off by little canals, becomes only a small

rivulet, and is almost lost in the sands before it reaches the ocean."

The conduct of the regular troops was not, however, of a nature to put the citizen soldiers to the blush. The dragoons had withdrawn from Corstorphine, and had been posted at Coltbridge, a little nearer to Edinburgh. There, on the Monday morning, they were reconnoitred by a party of mounted gentlemen from the Highland army. These, as they rode up, fired their pistols, in the usual manner of skirmishers. An unaccountable panic immediately seized the dragoons; and the officers, after vainly endeavouring to check the men, joined in the shameful flight. In half an hour the inhabitants of Edinburgh, according to their respective political principles, were dismayed or rejoiced to see the dragoons galloping along, in the greatest confusion, over the ground now occupied by the New Town. Neither orders nor menaces could arrest their flight. Their first halt was at Preston, where they were quartered for the night, near the house of their afflicted chief, Colonel Gardiner. After dark, however, a man going in quest of forage fell accidentally into a pit full of water, and his

cries for assistance being mistaken for an alarm that the Highlanders were coming, his comrades immediately mounted again, and galloped on through the night, never stopping till they reached the shore of Dunbar. Such was the far-famed "Canter of Colt Brigg," as this disgraceful flight has been popularly called, which was calculated to dissipate in the minds of the burghers of Edinburgh the little confidence that was still remaining.

Even previously to the desertion of the regular troops, the city had been greatly alarmed by a message brought by a gentleman of the name of Alves, who had been to the Jacobite army, where he said he had seen the Duke of Perth, to whom he was personally known. "The Duke desired me," said Mr. Alves, "to inform the citizens of Edinburgh, that if they opened their gates their town should be favourably treated; but that if they attempted resistance they must expect military execution; and his Grace ended by addressing a young man near him with the title of Royal Highness, and desiring to know if such were not his pleasure, to which the other assented." This message Mr. Alves delivered

publicly, for which he was committed to prison, but not before the effect of his imprudence or treachery had been produced. The citizens, especially after what they had seen of the dragoons, were satisfied that all attempts to defend the city must be useless, though likely to draw down upon themselves the most disastrous consequences. The Jacobites, meanwhile, were diligently intent on turning the panic in the public mind to the profit of their own party. The provost called a meeting of the magistracy, to deliberate on the question, whether the town should or should not be defended. The officers of the crown had been invited, but many of them, anticipating the issue of the affair, had wisely betaken themselves out of town. On the other hand, many unauthorised persons had pressed in amid the general confusion, and were not the less busily engaged in heightening the general feeling of alarm. Crowds were, at the same time, assembling in the streets, excited by the most opposite feelings of curiosity, hope, fear and joy. At the meeting called by the provost, very few voices were heard to advocate a defence of the city, and in the height of their clamorous

debate, a letter, addressed to the provost and town-council, was handed in at the door, and, on being opened, was found to be couched in the following words:—

"Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of His Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the town-council, and take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But, if you suffer any of the usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition now in it, (whether belonging to the public or to private persons,) to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a heinous offence against the King and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of His Majesty's subjects; but, if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved, at any rate, to enter the city, and in that case, if any of the

inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war.

"CHARLES, P.R."

The provost had, in the first instance, protested against allowing the letter to be read; but he was overruled, and, when the contents had been heard, it was evident that some resolution ought forthwith to be adopted. It was impossible, however, to bring the discordant elements into anything like agreement, and the meeting broke up after a middle course had been determined on, namely, to send out a deputation to the Prince, entreating a suspension of hostilities, and time for full deliberation. The deputation found the Prince at Gray's Mill, within two miles of the city, and returned about ten in the evening with a fresh letter, in which a positive reply was demanded before two o'clock the next morning. In the mean time, an express had arrived, with news that Cope's transports were in sight of Dunbar, and that the general would immediately land his men, and proceed to the relief of the city.

A few hours' delay was, therefore, of the utmost importance, and the great object with the town-

council was to gain time. A second deputation was, accordingly, sent to Gray's Mill, but the Prince refused to admit them to his presence; for the same reasons that rendered procrastination desirable to his opponents, caused it to be of importance to him to make the best use of his time. He felt that that night something decisive must be done. He spent it, as may easily be supposed, in great agitation. He slept for about two hours, but without undressing; and was fully determined to make himself master of the town by daybreak, either by assault or surprise.

It was about five in the morning. The deputies had returned from their ineffectual mission, and the hired vehicle, which had conveyed them to Gray's Mill and back, was on its way to the suburb of the Canongate, where the owner's stables were situated. That suburb was then separated from the town by the walls and the strong gate called the Nether Bow. The sentinels knew the carriage, and the service in which it had been engaged, and opened the gate to allow the driver to pass through. Charles had sent forward Lochiel, with five hundred Camerons, to watch for a favourable opportunity.

Murray of Broughton, well acquainted with the localities of Edinburgh, accompanied the party as a guide; and a cask of powder was taken with them, to blow in one of the gates if necessary. Arriving, without discovery, at the Nether Bow, they were lying there in ambush at the very time when the gate was opened to let out the coach of the deputies to the Mill. One of Lochiel's party, pretending to be an English officer's servant, had just before solicited permission to enter, but had been driven back by menaces to fire on him if he did not immediately withdraw. Lochiel was, in consequence, just on the point of drawing off his men to some easier point of attack; but no sooner did the massy portals unclose, than the foremost Highlanders rushed in, seized the guards, secured the guard-house, while Colonel O'Sullivan sent small parties round to the other gates, which were likewise secured without bloodshed or disturbance. It passed as quietly, says Home, as one guard relieves another; and, when the inhabitants of Edinburgh awoke in the morning, they found the Highlanders were masters of the city.

At daybreak, the Camerons marched up to the Cross. A few shots were fired at them from the

Castle, but without doing any mischief. The conduct of the Highlanders was exemplary. They had been enjoined to abstain from spirits, and they obeyed the order faithfully, though they remained drawn up at the Cross from five till eleven, during which time whisky was repeatedly offered them. Not a single man quitted the ranks; and these same Highlanders, who had been described to the inhabitants as rude savages, intent only on plunder, displayed a degree of discipline which had been supposed altogether inconsistent with their mode of warfare. At noon, another striking spectacle was presented to the inhabitants of Edinburgh. At the old Cross, already so renowned in Scottish annals, the heralds and pursuivants, in their ancient and gorgeous official costume, came forward to proclaim King James VIII., and to read the royal declarations and commissions of regency, which were received by the populace with the loudest acclamations. The wild music of the pibrochs mingled with the shouts of the crowd; a thousand fair hands waved white handkerchiefs in honour of the day, from the neighbouring windows and balconies; and Mrs. Murray of Broughton, a lady of distin-

guished beauty, sat on horseback near the Cross, with a drawn sword in one hand, and with the other distributing white cockades, the symbol of attachment to the house of Stuart.

The excited multitude, however, had not yet beheld the hero of the day. It was not till noon that Charles set forth to take possession of Holyrood House, the palace of his ancestors. To arrive there, it was necessary to make a considerable round, in order to avoid the guns of the Castle. He entered the King's Park by a breach which had been made in the wall, and proceeded towards the palace by the Duke's Walk, so termed because it had been the favourite resort of his grandfather, James II., when he resided in Scotland, as Duke of York, some years before his accession to the throne. Thus far Charles had proceeded on foot, but the gathering and impatient crowd pressed around with such eagerness to kiss his hand or touch his garments, that he was forced to mount on horseback, when he continued his way, with the Duke of Perth on one side and Lord Elcho, who had joined him the preceding night, on the other. His noble mien and his graceful horsemanship, says Mahon, could not fail to strike

even the most indifferent spectators; and they were scarcely less pleased at his national dress—a tartan coat, a blue bonnet with a white cockade, and a star of the order of St. Andrew. With fonder partiality, the Jacobites compared his features to those of his ancestor, Robert Bruce, or sought some other resemblance among the pictures of his ancestors that still decorate the gallery of Holyrood. The joy of the adherents of his house knew no bounds. The air resounded with their acclamations; and as he rode onward, "his boots were dimmed with their kisses and tears." As they arrived in front of Holyrood House, the garrison of the Castle attempted to arrest the procession by firing a cannon-ball upon the palace. It did but little injury, however, only striking obliquely a part of James the Fifth's tower, and then falling into the court-yard, followed by a quantity of rubbish, without for a moment impeding the entrance of Charles into Holyrood. He was met at the porch by James Hepburn of Keith, who had taken an active part in the affair of 1715, but had since lived in retirement, respected by all parties, "as a model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour,'

though known to be a devoted partisan of the Stuarts. This gentleman, the first that joined Charles at Edinburgh, now stepped from the crowd, drew his sword, and marshalled his Prince up the stairs. The palace of his ancestors was found by Charles nearly in the same condition in which his grandfather had left it, with the exception of the Catholic chapel, which had been destroyed by the populace in 1688. The long deserted chambers were that evening enlivened by a ball; and, as on the eve of another great battle,

> "The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
> A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
> Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
> Soft eyes look'd love to eyes which spake again,
> And all went merry as a marriage bell."

The fatigues of the preceding days, and the anxiety that could not but be felt with respect to the coming battle, were alike unable to depress the buoyant spirits of Charles, or to impair his natural vivacity and power of pleasing. The enthusiasm of the ladies was unbounded, and many a fair waverer was perhaps confirmed in her devotion to the house of Stuart, by the graceful dancing of so handsome a representative of Scotland's rightful kings.

## CHAPTER XII.

CHARLES MARCHES TO MEET COPE — THE VICTORY OF PRESTONPANS SUBJECTS ALL SCOTLAND TO THE AUTHORITY OF CHARLES — HIS POPULARITY.

THIS day of jubilee was followed by one devoted to more serious cares. The army of Charles had lately been strengthened by the arrival of a great number of distinguished men, among whom, it is true, were many who were induced to join him, less by personal devotion than by an unconquerable aversion to the Union. Among his new adherents were the Earl of Kellie, Lord Elcho, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stuart Threipland, Sir David Murray, and a number of Lowland gentlemen, whose names were of value to the cause. Lord Elcho brought the prince a present of 500*l.* from his father, whose age alone kept him from the field; and the magazine of Edinburgh furnished him with a thousand muskets that had served to arm the

redoubtable volunteers. The Prince was now in a condition to pay his troops regularly; and many of the mountaineers, who had hitherto been armed only with a pistol or dagger, and sometimes only with a scythe or a club, were now equipped in a more regular manner.

He imposed upon the city a requisition for tents, targets, shoes, and canteens. Of the citizens of Edinburgh few joined his army: a circumstance which may be quite as reasonably attributed to the unwarlike character of which the good burghers had given such recent proof, as to any strong feeling against the cause. On the very day after his entrance, however, Lord Nairn, who had been left in the north to gather reinforcements, arrived with five hundred men of the clan Mac Lauchlan, with their chief, and other Highlanders from Athol. The whole of his force was reviewed by Charles on the same day, and he announced to them his intention of leading them against Sir John Cope, and giving him battle: an announcement received by officers and men with the greatest satisfaction.

Sir John Cope, who had been unable to save Edinburgh, was now anxious at least to effect a

reprisal. He had landed with his troops at Dunbar on the same day on which the Highland army had entered the capital, and, including the reinforcements lately received, he was at the head of a force of about 2200 men, well provided with every military appointment, anxious to retrieve the past, and animated, apparently with the most perfect contempt of their Highland antagonists. On the 30th of September, Cope encamped at Haddington, and continued his march on the following morning, in expectation that the Highlanders would choose the high-road. Two Edinburgh volunteers, whom he sent forward to reconnoitre, might have undeceived him, but were taken prisoners; so that the general, who was constantly looking for the appearance of the Highlanders in front of him, suddenly, on the 1st of October, perceived them to the south, and in the rear of his army. He immediately drew up his men in order of battle, his infantry forming the centre, with a regiment of dragoons and three pieces of artillery on each wing. His right was covered by Colonel Gardiner's park wall, and by the village of Preston; Seton House was at some distance on his left; and the sea, with the

villages of Prestonpans and Cockenzie, lay in his rear.

Charles left Edinburgh during the night of the 30th of September, and held a council of war at Duddingstone, where he had an opportunity of satisfying himself of the martial ardour of his followers. He asked how the men would be likely to behave when opposed to regular troops. Keppoch, who had served in the French army, answered in the name of his brother chiefs that, as the country had been so long at peace, few or none of the private men had ever seen a battle, and it was not easy, therefore, to say how they would behave; but he would venture to assure his Royal Highness that the gentlemen would be in the midst of the enemy, and the men, as they loved the cause, and loved their chiefs, would certainly follow. When, however, the Prince announced his intention to lead his troops in person, on the day of battle, a general outcry ensued. They told him that their own safety and that of the cause centred in his person, and that if he were killed it could matter little to them whether the battle terminated in a victory or a defeat. When Charles persisted, they

threatened to return home and make the best terms they could for themselves. He was obliged to yield, and it was only with some difficulty that he could obtain their sanction to his leading the second line.

Early the next morning, the Highlanders commenced their march in the confident anticipation of victory. Placing himself at their head, Charles drew his sword, saying, "Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard;" and his words were answered by loud and enthusiastic cheers. His troops amounted to 2500 men, but of these many were irregularly and incompletely armed; while their cavalry scarcely amounted to fifty men, being composed of some gentlemen and their retainers on horseback. They had only one piece of artillery, an old iron gun, of no use except to be fired as a signal for march; and the Prince would fain have left it behind as a useless incumbrance, but the chiefs pleaded the prejudices of their followers in favour of the "musket's mother," as they were in the habit of calling it.

When the two armies came in sight of each other, the Highlanders occupied a small eminence, separated by a deep morass from the enemy.

Though it was already three o'clock in the afternoon, Charles would willingly have gratified the ardour of his men by leading them immediately against the English, but Mr. Ker, of Gordon, having reconnoitred the ground, reported the morass to be impracticable, and the contemplated attack was necessarily abandoned. The Highlanders were in great fear that Cope would again escape them, as he had done at Corry Arrack; and, to relieve this apprehension, Lord Nairn, with five hundred men, moved a little to the west to observe the Edinburgh road.

Sir John Cope, satisfied of the strength of his position, remained inactive, as though it had been his policy to keep upon the defensive. This cautious conduct had the effect of damping the courage of his men; and, in the evening, he left his soldiers to spend a cold night encamped upon the ground, while he retired himself to a house at a little distance, in the village of Cockenzie, where comfortable quarters had been provided for him. Charles, on the contrary, spent the night with his Highlanders in the open air, in a field of peas, made up into ricks. He had taken a hasty meal at the little inn of the village of Tranent, whither

he had been accompanied by the Duke of Perth and another officer. The little anecdote was long fondly preserved in the memory of the people of the place. Charles and his followers had some coarse kail or broth, and the meat from which it had been made. The landlady, in fear of the Highlanders, had concealed her little service of pewter, and could supply her distinguished guests only with one knife and two wooden spoons between the three.

A council had been held that evening, at which it had been determined to make an attack the next morning at all hazards. One of those who had been present at the council, Anderson of Whitburgh, and who was well acquainted with the country, suddenly bethought himself, during the night, of a path that led from the hill on which they were encamped, round the worst part of the morass, and into the plain. This important fact was communicated to Lord George Murray, who immediately went with Anderson to the Prince. Charles received the news with the greatest delight. Anderson undertook to act as guide; Lord Nairn and his detachment were recalled; and preparations were made, with as

little bustle as possible, for the immediate execution of the plan. The darkness of the night, and after day-break a chilling mist, concealed the movement of the Highlanders till they had reached the plain, the path by which they moved along having been found entirely unguarded. Here a dispute arose between the clans of Macdonald, Cameron, and Stuart, for the honour of forming the right wing, a distinction which was at length yielded, though reluctantly to the Macdonalds. Some piquets of dragoons gave the alarm, when the Highlanders began to form in the plain; but a surprise had formed no part of Charles's plan, and he therefore drew his men up leisurely, and, putting himself at the head of the second line, addressed them in these words: "Follow me, gentlemen, and, by the blessing of God, I will this day make you a free and happy people."

As the mist rolled away before the glorious sun of the 2nd of October, the two armies stood revealed to each other. After a short prayer, pronounced with uncovered heads, the Highlanders drew their bonnets over their brows, the bagpipes gave the signal for attack, and, each clan forming a separate mass, they rushed upon the

enemy with a wild cry that rose gradually into a terrific yell. The Camerons and Stuarts rushed upon the artillery, running up to the very muzzles of the guns, and driving away the sailors who had been taken from the fleet to serve as artillerymen. Colonel Gardiner did what he could to stimulate his dragoons to retrieve their character; but the unwonted spectacle of the Highlanders, with their loud yells, their flying plaids, and their waving claymores, as they came rushing to the attack, soon spread a panic among the heroes of Coltbrigg, who galloped away in all directions. The right wing, formed by Hamilton's dragoons, was routed nearly at the same moment by the Macdonalds. The English infantry was now left uncovered on both its flanks, but continued to pour a well-directed fire upon the Highlanders, who lost some of their best men in consequence. Among these was James Macgregor, the son of the celebrated Rob Roy. He fell from the effect of five wounds, but, after he had fallen, he continued to animate his men. The Highlanders meanwhile rushed in upon the infantry with their targets and claymores, while Lochiel and Clanranald threw themselves upon the unprotected

flanks. The troops were speedily thrown into confusion, but the position which their general had chosen for them, with a park wall in their rear, impeded their retreat. So impetuous was the onset, that the brunt of the battle was over in five or six minutes. Charles, meanwhile, regardless of his promise not to expose himself to danger, had kept within fifty paces of the vanguard.

A more complete victory could scarcely have been gained. Not more than 170 of Cope's infantry effected their escape. Four hundred of his army were killed, among whom none was more lamented than the gallant Colonel Gardiner, who, when deserted by his own cowardly dragoons, placed himself at the head of a body of infantry, where a few minutes afterwards he was cut down by a Highlander with a scythe, and died close to the wall of his own park. The prisoners were between six and seven hundred; while the whole loss of the Jacobites did not exceed thirty killed, and seventy wounded. Charles's next care was for the wounded of both armies. Indeed, his humanity in this respect, on this and on every similar occasion, has been admitted by all parties. He remained on the field of battle till

noon, and left it only after every necessary order had been given that proper relief should be administered to the wounded of both armies indifferently.

The Highlanders were no sooner secure of their victory than they dispersed in search of plunder. The standards and other trophies were brought to the Prince, together with the military chest, containing about 2500*l*. Every other kind of spoil was appropriated by the men to their own use. Many an article of familiar use in civilised life excited alternately the scorn and wonder of the rude mountaineers. The horses became the objects of their blind fury, under an impression that the creatures had been trained to bite and tear in battle. A watch was soon disposed of by its new owner for a trifle, as an animal that "had lived no time after he had caught her," the machinery having stopped for want of being wound up; and, in the streets of Perth, a parcel of chocolate was shortly afterwards offered for sale under the name of "Johnnie Cope's salve." One man exchanged a horse for a horse-pistol; uncouth old Highlanders might be seen strutting about in the fine clothes of English officers; and

a great many, without leave or notice, started for their mountain homes to secure the spoil which they had collected.

The battle of the 2nd of October, which placed all Scotland under the authority of Charles, with the exception of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and a few trifling garrisons on the borders of the Highlands, is known in history as the battle of Preston, or Prestonpans. By the Jacobites it was called the battle of Gladsmuir, though Gladsmuir, a large open heath, is situated more than a mile distant from the scene of contest; but there existed an ancient prophecy, of the date of 1615, which said "on Gladsmuir shall the battle be," and out of respect for the legend, the unsuitable appellation was bestowed. The night after the battle was passed by Charles at Pinkie House, near Edinburgh, and, on the next ensuing evening, he returned once more to his ancestral palace of Holyrood. A few days after the battle, Charles addressed the following letter to his father:—

"*Edinburgh, Oct. 7, O.S.*, 1745.

"It is impossible for me to give you a distinct journal of my proceedings, because of my being

so much hurried with business, which allows me no time; but, notwithstanding, I cannot let slip this occasion of giving a short account of the battle of Gladsmuir, fought on the 21st of September (O.S.), which was one of the most surprising actions that ever was. We gained a complete victory over General Cope, who commanded 3000 foot, and two regiments of the best dragoons in the island; he being advantageously posted, with also batteries of cannon and mortars, we having neither horse nor artillery with us, and being to attack them in their post, and obliged to pass before their noses in a defile and bog. Only our first line had occasion to engage; for actually in five minutes the field was cleared of the enemies; all the foot killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and of the horse only 200 escaped, like rabbits, one by one. On our side, we only lost a hundred men, between killed and wounded; and the army afterwards had a fine plunder."

## CHAPTER XIII.

SIEGE OF THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH BY THE REBEL ARMY—THE SIEGE ABANDONED—CHARLES REFUSES TO ALLOW REPRISALS ON ENGLISH PRISONERS.

BEFORE we accompany Charles back to the palace of his ancestors, where he was now in a condition to hold his court under much more favourable circumstances than before the battle of Preston, it may be as well to cast a hasty glance at the state of affairs in England and France. The growing insurrection in Scotland had recalled George II. from his electorate to London, where he arrived on the 11th of September. His ministers, in the mean time, had been diligent in their endeavours to arrest the progress of the enterprising young Prince. By the exertions of President Forbes, Lord Lovat, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Mac Leod of Mac Leod, had been deterred from at least all active

participation in the rising; by which means, it was estimated, ten thousand men had been prevented from arraying themselves under the Jacobite standard. A requisition had been addressed to the Dutch for 6000 auxiliaries, which they were, by treaty, bound to furnish, and which arrived shortly after the battle of Preston. Three battalions of the guards and seven regiments of infantry were recalled from Flanders, for the defence of England. These troops, under the command of Marshal Wade, were immediately marched towards the north of England, Wade being directed to collect as many troops as he could at Newcastle. The militia of several counties was called out, but the spirit of the people nowhere seemed to respond to the zeal and energy displayed by the government. The population could not be said to show any open favour to the cause of the Stuarts; but there seemed to be a cold indifference as to the issue of the struggle. Henry Fox, a member of the ministry, and a man by no means of a desponding character, in a letter to Sir C. H. Williams, dated the 5th of September, says:—"England, Wade says, and I believe, is for the first comer;

and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch, and the ten battalions of English, or 5000 French or Spaniards will be here first, you know our fate." Writing to the same gentleman a fortnight later, he says:—"The French are not come, God be thanked! but, had 5000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle."

Amid the contests of faction, it was difficult for King George to arrive at the truth. The fallen minister, Lord Granville, who still enjoyed in no small degree the confidence of his royal master, sought to represent the enterprise of Charles as one of little real importance; while the Duke of Newcastle, as we are told by Horace Walpole, was glad when the rebels made any progress, in order to confute Lord Granville's assertions.

On the 28th of October Parliament met, and the Habeas Corpus Act was immediately suspended. Several persons suspected of Jacobitism were arrested. The troops that returned from the Low Countries were placed under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, the king's second son; the regiments were raised to their full complements; and, as apprehensions were entertained of a landing

of French troops, a fleet was collected in the Downs under Admiral Vernon, who was ordered to watch the movements of the enemy, and particularly to keep a vigilant eye upon the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne.

In proportion as the British government observed with uneasiness the conduct of France, in the same proportion did Charles look to that country with hope and expectation. After the first successes that had attended the enterprise of the victorious Stuart, and favoured as he was in England by the zeal of his own partisans and the general apathy of the rest of the nation, there is but little doubt that it depended only on France to replace the ancient dynasty upon the British throne—an event which could not but give to the French government an immense influence over the counsels of England. Much, therefore, as Charles may have wished to restore his father to the throne without the military intervention of any foreign power, it is not the less certain that the interests of France made it incumbent on the French government to leave no effort untried to secure his success.

Notwithstanding the unexampled success that

had accompanied him, from his landing in Scotland to his triumph at Preston, his position remained one that afforded him no security against reverses equally striking. The rapid attainment of his end was the only attainment that was possible; and, therefore, however glad he might have been to reconquer the throne without foreign aid, he could not but see the necessity of some powerful assistance to enable him to make himself master of London. On leaving France, he had charged the Duke de Bouillon to advocate his cause at the court of Louis, and the Duke had discharged his mission with fidelity and zeal. The successes of Charles in Scotland heightened the interest which his cause excited in France. After the victory of Preston, he sent Mr. Kelly and Sir James Stewart to the court of Versailles and to his father. Those gentlemen were commissioned to acquaint the King of France with the details of the battle, and to give such an account of affairs in Scotland, as might induce the French government to abandon the part of an inactive spectator of the stirring events of which Great Britain was at that moment the theatre. Nor were these efforts

unattended by some partial effect. Money and arms were from time to time sent by the French government to Scotland; and, though many of the vessels employed for that purpose fell into the hands of English cruisers, others arrived in safety at their place of destination. Of a more important nature were the preparations made in the harbour of Dunkirk, with a view to a landing in England. This expedition was to have been placed under the command of Henry Duke of York, Charles's younger brother, who had recently arrived from Rome, and under whose command it was proposed to place the Irish regiments then in the pay of France. The execution of so decisive a step was, however, delayed from time to time by the cabals by which the court of the vacillating monarch was distracted. Even Cardinal Tencin, with all his zeal for the Stuarts, was at no loss to invent pretexts for delay. He complained to Mr. Kelly of the backwardness of the English Jacobites, expressed doubts of their sincerity; and insisted that, before any armament sailed, Sir John Hinde Cotton should resign a place which he held at the British court. It was in vain that Kelly showed the uselessness of a step that could do no good to

the cause, and must lead to the immediate ruin of Cotton, who, if he resigned his place at such a crisis, would immediately be arrested and committed to the Tower. Thus, as Lord Mahon observes, "did the French government long defer, and finally lose, the fairest opportunity it had ever seen since the Revolution, of establishing its influence and principles in Britain."

The anxious wish of Charles, immediately after the battle of Preston, was to march with his army upon London; and in the temper in which the public mind then was, and while the impression was still fresh which had been made by the recent victory over Cope, there are grounds for believing that a bold dash at the British capital might not have been unattended with success. The Highland chiefs, however, whose power naturally lent to their opinions an irresistible influence over the counsels of the Prince, declared themselves almost unanimously opposed to such a step. They insisted on the necessity of at least delaying it, till the expected reinforcements had arrived from France and the Highlands. There was, however, another impediment, quite as powerful, perhaps, as the unwillingness of the Highland chiefs, to a

march over the English border. The number of Highlanders who had gone to their homes to secure the plunder of Preston was so great, that there remained scarcely fifteen hundred men around the Prince's standard. Under these circumstances, nothing remained for him while he was occupied in Edinburgh in consolidating his power in Scotland, and in recruiting his army, but to prepare the public mind in England for his appearance there at no distant period. Accordingly, on the day after the battle, an agent, of the name of Hickson, was sent into Northumberland, furnished with the following written instructions:—

"*Sept.* 22, 1745.

"You are hereby authorised and directed to repair forthwith to England, and there notify to my friends, and particularly those in the north and north-west, the wonderful success with which it has hitherto pleased God to favour my endeavours for their deliverance. You are to let them know that it is my full intention, in a few days, to move towards them; and that they will be inexcusable before God and man, if they do not all in their power to assist and support me in such

an undertaking. What I demand and expect is, that as many of them as can, shall be ready to join me; and that they should take care to furnish provisions and money, that the country may suffer as little as possible by the march of my troops. Let them know that there is no time for deliberation—now or never! is the word: I am resolved to conquer or perish. If this last should happen, let them judge what they and their posterity have to expect.

"C. P. R."

Mr. Hickson, however, as we learn from the Culloden Papers, was unable to execute his mission. He was arrested at Newcastle, and, the above instructions having been found upon his person, he was immediately thrown into prison.

On the day after the battle of Preston, the Highland army held its triumphal entry into Edinburgh. A hundred pipers opened the procession, and delighted the partisans of the Stuarts with the favourite Jacobite air, "The King shall enjoy his own again." Next came the several clans, their own banners waving side by side with those of the vanquished. The prisoners, scarcely

fewer in number than the victors, followed, and the captured artillery, together with the other trophies, closed the procession. The multitude received the conquerors of Gladsmuir with the most vehement acclamations, and the balconies were filled with ladies, who saluted the victorious soldiers with waving handkerchiefs and other demonstrations of joy. Many of the Highlanders, as they passed along, discharged their pieces in the air, and some of them seem to have loaded with ball, for a young lady of the name of Nairn, an enthusiastic Jacobite, who was standing in one of the balconies, was wounded in the forehead. For a few moments she was stunned, but she soon recovered herself, and almost her first words were, "Thank God, the accident has happened to me, whose principles are known. Had it befallen a Whig, they would have said it was done on purpose!" Miss Nairn not only recovered, but survived long enough to be acquainted with Sir Walter Scott in his younger days.*

The popularity of Charles among the people of Edinburgh was, to all appearance, unbounded. The Jacobites, of course, took no pains to dissem-

* See note to *Waverley*, revised edition, vol. ii. p. 202.

ble their joy, and loudly boasted of their young hero, who "could eat a dry crust, and sleep on pea-straw, take his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five." Nor did the prince omit anything that was likely to keep alive the enthusiasm of his adherents, or to win him fresh favour among the multitude. His levees at Holyrood were daily crowded, and to all who came he was of easy access. He dined in public with his officers, and never failed after dinner to visit his army at Duddingstone, where even the most trifling details rarely escaped his notice. His evenings were occupied by concerts, balls, and other entertainments, at which he was studious, by ingratiating himself with the gentry of Edinburgh, to enlarge the number of his partisans. He was at all times a master in the art of pleasing, and displayed an admirable tact in suiting himself to the circumstances in which he was placed. His tartan cloak and St. Andrew's Cross had aided not a little in the conquest of the Highlands, but among the Lowland gentry he soon found that a court suit, a star, and a garter, were able to exercise a more powerful influence. His continental education gave to his manners a polish

that pleased at the first approach, while his excellent understanding, and his amiable disposition, seldom failed to confirm the favourable impression which his agreeable exterior was always certain to make. It is recorded that while he was on the field of Preston, after the battle, issuing his orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, one of his officers came up to congratulate him, and, pointing to the dead bodies that lay scattered over the ground, exclaimed,—"Sir, there are your enemies at your feet." The prince immediately rebuked his exulting partisan, and added that his own heart was full only of compassion for his father's deluded subjects. A similar motive led him to prohibit all public rejoicings on the occasion of his victory.

The newspapers had diligently sought to represent Charles in the most unfavourable light to the people, and, among other charges, they had attributed to him the most besotted bigotry to the Roman Catholic religion. On this point, as on many others, they were soon undeceived by the conduct of the prince. His Popish chaplain, indeed, Dr. Mac Lochlan, regularly read mass for those of his own faith among the Highlanders,

but Charles himself was careful to show the same respect to the clergy of all denominations, and frequently attended divine service in the Episcopal as well as in the Presbyterian churches. Still, among the Protestant clergy of Scotland, he had few friends, and the majority fled from Edinburgh on his entrance. By a proclamation, he invited them to return and resume their religious duties, but few could be prevailed on to do so. The minister of West Church, Mac Vicar by name, continued, as usual, to pray for King George. Charles was urged to punish this boldness, but wisely refused to interfere, when, in gratitude for the toleration shown to him, Mac Vicar added a brief prayer in these words: "As for the young man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee, in mercy take him to thyself, and give him a crown of glory." When this fresh piece of audacity was reported to Charles, he merely laughed at it, as a clerical *bon-mot*, and left Mac Vicar in undisturbed possession of his pulpit.

Indeed the whole conduct of Charles, while in Edinburgh, was marked by moderation and magnanimity, and the exercise of these virtues some-

times imposed upon him sacrifices of a more serious nature than that which he had felt himself called upon to make in the case of the Rev. Mr. Mac Vicar. His measures would have been very different, in his negociations with the English government for a cartel, and in those with the garrison of the Castle of Edinburgh, had he been guided only by the dictates of military prudence.

Edinburgh Castle was closely blockaded, and it could not but be of the utmost importance to Charles to obtain possession of it with the least possible delay. He knew that the garrison had provisions for six weeks only, and he might, therefore, as he had drawn a close blockade around the fortress, anticipate an early surrender. General Guest, however, as governor, wrote to the magistrates of Edinburgh, to say that, if a free intercourse were not allowed between the city and the castle, he would fire upon the town, and lay all Edinburgh in ashes. The terrified townsmen brought the letter to the prince, who likewise gave his answer in writing, declaring his surprise at the barbarity of an officer, who could threaten the inhabitants of Edinburgh with

ruin, for not doing what it was not in their power to do; that, if even compassion should induce him to allow a free communication between the castle and the town, the governor might just as reasonably require him to evacuate the city and abandon all the fruits of his victory; but if any wanton mischief were attempted, Charles added, he would make full reprisal upon the estates of the officers in the castle, "and even upon all who were known to be open abettors of the German government." * General Guest, to whom this answer was transmitted by the magistrates, promised to postpone the execution of his threat, until the return of an express sent to London for orders, provided that, in the mean time, no act of hostility were committed against the garrison of the castle. A few days afterwards, however, some Highlanders, who did not very clearly understand the terms of the agreement, fired on some people whom they saw carrying provisions up the hill. General Guest opened his fire immediately upon the streets of Edinburgh, and several of the inhabitants, as well as of the

* Charles's answer, dated Sept. 30, O.S., 1745, is printed in the collection of his State Papers.

Highlanders, were killed. The townspeople immediately renewed their intreaties to the prince, whose humanity would not allow him to sacrifice the city for a consideration of military prudence. He accordingly yielded. Supplies were allowed to pass unimpeded into the fortress, the cannonade ceased, but all hopes of reducing the castle were at end.*

The generosity of Charles's character was equally displayed in his negociations for a carte for the exchange of prisoners. Nothing could be of more importance to him, in the position in which he then was, than to obtain a recognition of the principle that the respective prisoners should not be treated as rebels. If his troops had only the ordinary hazard of battle and captivity before them, there was every reason to believe that many of his partisans would declare themselves with less hesitation. It was, there-

* In his proclamation, Charles says: "As we have threatened, we might justly proceed to use the powers which God has put in our hands, to chastise those who are instrumental in the ruin of this capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of those who are against us; but we think it no way derogatory to the glory of a prince to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, when thereby the lives of innocent men can be saved. In consequence of this sentiment, the blockade of the castle is hereby taken off."

fore, suggested by those about him, that one of the prisoners should be sent to London, to propose to the English government an exchange of all prisoners, and to declare that, if the proposal were not accepted, and if the English government put any of their prisoners to death as rebels, the prince would be obliged to proceed in a similar manner towards those who might fall into his hands. A few examples of severity, it was argued, would be sufficient to force the English government to consent to the proposed terms; and Charles was even given to understand, that his friends might reasonably claim from him, in such a matter, a slight sacrifice of his own feelings: but he stubbornly refused his assent, saying, "It is below me to make empty threats, and I will never put such as these into execution; I cannot in cold blood take away lives that I have saved in the heat of action." It may be questioned whether, in coming to this resolution, Charles did not allow himself to be guided by a one-sided principle of humanity, and whether the interests of his party and the security of his friends would not have been promoted by a contrary course; nevertheless, the motives by which

he was actuated entitle him to the esteem and respect of posterity, and ought, at all events, to have secured him against the calumnies so unsparingly poured out against him at a later period of his life, imputing to him a want of feeling and utter ingratitude towards those who had served him.

From what has just been said, it may be taken for granted that the prisoners of Preston were treated with great clemency. The officers were in a few days liberated on parole, and were allowed to reside in Edinburgh. The privates were subjected to little more restraint than the officers, until one of the latter broke his parole, when the whole of the prisoners were sent into custody at Perth. It was found difficult and expensive, however, to keep them in confinement, and, after a time, the majority were dismissed, on taking an oath not to serve against the house of Stuart. The remainder ranged themselves under the standard of Charles.

## CHAPTER XIV.

CHARLES'S PROCLAMATION ISSUED AT EDINBURGH—CAMP AT DUDDINGSTONE—FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT HOLYROOD—CHARLES'S COURT.

If, in the cases above alluded to, Charles was led, by the magnanimity of his own character, to throw away advantages which lay within his reach, it must not be inferred that the suspension of hostilities, to which circumstances had constrained him, was allowed to pass away without diligent preparations to consolidate his power in Scotland and to extend it to England. The English government, as has already been mentioned, had appointed the 28th of October for the opening of parliament. On the 20th of the same month, Charles issued a proclamation, denouncing "the pretended parliament of the Elector of Hanover," warning the English not to attend it, and declaring it high treason for the Scots to do so. On the

following day, a more important proclamation was published, in which he detailed the principles on which his government was to be conducted, and in which he sought to animate the people to more active exertions in support of his cause. He knew that the Act of Union was still an object of general aversion in Scotland, and that the re-establishment of Scotland as a separate kingdom was, with a large portion of his adherents, a matter quite as important as the re-establishment of the Stuart dynasty. In his proclamation, therefore, he assured the people, that his father would never consent to ratify "the pretended union," but "with respect to every law or act of parliament since the Revolution, so far as in a free and legal parliament they shall be approved, he will confirm them." With similar caution he touched upon other matters in this proclamation, the style of which bears so evidently the impress of Charles's usual manner, that there is little doubt of his having been its author, though Sheridan and James Stewart may have had some share in remodelling it.* This proclamation,

* In the "Abstract of the examination of Mr. Murray, of Broughton, before the Secret Committee, August 13, 1746," extracted

however, is of sufficient importance to justify the insertion of the entire document. It is as follows:—

"CHARLES, P. R.

"Charles, Prince of Wales, &c., Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging: Unto all his Majesty's subjects, of what degree soever, greeting.

"As soon as we, conducted by the providence of God, arrived in Scotland, and were joined by a handful of our Royal Father's faithful subjects, our first care was to make public his most gracious declaration; and, in consequence of the large powers by him vested in us, in quality of Regent, we also emitted our own manifesto, explaining and enlarging the promises formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the people of Scotland. Now that

from the papers of Chancellor Hardwicke, and printed in Lord Mahon's Appendix, it is said: "The declaration of the 10th of October, 1745, was drawn up by Sheridan and Sir James Stewart," but Mahon very justly adds: "The style appears to me very much to resemble that of Charles's letters, allowing for the difference between a studied and a hasty composition."

it has pleased God so far to smile on our undertaking, as to make us master of the ancient Kingdom of Scotland, we judged it proper in this public manner to make manifest what ought to fill the hearts of all his Majesty's subjects, of whatever nation or province soever, with comfort and satisfaction.

"We, therefore hereby, in his Majesty's name, declare, that his sole intention is to reinstate all his subjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties: and that our present attempt is not undertaken in order to enslave a free people, but to redress and remove the encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all in the enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in Scotland, England, or Ireland: and if it shall be deemed proper that any further security be given to the established church or clergy, we hereby promise, in his name, that he shall pass any law that his parliament shall judge necessary for that purpose.

"In consequence of the rectitude of our royal father's intentions, we must farther declare his

sentiments with regard to the national debt. That it has been contracted under an unlawful government nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it; in which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions.

Furthermore, we here, in his name, declare, that the same rule laid down for the funds shall be followed with respect to every law or act of parliament since the Revolution, and, in so far as in a free and legal parliament they shall be approved, he will confirm them. With respect to the pretended union of the two nations, the king cannot possibly ratify it; since he has had repeated remonstrances against it from each kingdom; and since it is incontestable that the principal point then in view was the exclusion of the royal family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpose the grossest corruptions were openly used to bring it about; but whatever may be hereafter

devised for the joint benefit of both nations, the King will most readily comply with the request of his parliaments to establish.

"And now that we have in his Majesty's name given you the most ample security for your religion, properties, and laws, that the power of a British sovereign can grant, we hereby for ourselves, as heir-apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the same in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the faith of a Christian and the honour of a Prince.

"Let me now expostulate this weighty matter with you, my father's subjects; and let me not omit this first public opportunity of awakening your understandings, and of dispelling that cloud, which the assiduous pens of ill-designing men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of popery, slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my royal father represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing but destruction to all those

who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.

"I, with my own money, hire a small vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrive in Scotland, attended by seven persons; I publish the king my father's declaration, and proclaim his title, with pardon in one hand, and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free parliament shall propose for the happiness of the people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has in so remarkable a manner protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the king my father's subjects. Why then is so much pains taken to spirit up the minds of the people against this my undertaking?

"The reason is obvious. It is, lest the real sense of the nation's present sufferings should blot out the remembrance of past misfortunes, and of the outcries formerly raised against the royal family. Whatever miscarriages might have

given occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

"That our family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years, everybody knows. Has the nation, during that period of time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors, as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown than in my royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, why has their government been so often railed at in your open assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out in vain for redress against the abuse of parliaments, upon account

of their long duration, the multitude of placemen which occasions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, against the miserable situation of the kingdom, at home and abroad? All these, and many other inconveniences must now be removed, unless the people of Great Britain be already so far corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; seeing the king, on his restoration, will refuse nothing that a free parliament can ask, for the security of the religion, laws, and liberty of his people.

"The fears of the nation, from the powers of France and Spain, appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either: but, indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, and Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government against the king's subjects, is it not high time for the king my father to accept also of the assistance of those who are able and who have engaged to support him? But will the world, or any one man of sense in it, infer from thence that he inclines to

be a tributary prince rather than an independent monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent on foreign powers? He who, with the aid of his own subjects, can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder? or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment; let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the issue of a battle. I will trust to the king my father's subjects, who are, or shall be, engaged in mine and their country's cause. But, notwithstanding all the opposition he can make, I still trust in the justice of my cause, the valour of my troops, and the assistance of the Almighty, to bring my enterprise to a glorious issue.

"It is now time to conclude, and I shall do it with this reflection: civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party rage never fails to produce in the minds of those whom different interests, principles, or views, set in opposition to one another. I, therefore, earnestly

require it of my friends to give as little loose as possible to such passions. This will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our royal cause; and this my declaration will vindicate to all posterity the nobleness of my undertaking and the generosity of my intentions.

"Given at our palace of Holyrood-house, the 10th day of October (O. S.), 1745.

"C. P. R.

"By His Highness's command,

"Jo. Murray."

The Prince's wish to see a more numerous army assembled around his standard did not remain long unfulfilled after the victory of Preston; and the spirited and well-timed proclamation that has just been read, no doubt confirmed many a wavering mind, and drew numerous recruits to the camp at Duddingstone. Already, on the 5th of October, three days after the battle, Alexander MacLeod was sent by Charles to the Isle of Skye, with urgent invitations to Sir Alexander Macdonald, to the Laird of MacLeod, to MacKinnon, and to other gentlemen, to repair to Edinburgh.

Nor did he fail to endeavour, by all the means in his power, to induce Lord Lovat to lay aside the ambiguous part hitherto played by him, and to step forward, as an avowed adherent of the Stuarts.

These endeavours to gain the active assistance of three of the most powerful chiefs of Scotland were attended with very little success. Macdonald and MacLeod did not obey the invitation, and Lovat replied only with renewed assurances of devotion to the cause; while to President Forbes he continued to send the most solemn asseverations of his unshakeable fidelity to the house of Hanover. The old lord, meanwhile, was intent on so shaping his measures, that he might be able, at the decisive moment, by ranging himself on the side of the victor, to appear to have turned the scale, by which means he hoped to secure to himself greater advantages than would fall to the share of any other Scottish noble. He had had it in contemplation, with this view, to assemble a force at Corry Arrack, that he might be able, according to circumstances, either to confirm the power of George, or to raise James to the throne; but the chiefs, whose men were to have constituted

this force, became aware of Lovat's selfish designs, and listened the more willingly to the persuasions of Duncan Forbes, as they had the prospect of being rewarded by commands in the free companies which the English government had empowered him to raise. Lovat, nevertheless, persisted in his double-faced policy; and, not to forfeit entirely the favour of the Stuarts, he determined to place his son, Master Lovat, at the head of 700 clansmen, as an auxiliary corps for Prince Charles. To Forbes, the "old fox" pretended that this force had been raised for the mere purpose of rescuing a large herd of cattle which had been carried away by the Jacobite clans, while on their passage through his territory. He managed, moreover, to delay the march of this body of men so long, that Charles had already left Edinburgh, before the troops which were and were not intended for his service, arrived at Perth.

For this loss the Prince was, in some measure, indemnified by the more manly conduct of others. Lord Ogilvie, the eldest son of the Earl of Airly, joined him with 600 men; Gordon of Glenbucket with 400; and Lord Lewis Gordon, the brother

of the duke, undertook to raise the vassals of his house for the Stuart cause. MacPherson of Cluny had left the Jacobite army at Perth, only to join Charles shortly afterwards with 300 men; and Lord Balmerino, the daring Jacobite veteran, hastened to arm in the same cause for which he had fought in 1715. Another most important accession was that of Lord Pitsligo, a man advanced in years, but so high in reputation among the Scottish nobility for his prudence and wariness, that his example had a powerful effect in deciding the conduct of many of his neighbours and friends. Lord Pitsligo brought with him to Duddingstone, 150 horse, and a small body of infantry; and, on the arrival of this reinforcement, Charles found himself, within six weeks after the battle of Preston, at the head of an army of 6000 men.

Mention has already been made of the regular visits paid by Charles to his army, which had been supplied with tents, partly by requisitions imposed on the citizens of Edinburgh, and partly by the spoils taken from Sir John Cope. The sturdy mountaineers, however, were with difficulty induced to sleep otherwise than in the open

air, and it was only out of respect to their Prince's orders that they consented to make use of their canvass shelter. Charles himself frequently passed the night with them, on which occasions he slept on the ground without undressing. His cavalry, besides that commanded by Lord Pitsligo, he formed into two squadrons of guards, the one under the command of Lord Elcho, the other under that of the Earl of Kilmarnock. He was constantly intent on the complete equipment and disciplining of his infantry. The men were regularly exercised. They received their rations punctually, and their pay was fixed at sixpence per day for the common men, and a shilling a day for those in the front ranks of the Highland regiments. Upon the whole, the conduct of the troops, according to the all but unanimous testimony of contemporary writers, was exemplary. Some acts of robbery and outrage were indeed committed in the vicinity of the camp; these were at first attributed to the Highlanders, but were clearly traced in a short time to professed thieves, of whom numbers had been set at large by the injudicious conduct of the insurgents, who, wherever they came, threw open the public jails.

The liberated criminals, in most cases, assumed the white cockade and the Highland garb, as a convenient disguise, and Charles was obliged to issue an express proclamation against these his pretended partizans, from whom, in consequence of the measures he adopted, the stolen property was, in many cases, recovered. It was not, indeed, an uncommon thing for some of the rough mountaineers to level their muskets, in a threatening manner, at some of the peaceable citizens of Edinburgh, who happened to wander towards the camp; but, when the trembling townsman inquired into the motive of so menacing a display, he usually found that "a baubee," or halfpenny, was the full extent of the amercement to which he was subjected.

To obtain money was of quite as much importance to Charles as to obtain men. The public taxes were levied throughout Scotland in his name, and all arrears were ordered to be paid up. The goods found in the several custom-houses were converted into money, by being sold again to the smugglers, from whom they had been taken. Upon some cities forced loans were imposed. Glasgow was obliged to contribute 5000*l.*

The factors of the estates forfeited in 1715 were ordered to make up their accounts, and to pay over all balances remaining in their hands. Pecuniary gifts were also received from such Jacobites as were prevented by age or timidity from taking up arms; thus, among others, the aged Earl of Wemyss forwarded a sum of 500*l.* to the Prince. The French cabinet still hesitated to support the Stuarts in their struggle, by an open and energetic demonstration, but some assistance arrived at intervals from France, not calculated, indeed, to have any decisive effect on the issue of the civil war, but sufficient to assist the Prince in prolonging the contest in which he was engaged. Four French vessels arrived at different times in the harbours of Montrose and Stonehaven. One of them brought him a sum of 5000*l.*, another 1000*l.*; besides which, he was furnished, through the same medium, with a train of six field-pieces, 5000 stand of arms, and a number of French and Irish officers who arrived to join his standard. Among these was M. de Boyer, called the Marquis d'Eguilles, who was commissioned to deliver to Charles a letter of congratulation from Louis XV. The

Prince dexterously availed himself of this circumstance, to insist upon treating the marquis as an accredited ambassador from the French king. M. de Boyer was invariably styled Monseigneur; the usual diplomatic ceremonies were observed towards him, and the object of so excusable an artifice was completely attained, by reviving the expectations of the Jacobites that more important succours might shortly be expected from France.

In the exercise of his regency, Charles was anxious to surround himself with the forms of royalty; and with that view a council was named, consisting of the two lieutenant-generals of the army, the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray; O'Sullivan, the quartermaster-general; Lord Elcho, the colonel of the horse guards; Secretary Murray; the Lords Ogilvie, Nairn, Pitsligo, and Lewis Gordon; Sir Thomas Sheridan; and all the most powerful of the Highland chiefs. This council met at ten every morning, in the drawing-room of the palace, to discuss the affairs of State and those of the army. That their discussions were often protracted and discordant, and that the rivalry between the Scotch and Irish

officers led to frequent displays of an ill-feeling, that but too plainly indicated approaching dissensions, we may readily believe on the authority of Lord Elcho, although that nobleman, at a later period of his life, appears to have cherished a very bitter feeling against the Prince, for whose cause he had suffered so much. The intelligence and energy of Charles, there is little doubt, must have been kept in constant exercise by his endeavours to control the clashing pretensions of those by whom he was surrounded; but when Lord Elcho says, "His Royal Highness could not bear to hear anybody differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to every person who did:"—the assertion, like many others of the same author, is unsupported by the testimony of any of his contemporaries, and seems dictated rather by disappointed ambition and personal mortification than by a strict regard to historical accuracy.*

* Lord Elcho's MS. Memoirs, from which Sir Walter Scott inserts a long extract in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, were written in exile, after a violent quarrel with Charles and a total estrangement from the Stuart family. "Before the council," says Lord Mahon, "Charles always held a levee; when the council rose, he dined in public with his principal officers, and then rode out with his life guards, usually to his camp at Duddingstone. On returning in the evening, he held a drawing-room for the ladies of his party,

and not unfrequently closed the day by giving them a ball in the old picture gallery of Holyrood. His affability and constant wish to please were neither relaxed by his good fortune, nor yet clouded by his cares. At table, he often combined a compliment to his followers with a sarcasm on his rival, by saying that, after his restoration, Scotland should be his Hanover, and Holyrood House his Herrenhausen. At his camp, he talked familiarly even to the meanest Highlanders. At his balls, he was careful to call alternately for Highland and Lowland tunes, so as to avoid showing an invidious preference to either,—to such minute particulars did his anxiety to please descend! The fair sex in general, throughout Scotland, became devoted to his cause; those who conversed with him, won by his gaiety and gallantry; those in a remoter sphere, dazzled by his romantic enterprise and situation, and moved by the generous compassion of a woman's heart. The heir of Robert Bruce came to claim his birthright, and animated, as they fondly believed, by a kindred spirit. The master of a kingdom, yet reigning beneath the cannon of a hostile fortress. An exile two months before. A conqueror to-day. Perhaps a monarch, or perhaps again an outcast and fugitive to-morrow."

## CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES MARCHES INTO ENGLAND — SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF CARLISLE—QUARRELS AMONG THE CHIEFS OF THE REBEL ARMY—THE DUKE OF PERTH RESIGNS THE COMMAND—ARRIVAL AT MANCHESTER—OCCUPATION OF DERBY.

HAVING now collected as large an army, and having equipped and disciplined it as well as his means allowed, Charles felt satisfied that he ought no longer to delay his march into England; nor can it admit of a doubt that such a step was the most prudent which he could take, in the position in which he was then placed. His council, however, did not receive the proposal with much favour. The Scottish members were almost unanimously of opinion, that it would be more to his interest to content himself with the possession of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, to consolidate his power there, and to prepare the means of repelling

any attack that might be directed against him from England. The national and traditional feelings, however, which dictated this advice could scarcely justify it; and Charles judged with more correctness that, unless he could succeed in establishing himself in England, he should not long be left undisturbed in Scotland. He felt also that every day which he lost afforded his enemies fresh means of strengthening themselves, while there was little immediate probability of any important accession to his own force. On the other hand, he might reasonably hope that his appearance on the other side of the Tweed would induce the Jacobites of England to declare themselves, and would afford an additional stimulus to the French government to make some decided demonstration in his favour. By some, Charles has been reproached with delaying his invasion of England too long after the battle of Preston, and with wasting much valuable time on the pageantry of his court at Edinburgh; others, on the contrary, have blamed him for allowing himself to be seduced by the spirit of romance to a step so replete with danger, and so little likely to be attended with success. Neither reproach, however, is at all

deserved. Charles was fully aware of the real nature of his position after the battle of Preston, and was most anxious to follow up his advantage by an immediate march to the south; but it was not in his power to act as he wished. In a letter written to his father, a few days after the battle, he thus expresses his impatience:—

"I wish to God I may find my brother landed in England by the time I enter it, which will be in about ten days, having then with me near 8000 men, and 300 horse at least, with which, as matters stand, I shall have one decisive stroke for it, but, if the French land, perhaps none. I cannot enlarge on this subject, as on many others, for want of time, because of such a multiplicity of things which hourly occur for the service of the affair. Adam (King Louis) has sent me a gentleman (who brought me your letters) to stay with me for to give notice of anything that I may want, which, as he says, will be done immediately; accordingly, I am sending off immediately three or four expresses, all to the same purpose, so that some one may arrive. What is said is very short, pressing to have succour in all haste, by a landing in England;

for that, as matters stand, I must either conquer, or perish, in a little while."

It was more than anything else the departure of his Highlanders, to secure the plunder of Preston, that prevented Charles from advancing into England immediately after the battle. His chiefs, moreover, looked with confidence to the arrival of a French auxiliary corps, and were unwilling to move without it. If circumstances, however, beyond his own control, opposed such serious obstacles to an immediate advance, after the victory of the 2nd of October, it is not less certain that, in the middle of November, the time had arrived when even a week's farther delay in Edinburgh must have been attended with certain ruin. Nor is there the slightest ground for imputing to Charles, the silly vanity of remaining at Holyrood House for the mere purpose of performing his part in an idle pageant; for every day spent in the Scottish capital was chiefly occupied in preparations for the expedition, on the issue of which the fate of his family and friends must ultimately depend.

At three successive councils, Charles had developed his plan to attack Marshal Wade, whose army, composed of English and Dutch regiments,

had been concentrated at Newcastle; but on each occasion the plan was rejected by his counsellors. At length, however, convinced that a bold and decisive line of policy was the only one from which safety could be hoped for, he exclaimed in a peremptory tone :—" I see, gentlemen, you are determined to stay in Scotland and defend your country, but I am not less resolved to try my fate in England, though I should go alone." This declaration was an appeal to their sense of honour too strong to be withstood by his warm-hearted Highland chiefs, however reluctantly their consent might be given. At the suggestion, however, of Lord George Murray, it was agreed, not to march into Northumberland, but to advance through Cumberland upon Carlisle, in which case Wade's troops, after a fatiguing march, would find themselves engaged in a mountain warfare, in which the Highlanders would have many advantages over them; or if, on the contrary, Wade should remain inactive at Newcastle, the Prince would be at liberty to move whither he pleased, and more time would be given to the English Jacobites to rise, and to the French to effect a diversion by a landing on the coast. To deceive the English govern-

ment, a report was, nevertheless, industriously circulated that the army was to march against Marshal Wade; and, to give to the rumour the greater appearance of truth, it was arranged that, while one part of the army took the direct road by Moffat towards Carlisle, another, under the personal command of Charles, should march by the way of Kelso, and that the two divisions, on a fixed day, should effect a junction in the vicinity of Carlisle.

It was on the 11th of November, 1745, at six in the evening, that the Prince quitted Holyrood to commence his adventurous march. He slept the first night at Pinkie House, as on the night after the battle of Preston, and on the following morning the two columns parted. The whole army consisted of scarcely 6000 men, including 500 cavalry, well clothed and equipped, and furnished with provisions for four days; but many superstitious notions that prevailed among his troops made the common men as much averse as their leaders to the English campaign, and many of the Highlanders quitted their ranks during the march. According to some, the deserters amounted to no fewer than a thousand men, and one morning

it cost Charles a parley of nearly an hour and a half to prevail on his troops to move forward. The weather too was so unfavourable that any troops but Highlanders would have been completely discouraged by it. After a halt of two days at Kelso, orders were sent to Wooler to prepare quarters for his troops, by which the intended effect was produced of alarming Wade, and drawing off his attention from Carlisle. This having been done, Charles suddenly marched westward and down Liddisdale, entering Cumberland at the head of his troops on the evening of the 19th of November. As the clans crossed the border, they drew their swords, and raised a loud shout of exultation; but, in hastily unsheathing his claymore, Lochiel accidentally cut his hand, which was immediately looked upon as an unlucky omen, and spread consternation throughout the whole column. On the following day, however, the two divisions effected their intended junction, and marched forward immediately upon Carlisle.

This ancient frontier town of England was surrounded by a wall, and farther protected by a massive castle. The garrison, it is true, consisted of only a company of invalids, commanded by

Colonel Durand, but the town was occupied by a considerable body of Cumberland militia, who, had they been animated by anything like zeal for the cause they were engaged in, might easily have held the town against an army totally unprovided with heavy artillery. Colonel Durand, accordingly, took measures for the defence of the city, and no answer was returned when the garrison was summoned to surrender. At the same time, a rumour was circulated that Wade was advancing to relieve the place, whereupon Charles relinquished the attack, and moved the greater part of his troops to Brampton, in the hope of being able to engage his enemy upon hilly ground. On his arrival at Brampton, he ascertained that the rumour had been unfounded, and immediately sent the Duke of Perth back with a few regiments, to resume the siege of Carlisle. On the 24th the duke erected a battery on the east side of the town, he and the Marquis of Tullibardine both labouring in the trenches, by way of encouraging the men. The aspect of these preparations was sufficient to make the magistrates of Carlisle abandon the meditated defence. A white flag was hung out, in token of a wish to capitulate; and, as Charles refused to grant any

capitulation in which the castle was not likewise included, an immediate surrender both of town and castle followed. The garrison and the militia, on pledging themselves not to serve against the House of Stuart, and on delivering up their arms and horses, were allowed to go where they pleased.

This siege, which cost the Highlanders only one man killed and one wounded, had afforded no great opportunity for the display of skill or bravery; yet the capture of Carlisle produced a powerful moral effect throughout England, and gave increased confidence to the Jacobite army. On the 28th of November, the Prince held his triumphal entry into the conquered city; and, though few of the inhabitants declared themselves in favour of the conqueror, they were loud in their expressions of gratitude for the generous treatment they had experienced from the Duke of Perth, whose prudence and activity on the occasion were duly acknowledged by Charles.

The praise lavished on the duke had, however, the effect of exciting the envy of those with whom he was joined in command. Lord George Murray could not endure the preference shown, as he thought, to his rival, and accordingly ad-

dressed a letter to Charles,* expressive of regret that his counsels should have so little weight in the eyes of his Royal Highness, but offering, at the same time, to resign his command, and to serve in future as a private volunteer. In the mean time, however, he secretly got up a petition from a large number of the officers, in which Charles was requested to remove all Catholics from his council, and to restore Lord George Murray to the chief command. The first part of the petition, which was evidently directed against the Duke of Perth and Sir Thomas Sheridan, Charles would fain have negatived, but the duke was too sincerely devoted to the cause, and of too generous a disposition, not to sacrifice every personal consideration to his Prince's welfare. He, therefore, without hesitation, resigned his commission as lieutenant-general, contenting himself with the command of his own regiment. The Prince then, without directly noticing the insult to his friends and his own faith, complied with the second part of the demand, and the Jacobite

* The letter, which is dated the 15th of November (O.S.), will be found in the *Jacobite Memoirs* (p. 50). An invidious distinction is drawn by Lord George Murray between Charles and his father.

army continued to enjoy the benefit of Murray's superior military skill, to which Charles was willing to render full justice.

In a council of war, held at Carlisle, on the 30th of November, opinions were divided as to whether it would be better for the army to remain where it was until the expected reinforcements arrived from Perth, or to return at once to Scotland. The Prince, it may easily be supposed, was for advancing on London without delay, and he supported his own views by expressing his conviction that his friends in Lancashire would rise in his behalf as soon as he appeared among them. Lord George, though he said he could not advise his Royal Highness to advance far into England, without more encouragement than he had yet received from the English people, declared that, if the Prince was resolved to make the trial, the army, though small, would follow him. The Marquis d'Eguilles, who continued to accompany the army, declared that a landing of French troops was certain to take place in a short time; and, upon this assurance, and in reliance on the Jacobites of Lancashire, the whole council acquiesced in the Prince's wish.

On the 2d of December, the army resumed its march, reduced in force by the numerous desertions to which allusion has already been made, and farther weakened by the necessity of leaving a garrison of 200 men in Carlisle. The line of march led through Penrith, Shap, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where the troops arrived on the 8th of December. Preston was a place with which the Highlanders had long connected a superstitious dread, strengthened by the defeat of the Duke of Hamilton in the civil wars, and by the disaster of the MacIntoshes in 1715. A belief prevailed in consequence that Preston was a point beyond which no Scottish army could ever advance; and, to dispel this idea, Lord George, on the evening of their arrival, ordered the vanguard to march across the bridge and take up a position beyond the town.

Charles, amid these stirring and anxious scenes, remained the same that he had hitherto shown himself. Full of confidence in the justice of his cause and in his own good fortune, he continued sedulously to discharge every duty that his position imposed upon him, and to share in all the fatigues of his soldiers. They had now arrived

in a country intersected by convenient roads; but he refused to enter his carriage, insisting that the aged Lord Pitsligo should make use of it in his stead. The Prince could seldom be even induced to mount a horse; but, in his Highland costume and with his target slung across his shoulder, he usually marched at the head of one or other of the clans. He rarely dined at all, but made one hearty meal at night, and then lay down without undressing, to rise again at four o'clock. His iron constitution enabled him to endure these toils with ease, and to share in the personal fatigue of his meanest followers, while his mind was harassed by the more arduous cares of a commander. At Preston, for the first time since his arrival on English ground, he was hailed by the acclamations of the multitude; and the public sympathy was pronounced more strongly in proportion as he advanced to Wigan and Manchester; but, though the people came forward in crowds to offer him their good wishes, few consented to join his standard, the greater part declining the arms that were offered them, with the remark that they did not understand fighting.

At Manchester, where the army arrived on the 10th of December, Charles was received with

undisguised joy, with the ringing of bells, and the loud cheers of assembled crowds, who farther marked their sympathy by assuming the white cockade. In the evening the town was illuminated, bonfires were lighted, and thousands crowded around him to kiss his hand and promise him their services. During the two days spent in Manchester, about two hundred volunteers enlisted, and were embodied with the few English recruits who had hitherto joined the Prince into one corps, called the Manchester regiment, the command of which was given to Mr. Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic of an old family in Lancashire.

Before leaving Manchester, the Prince ordered some bridges that had been broken down in the neighbourhood to be repaired. The sportive terms in which the proclamation on this occasion is couched show the confidence which he entertained in his own success, or which, at all events, he thought it good policy to affect. The following is the document in question :—

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF MANCHESTER.

"*Manchester*, *Nov.* 30 (*O.S.*), 1745.

"His Royal Highness being informed that several bridges have been pulled down in this

county, he has given orders to repair them forthwith, particularly that at Crossford, which is to be done this night by his own troops, though his Royal Highness does not propose to make use of it for his own army, but believes it will be of service to the country; and if any forces that were with General Wade be coming this road, they may have the benefit of it!

"C. P. R."

On the 12th of December, the troops left Manchester in two columns, which united again the same evening at Macclesfield, and proceeded on their march by the London road. The English government had had the bridges over the Mersey broken down, but that occasioned no delay to the Jacobite army, one column fording the Mersey, near Stockport, where the water was scarcely three feet deep, while the other column, with the baggage and artillery, passed lower down at Cheadle, over a rough bridge, made by choking up the channel with the trunks of poplar trees. On arriving at the other side of the river, Charles witnessed a scene characteristic of the enthusiasm and devotion of the adherents of his house, and

which is thus described by Lord Mahon, on the authority of the late Lord Keith:—"On the opposite bank of the Mersey, Charles found a few of the Cheshire gentry drawn up ready to welcome him, and amongst them Mrs. Skyring, a lady in extreme old age. As a child, she had been lifted up in her mother's arms, to view the happy landing at Dover of Charles the Second. Her father, an old cavalier, had afterwards to undergo not merely neglect, but oppression, from that thankless monarch; still, however, he and his wife continued devoted to the royal cause, and their daughter grew up as devoted as they. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, all her thoughts, her hopes, her prayers, were directed to another restoration. Ever afterwards, she had with rigid punctuality laid aside one-half of her yearly income, to remit for the exiled family abroad, concealing only what, she said, was of no importance to them—the name of the giver. She had now parted with her jewels, her plate, and every little article of value she possessed, the price of which, in a purse, she laid at the feet of Prince Charles, while, straining her dim eyes to gaze on his features, and pressing his hand to her shrivelled

lips, she exclaimed with affectionate rapture, in the words of Simeon, 'Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!' It is added that she did not survive the shock, when, a few days afterwards, she was told of the retreat."

On leaving Macclesfield, Lord George Murray found means to deceive the Duke of Cumberland into a belief that the Jacobite army was disposed to give him battle, or to seek to effect a junction with the friends of the Stuarts in Wales. Under this impression the duke made a rapid movement in the direction of Stone, whereupon Murray, who in the mean time had obtained full information of the position and force of his enemy,* made a sudden turn to the left, and by a forced march reached Ashbourne, where he formed a junction with the column under the command of Charles. On the following day (15th December) the army occupied Derby, where Charles held his entry towards evening.

The object of all our hero's efforts lay now apparently so near at hand, that one step only

* The communication was obtained from a man of the name of Weir, one of the Duke of Cumberland's principal spies. This man was taken at Congleton, and in his terror told everything he knew. His life was spared at the interposition of the Prince, who was always averse to bloodshed.

seemed wanting to complete the task which he had proposed to himself. The distance from Derby to London is less than a hundred and thirty miles; and by the rapidity of his movements he had obtained a start of the two armies commanded by Marshal Wade and the Duke of Cumberland. The road to the metropolis lay open before him, and the news of his approach was likely to produce an impression calculated at once to paralyse the government preparations for defence, and to encourage the Jacobites, who had hitherto been held in check, to declare themselves. The Prince had also received intelligence from Scotland that Lord John Drummond, the Duke of Perth's brother, had landed at Montrose, with his regiment (*Royal Ecossais*), with two squadrons of the Duke of Fitzjames's horse, and with the piquets of the Irish brigade. These troops, in the pay of the French government, were under the command of Count Lally, a man of indefatigable zeal for the Stuart cause. These reinforcements, added to the corps at Perth, exceeded in numbers the Jacobite army at Derby. Drummond's despatches, moreover, confirmed, what the Marquis d'Eguilles had been constantly assuring, that within a little time ten thousand French

troops, accompanied by the Duke of York and the Duke of Richelieu, would sail from Calais and Dunkirk, where they were only awaiting a favourable wind. Charles had at the same time received letters from his partisans in Wales, in the southern counties, and in the metropolis, announcing that they were ready for a rising. In a letter written several months afterwards, Charles says, speaking of a Mr. Barry, he "arrived at Derby two days after I parted. He had been sent by Sir Watkin Wynn and Lord Barrymore, to assure me, in the name of my friends, that they were ready to join me in what manner I pleased, either in the capital, or every one to rise in his own country."

It is not to be wondered at if, under these circumstances, the courage and confidence of Charles had risen to the highest point. He was less disposed now than ever to shrink from bold measures; and so intent was he, on his arrival at Derby, to push forward without delay and at all hazards towards London, that his whole conversation during supper was turned to the subject of his triumphal entry into his father's capital, deliberating whether it would be better to appear on the occasion on horseback or on foot, in an English or a Highland dress.

## CHAPTER XVI.

ANGRY DISCUSSIONS IN A COUNCIL OF WAR ON THE PROPRIETY OF ADVANCING TOWARDS LONDON—OPPOSITION OF THE HIGHLAND CHIEFS TO THE PLAN—A RETREAT DETERMINED UPON.

FLATTERING as the prospects of Charles appeared to be on his arrival at Derby, the period of reverse was not less certainly at hand; and from the lips of his adherents was he to learn the disappointment of his hopes. The favourable tidings mentioned at the close of the last chapter, and of which some had reached him on his march, and some on his arrival at Derby, induced Charles to call a council of war, in order to communicate the intelligence to his chiefs. He entertained no doubt of the determination of the council to take the last step that seemed alone necessary to seize upon the prize now all but within his grasp. His enterprise had, hitherto, been attended by uniform

success, and the communications which he had to make appeared to him calculated to fill his adherents with fresh hope and confidence. His astonishment, therefore, was all the greater, to find his address received by an ominous silence, which was only broken to insist on the necessity of an immediate retreat to Scotland.

Lord George Murray put himself forward as spokesman for the rest. He began by observing, that the English Jacobites had displayed none of the zeal that had been expected from them; that the looked-for landing of a French corps had not taken place; that longer to act upon the hope of either of those events would be inconsistent with their own safety, as Marshal Wade was already marching through Yorkshire, to occupy their rear, while the Duke of Cumberland was before them at Lichfield; that, in case of a farther advance, they would have to encounter a third army, assembled at Finchley; that the Prince had only five thousand fighting men to oppose to these three corps, whose joint force could scarcely fall short of thirty thousand; that the army at Finchley, formed of the guards and new levies, was said to consist of twenty thousand men, and that, how-

ever exaggerated such an estimate might be, yet, even supposing the Prince could break through it and enter London, his own force was too small to enable him to assume a commanding position there, or to afford protection to his own friends. Lord George went on to say that the army was inferior in strength to each of the three hostile corps, and that, in case of a defeat, not a man, not even the Prince himself, would be able to escape; that, if Wade and Cumberland once effected a junction, it would be too late to think of retiring from England, and that a retreat, therefore, had not only become necessary, but even admitted no longer of delay. He next endeavoured to show how much more might even yet be hoped for from a retreat to Scotland, than from a rash and hopeless march to London. "Already," continued Lord George, pointing to the despatches which the Prince had received that morning, "we learn that Lord John Drummond has landed at Montrose, with the regiment of Royal Scots and some piquets of the Irish brigade, so that the whole force under Lord Strathallan, ready to join us from Perth, is not less than three or four thousand men." *

* Lord George Murray's own summary of his advice on this occasion will be found in the *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 54.

It was in vain that Charles, after having listened impatiently to these arguments, still sought to encourage his followers with the hope that his English friends would all declare themselves as soon as he arrived in London, and that a landing of French troops would still take place on the coast of Kent or Essex. He held out the prospect of mutiny and desertion among the troops at Finchley, and reminded his friends that bold measures had often made up for the numerical inferiority of an army. He bade them remember in how marked a manner Providence had so far blessed his enterprise, and, repelling all considerations of personal security, he cried, "Rather than go back, I would wish to be twenty feet under ground!" There was danger, he owned, in advancing, but a retreat would be no less dangerous, and would moreover be disgraceful. The retreat would have to be effected in the face of two hostile armies, who would be elated in the same degree that their own men would be disheartened by such a step. To this Lord George Murray rejoined, that the lightly armed Highlanders, little encumbered by baggage, would soon leave the Duke of Cumberland's army behind them, and that, if they

met Marshal Wade on the border, the mere sight of that border would fill them with the necessary courage to enable them to cut their way through the enemy's ranks.

The other members of the council assented to the arguments of Murray, either in words, or by a not less expressive silence. None of them seemed to feel that the retreat would infallibly exercise a demoralising effect on the troops, would destroy the magic influence which a series of successes had produced over men's minds, and would be equivalent to an abandonment of all the advantages that had till then been gained. Charles summoned all his powers of eloquence to make his friends view the case in this light; and, when he saw his arguments of no avail, he had recourse to entreaties, conjuring first one and then another not to desert his Prince at his utmost need. He is even said to have shed tears of vexation on finding himself unable to overcome the repugnance of his followers to a farther advance; and at last, after a stormy discussion of several hours, the council broke up without coming to any determination.

During the afternoon, Charles endeavoured

vainly to induce individual chiefs to come over to his views, and in the evening a second council was held, when not one voice was raised in support of the Prince's views, and even his proposal to march into Wales, that the numerous Jacobites of the principality might have an opportunity to declare themselves, was unanimously disapproved of. O'Sullivan and Secretary Murray pointed out to him that the army would never fight well, if all the chiefs acted with unwillingness; and, finding that he could not prevail upon one of his officers to yield to his wishes, he at length reluctantly consented to a retreat, adding that in future, as he was accountable for his actions only to God and his father, he would call no more councils of war.*

* According to John Hay's account (see *Home*, p. 337) no council was held; but Murray alone, speaking, however, in the name of the other officers, undertook to persuade the Prince of the necessity of a retreat, though, two days previously, in a council of war held at Macclesfield, the same Murray had declared himself more zealously than any one else in favour of marching without loss of time to London. This version is, however, extremely improbable, seeing that the retreat was a measure of too much importance to be resolved on without the most mature deliberation, the more so as a contrary resolution had been adopted only two days previously. Moreover, Charles, at a subsequent period, writing from Rome, says expressly that the retreat was determined on in a council of war held in the Prince's presence, and which was attended by *all* the principal

Before we proceed to the immediate and more remote consequences of this determination, it may not be superfluous to examine somewhat more closely the grounds upon which the chiefs rested their apprehensions, and by which they sought to justify the retreat on which they so pertinaciously insisted. This examination will show that the position of Charles was, in many respects, a perilous one. His affairs in Scotland had taken an unfavourable turn since his departure from that country. Lord Strathallan, who had been left behind as commander-in-chief, had indeed

officers of the army. The Duke of Perth is said to have taken no part in the discussion, but to have remained during the whole scene leaning against the fireplace, where, resting his head upon his hand, he heard with grief a determination that so deeply afflicted his beloved Prince. Lord George Murray, speaking of Charles, says: "He was so very bent on putting all to the risk, that the Duke of Perth was for it, since his royal highness was."—(See *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 55). Others add that Lord Nairn also declared himself against the retreat, and Smollett (cap. viii.) says expressly, "He (the Prince) called a council at Derby, and proposed to advance towards London; the proposal was supported by Lord Nairn with great vehemence." But the Prince's own written declaration just alluded to, appears to set the question at rest. His words are: "All the members (of the council of war) except M. le Comte (Prince Charles) himself were of opinion that the retreat was absolutely necessary; and M. le Comte endeavoured to persuade some of them to join with him, but could not prevail upon one single person."

succeeded in assembling a considerable force at Perth, and Lord Lewis Gordon had been able to embody three battalions in Aberdeenshire; but the Lord President Forbes and the Earl of Loudon had been equally active, and still more successful, in their exertions to promote the interests of the government. Inverness was occupied by Loudon, with a corps of about two thousand men, composed of the MacDonalds of Skye, the MacLeods, and one or two other clans. At Glasgow, Paisley, and Dumfries, the militia had been embodied; and even in Edinburgh the authority of King George had been re-established, the crown officers having returned on the 24th of November, for whose protection two regiments of infantry and Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons were detached by Marshal Wade.

At Derby, moreover, the Prince was in a measure surrounded by three armies, each stronger than his own, both in the number of men and the number of artillery. George the Second had determined, in case of need, to assume the command of the troops at Finchley; the militia had been called out in Middlesex and in several other counties; the citizens of London had raised a

regiment of volunteers, and held themselves in readiness to take the field; and even the managers of the theatres had offered to raise a certain number of troops at their own cost. The bridges over the Mersey and over several other rivers had been broken down by the Duke of Cumberland's orders. To prevent a landing of French troops, Admiral Vernon had been stationed with a fleet in the Channel; while Admiral Byng, with a smaller squadron, covered the coast of Scotland. In London, a number of Catholic priests suspected of Jacobitism had been arrested, and measures had been taken to secure the earliest information of the approach of the insurgent army. All these precautions would, of course, have been of very little effect in preventing Charles from entering the metropolis, had the camp at Finchley been forced; but to attack that camp would, no doubt, have been a hazardous undertaking, which, in case of failure, must have led to the total destruction of the Prince's army. Nor must it be overlooked, that the non-arrival of the promised succour from France gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the Highland chiefs, and renewed in them the belief that it

was of less importance to make conquests in England, than to take measures to secure the independence of Scotland; while, on the other hand, there was every prospect that in Scotland the army would be able to receive many important reinforcements.

While these circumstances were urged to show the expediency, if not the necessity, of an immediate retreat, the only arguments on the other side were those which Charles had vainly sought to impress upon the council of war, namely, the moral effect which a retreat must have upon his own troops as well as upon those of the enemy, compared with the impression which would be made upon the whole population of England by an immediate march to London.

This last consideration was indeed the most important of all; and, when all circumstances are duly considered, there is ground for believing that, had the army pressed forward to the capital, the enterprise would probably have been crowned with success. The news of the occupation of Derby by the Prince's army had thrown London into complete consternation. The news was received there on Friday, the 6th of December,

and, for years afterwards, the day was held in remembrance, under the popular denomination of Black Friday. An unprecedented run upon the Bank was the immediate consequence, and it was only by paying in sixpences, in order to gain time, that the stoppage of that great national establishment was prevented. The shops, for the most part, were closed, and business of every kind was at a stand.

The Jacobites in London were numerous, and ardently desirous of the Prince's arrival, and most men looked upon the restoration of the Stuarts as an event by no means beyond the range of probability. King George himself had embarked many of his most valuable effects, and the vessels lay in the Thames ready to set sail at a moment's notice. This general consternation, among the people of London, there is every reason to believe, would have been heightened very considerably, if Charles had at once pushed on from Derby, and the army at Finchley, containing a number of Jacobite officers and many more who were suspected of being so, might easily have been infected by the general panic, in which case, the metropolis, immediately in

their rear, would have offered a tempting if not an irresistible inducement to the newly levied regiments to melt away before their assailants. It may fairly be maintained, upon the whole, that the view of the position of affairs, taken by Charles, at Derby, was more correct than that of his adherents. The desertions from the camp at Finchley, there is no doubt, would have been numerous, and the Jacobites in London, who would have declared themselves on his arrival, would have made a formidable addition to his force. Among the English nobility he had many well-wishers, and it is difficult to say how many waverers might not have been fixed by a bold line of policy. The perfidious policy of the French court, moreover, would probably have been laid aside for an open and unreserved declaration in favour of the Stuart dynasty, had it once appeared that the aid of France could be dispensed with.

The preparations at Dunkirk for a landing on the English coast were complete; and, as the coasts of Kent and Essex were very imperfectly guarded, there is every reason to believe that the wind would have been found favourable for the

sailing of the Dunkirk fleet, had intelligence arrived that the camp at Finchley had been broken up, or that Charles had entered London in triumph. It may be doubted whether the troops at Finchley would have opposed any very serious resistance to the Jacobite army; but there cannot be a doubt that the retreat from Derby was certain to be the forerunner of disasters to Charles and his adherents—the retrograde movement was in itself a calamity little inferior to a defeat, while an onward movement might have led to the occupation of London, and the dethronement of George the Second.* In war it is impossible for the most clear-sighted leader to say what the issue of an undertaking may be. He can at most calculate probabilities, and must always rely, in some measure, upon fortune. If, in the council of war at Derby, Charles was the only one who raised his voice against the retreat, it may not perhaps be too much to say, that he alone took a just view of

* Smollett says (chap. viii.) "Had Charles proceeded in his career, with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would certainly have been joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his arrival." Mahon comes to the same conclusion. "I believe," he says, "that, had Charles marched onward from Derby, he would have gained the British throne."

the position of his own party. He might well exclaim, that it was the decree of his evil genius that was pronounced through the medium of that council; that by the lips of his own friends sentence was passed upon the whole of his future career.

## CHAPTER XVII.

RETREAT OF THE REBEL ARMY FROM DERBY—DEJECTION OF CHARLES—SKIRMISH NEAR PENRITH—REDUCTION OF CARLISLE BY THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND—HARD FATE OF THE GARRISON.

FROM the moment the retreat commenced, the fate of Charles could no longer be doubtful, least of all to his enemies. The court of London received the intelligence as equivalent to a victory. The two houses of parliament lost no time in addressing the throne with renewed assurances of duty and devotion; those who had been standing aloof, to watch the progress of events, came thronging to the court; from the pulpits of the churches, and in the columns of the newspapers, the people were congratulated on their escape from popery; and George the Second found all at once his most faithful and devoted adherents among those who, but a week before, had passed for

zealous Jacobites, but who now were loudest in their assurances of loyalty, and most liberal in their contributions of free gifts for the public service.

Charles had foreseen the effect which his retreat would produce on his enemies, nor had he judged less accurately of the impression which it would make on his own army. James III. had just been solemnly proclaimed at Derby, and the public moneys had been seized in his name, when, on the 6th of December, before daybreak, the Jacobite army commenced its retreat. The Highlanders, unacquainted with the result to which the deliberations of the last night's council had come, marched on in the belief that every step was bringing them nearer to the accomplishment of their wishes. For a while, a thick mist concealed surrounding objects from their view, and it was some time before they became conscious of the fact that they were returning over the same road by which they had come. Unwillingly as the majority of the Highlanders had in the first instance crossed the border, they were not the less loud in their expressions of disappointment, when they discovered that the prize, which they had deemed all but within their

grasp, had been suddenly abandoned. It required all the efforts of the leaders to restore anything like order among the troops. All were full of bitterness and rage—feelings that could least of all excite wonder, when expressed by those English Jacobites who had joined the army since the taking of Carlisle, and who now saw nothing before them but the melancholy alternative of exile from their native land, or an unqualified submission to the vengeance of the house of Hanover. The Prince's own appearance was little calculated to remove this melancholy impression. He, who had always been the first in the morning to place himself at the head of his column, now *followed* the army with the air of a captive rather than of a leader; and the cheering animation which till then had always distinguished him, gave way to evident mortification and dejection.

The Jacobite army halted for the night at Ashbourn, arrived on the 7th of December at Leek, the following day at Macclesfield, and re-entered Manchester on the 9th. Though the march betrayed none of the characteristics of a flight, yet the retreat was effected with such rapidity, that the Duke of Cumberland, who on hearing

of the occupation of Derby had made a retrograde movement to cover London, did not receive intelligence of the retreat till his arrival at Meridan More, near Coventry. He immediately placed himself at the head of his cavalry, and mounted a thousand of his infantry on horses, but, with all the expedition he was able to use, he could not overtake the insurgents, though Charles halted in Preston a whole day, and another at Lancaster. At Preston the duke was joined by a division of Marshal Wade's cavalry, and learnt that the Jacobites had gained a march on the marshal, who had been directed to cut off the Prince's retreat to Scotland.

On the 17th of December, the Prince was with the main body of the army at Penrith, while Lord George Murray, with a part of the rear-guard, was still at Shap, where he was delayed by the necessity of getting some of the baggage-waggons repaired. On the following morning, the rear-guard was on its march, when some of Cumberland's dragoons suddenly made their appearance on the heights of Clifton, a village only three miles distant from Penrith. Towards noon, as he approached the walls of Lowther Park,

Lord George discovered some squadrons of the enemy preparing for an attack. One charge of Glengarry's men sufficed to disperse them, but the troops were eager for battle, and Lord George afforded them the opportunity they desired. It was nearly dark, but the moon shone out at intervals, when the Stuarts of Appin, and the MacPhersons of Cluny, whom Charles had sent back to support the rear-guard, arrived. Lord George was able to make out by this imperfect light, that the enemy's force consisted of about four thousand cavalry and a thousand infantry, while his own force was composed only of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, two hundred men under Colonel Roy Stewart, and the two regiments that had been detached for their support. Lord George, with his accustomed intrepidity, cried out "Claymore!" and rushed sword in hand upon the English troops, who in a short time were completely routed, with the loss of a hundred and fifty men, their commander, Colonel Honeywood, being left severely wounded on the field. Lord George Murray would have renewed the attack, in the hope of destroying the whole of the Duke of Cumberland's van-guard, and for

that purpose sent for additional reinforcements. These Charles refused to send. Some have attributed his refusal to a feeling of jealousy lest a victory should have been gained without his presence, but his real motive was probably a belief that, a retreat into Scotland having once been determined on, a mere skirmish of the rear-guard could in no case lead to any important result. A servant of the Duke of Cumberland's was taken prisoner during this affair, and related that a Highlander had succeeded, in the course of the fray, in approaching near enough to the duke to present a pistol to his breast, but that the weapon had missed fire. Murray sent the servant to Penrith, but Charles, with his accustomed courtesy, sent the man back to his master, who, warned by the check he had received, forbore from any further attempts to harass the retreating Highlanders.

Charles and his army reached Carlisle on the 19th of December, and left it on the following day. A garrison of about 300 men was left behind, to secure possession of Carlisle Castle, in case of a second inroad into England, which it was hoped might soon be attempted. A calum-

nious and absurd insinuation has been put forward by the Chevalier Johnstone, to the effect that Charles left the Manchester regiment in Carlisle, by way of marking his resentment for the want of sympathy shown to him by the English people. This piece of slander is, however, disproved by the testimony of an officer present, Captain Daniel, whose manuscript memoir was communicated to Lord Mahon by Lady Willoughby de Eresby. Captain Daniel says, "Mr. Townley, Colonel of the English, petitioned the Prince, not only in his own name, but in the name of all the officers of the Manchester regiment, to be left, though the latter never assented to or desired it, many of them wishing to undergo the same fate as their Royal master. However, on Colonel Townley's coming back, and telling them that it was the Prince's pleasure that they should remain at Carlisle, they all, taking it as coming from the Prince, willingly acquiesced."

It was unwise, no doubt, to leave a garrison at Carlisle at all, the castle not being in a condition to defend itself against artillery; but, in selecting the troops intended to form this forlorn hope, Charles expressly chose a number of officers who

held French commissions, and would therefore be entitled, in case of capture, to be treated, not as rebels, but as prisoners of war.

Charles had daily opportunities, during his retreat, of convincing himself how accurate had been his anticipations of the mischievous effects of the fatal resolution adopted at Derby. An enterprise that had seemed to the people to be marked by a noble daring was now condemned for its rashness and temerity. The chivalrous Prince sunk in the vulgar estimation into a mere adventurer, and, had the conduct of his troops not been, upon the whole, exemplary, they would have been engaged in constant affrays with the people of the villages through which they passed. Some of the Highlanders, indeed, who, during the previous march, had refrained from every act of insubordination, seemed anxious to indemnify themselves for the mortification they felt at returning empty-handed to their hills. These symptoms of disorder it was impossible wholly to repress, but they were few in number, considering the condition of the army, which Charles was no longer able to pay with the same regularity as at first, while the men, notwithstanding the laborious marches they had

to make, were constantly subjected to the most severe privations.

Fatigued and dejected, Charles reached the Esk on his birthday, the 31st of December. The river was swollen in consequence of the rain that had been falling almost incessantly since the skirmish at Penrith, and, as the water was still rising, it became necessary to get the troops across with as little delay as possible. To break the force of the stream, the cavalry entered the river just above the point where the infantry were to cross. These then waded across in parties of ten or twelve, locked arm in arm, and thus mutually supporting one another against the violence of the current. During this hazardous passage across the Esk, Charles had the good fortune to save the life of one of his Highlanders at some risk to his own. The man had parted from his companions, and was floating down unable to resist the current, when Charles, who was on horseback, came to his assistance, caught hold of him by the hair, and supported him till more effectual aid could be obtained. This little occurrence tended in no small degree to heighten the popularity of their leader among the warm-hearted mountaineers. Several

of the poor women, however, who accompanied the camp were carried away by the stream.

The passage occupied about an hour. The troops, as they landed on Scottish ground, saluted their native soil with loud cheers. They had now completed the most difficult part of a retreat, highly creditable to the troops as well as to their leader. They had had to retire in the face of two hostile armies; but it was not so much from the operations of the enemy that they had suffered, as from the constant exposure to fatigue, hunger, and cold. Few of their stragglers and none of their sick fell into the hands of their pursuers. The whole of the artillery, with the exception of what had been left at Carlisle, was safely brought back to Scotland, and the rude mountaineers, though constantly suffering the most severe privations, and passing through a rich country, were but rarely guilty of any disorderly act.

A Highland officer* says of this retreat, "His Royal Highness did not lose forty men in the whole expedition, including the twelve at Penrith. Upon the whole, never was a march undertaken with more cheerfulness and executed with greater

* *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 498.

vigour and resolution." Lord Mahon, indeed, says, alluding to the conduct of the troops, "The Highland army pursued their retreat by the same track as they had come, but by no means with the same order. Disappointed and humbled in their own estimation, and with their bonds of discipline relaxed, they committed numerous acts of outrage, some in vengeance, others for plunder." The facts, however, which his lordship quotes in support of so sweeping an assertion, seem to show that these acts of outrage were for the most part acts of retaliation, drawn down upon the country-people by their own acts of aggression. Thus the inhabitants of a village near Stockport fired on a Highland patrol, whose comrades resented the attack by setting fire to the village, and the villagers in return killed or took prisoners all the stragglers. Manchester was subjected to a fine of five thousand pounds, in consequence of the riotous behaviour of the mob. The Prince himself carried his lenity on some occasions to a length that, in some measure, justified the murmurings of his friends. Several attempts to assassinate him remained entirely unpunished; and a woman and her son, taken up for the murder of a Jacobite

volunteer, were pardoned, though they confessed their crime.

The siege of Carlisle did not long occupy the Duke of Cumberland's troops. The garrison, having been summoned, replied by opening a brisk fire on the besiegers. The Jacobite officers, it seems, imagined that they should be able to resist, as the duke had no heavy artillery with him, but a supply was obtained from Whitehaven, and when the batteries had been erected, it was evident that the old mouldering walls of Carlisle Castle might be battered into a heap of ruins in a few days. On the 28th and 29th of December, the fire of the besiegers was kept up; and on the 30th, Mr. Hamilton, the governor, hung out a white flag, in token of his wish to capitulate. The only terms the duke would grant them were, that they should not be put to the sword, but should be "reserved for his Majesty's pleasure." This to many of them was but death deferred, for most of the officers of the garrison were executed about a year afterwards, on Kennington Common, with all the disgusting barbarity that in those days distinguished executions for high treason. After the recapture of Carlisle, the Duke of Cumberland

hastened back to London, leaving the command of the troops to Marshal Wade, who fixed his quarters at Newcastle, while another division under General Hawley was ordered to advance into Scotland.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

ARRIVAL OF THE REBELS AT GLASGOW—SIEGE OF STIRLING —GENERAL HAWLEY—HIS DEFEAT AT FALKIRK.

On passing the border, Charles divided his army into two separate corps, which, on the evening of the same day, arrived at Annan and Ecclefechan, and, pursuing their march through Dumfries and Moffat, united again at Glasgow on the 6th of January, 1746. The people of Dumfries, zealous Presbyterians, had all along distinguished themselves by their attachment to the house of Hanover, and had, on a former occasion, manifested their political partiality by seizing some baggage and ammunition belonging to the Jacobite army. When the Highlanders marched in, they found the city illuminated in consequence of a rumour that a serious disaster had befallen the insurgent army. Charles imposed a fine of 2000*l.* upon the town, disarmed

the inhabitants, and, having obtained only eleven hundred pounds, he took away the provost and another magistrate as hostages for the remainder. No personal outrage, however, was in any instance permitted against those who manifested their hostility to his cause, and the only punishment to which the anti-Jacobite nobility and gentry were subjected was to have the Prince and his officers quartered in their houses. On this principle, the Prince lodged himself, on the 2nd of January, at Drumlanrig, the seat of the Duke of Queensberry, who, like his father, had at all times been devoted to the Hanoverian succession, and was considered in Scotland to have shown his devotion at the cost of his country. The Highlanders marked their dislike of the duke by injuring some portraits of King William and of the daughter of James II.; of this outrage, not one of a very serious nature, when the popular irritation against the duke is taken into consideration, the traces still remain.

At Lismahago, the troops behaved with less moderation. Young Kinloch-Moidart having been sent by the Prince with despatches to the Hebrides, was arrested on his way by the people of that

village, delivered over to the English authorities, and subsequently executed at Carlisle. The Highlanders, on entering the place, set fire to several of the houses, but, by the exertions of the officers, order and discipline were quickly restored.

The people of Glasgow had expected to see in the Jacobite army only a band of disorderly fugitives; but the Highlanders presented, on the contrary, the appearance of a well-disciplined force, though their weather-beaten faces, their bristly beards, and their ragged habiliments gave them a somewhat formidable air in the eyes of the substantial burghers of the first commercial city of Scotland. The people of Glasgow had many reasons for apprehending the resentment of the Jacobites, and, indeed, according to the established rules of warfare, they would have been entitled to treat the city with severity, a regiment, for the service of King George, having been lately raised and equipped by the citizens, who, throughout the whole contest, had shown themselves more hostile to the cause of the Stuarts than had the inhabitants of any other town in Scotland. Strict discipline was, nevertheless, maintained by the troops, but a heavy requisition

of 5500*l.* was imposed upon the city, besides which the magistrates were obliged to furnish twelve thousand shirts, six thousand tartan jackets, six thousand plaids, six thousand pair of shoes, and the same number of stockings. Thus was the city of Glasgow, upon the whole, amerced in a sum of about 10,000*l.*, for which the magistrates afterwards claimed and received a compensation. The city of Glasgow, as we have already seen, had, on a former occasion, immediately after the battle of Preston, been called on to pay a similar contribution of 5500*l.*

The Prince lodged at Glasgow in the house of a wealthy merchant of the name of Glasford. Here, also, the conduct of Charles was marked by that delicacy and forbearance, which had everywhere wrung praises even from his most determined foes. Nevertheless, the spirit of the Glasgow people continued as hostile as ever, offering a remarkable contrast to the reception which Charles had experienced at Edinburgh. A few Jacobite ladies, indeed, assumed the white cockade, and about sixty men enlisted in his army; but the Presbyterian clergy, one and all, declaimed against him from their pulpits with

indomitable zeal, one of them going so far as to declare that all the marks of the Beast mentioned in Revelations might be traced in the mild and amiable features of the Prince. A fanatic even snapped a pistol at him, when he was riding through the Salt-market, and, as on former occasions, the attempt at assassination was followed by no punishment.

It was at Glasgow that Charles received the afflicting intelligence of the fall of Carlisle, and of the captivity of the small but gallant garrison. The news was brought by two officers of Lally's regiment, Nairn and Gordon, who had formed part of the garrison, and who, not placing much reliance upon the capitulation granted them by the Duke of Cumberland, had succeeded in effecting their escape. They but too well foresaw the fate that awaited their late companions, and communicated their apprehensions to the Prince, whose mind was, in some measure, diverted from the gloomy prospect by the engrossing cares which he was obliged to devote to his preparations for his second Scottish campaign.

At Glasgow, the troops were allowed to rest themselves eight days. The whole force, amount-

ing to 3600 infantry and 500 cavalry, marched out on the 14th of January, in two columns, which united again at Stirling, where Charles was joined by the troops under Lord John Drummond, and Lord Strathallan, as also by the detachment of Lord Lewis Gordon, who, a few days previously, in a skirmish near Inverary, had defeated the levies of the Earl of Loudon, and driven them back to Inverness. With these reinforcements, the Jacobite army amounted to nine thousand men, a more numerous force than had ever before been united under the command of Charles. In two days, the town of Stirling surrendered, but the castle stood secure on its craggy height, with a good garrison and an experienced governor. It was of the greatest importance, however, to obtain possession of a fortress which would at all times enable Charles to keep his communications open between the Highlands and the Lowlands, and, accordingly, it was resolved immediately to commence the siege. Lord John Drummond had brought with him from France two trains of artillery, and several French engineers, who do not, however, seem to have displayed much skill or judgment in their operations

against Stirling Castle, so that the siege made but little progress.*

Marshal Wade, moreover, had entered Scotland, having been reinforced by the Duke of Cumberland's cavalry, while the duke himself, and his infantry, had been recalled for the protection of the southern counties against the French invasion, with which the country continued to be threatened. As Wade, however, had never shown much military ability, was now borne down by age, and had displayed so very little activity during the preceding campaign, the command of the troops, at the suggestion of the Duke of Cumberland, was transferred to General Henry Hawley, an officer who had served as major at

* One of the Jacobite officers (see *Lockhart Papers*) speaks of the siege in these terms: "Our artillery was commanded by one M. Gourdon (*alias* the Marquis de Mirabelle, *nom de guerre*,) a French engineer, and there were ten or twelve gunners, which was all of that kind that came from France. The engineer, to show his dexterity, made his appearance on the strongest side of the castle, where there was nothing but rock and shingle to work upon, so that, in order to raise the batteries that were intended, there was nothing but forced earth, which was to be carried from a great distance, and at great expense, and when finished was commanded by the castle, by which there was a great many men lost, and the battery of little use; however, the work was continued rather than oppose his schemes, though it was agreed that the approaches might have been made, and to better purpose, on the other side."

the battle of Sheriffmuir, and had since seen some active service in Flanders. Hawley was, therefore, not without experience, but he had never shown himself possessed of much intelligence, and was generally disliked even by his own troops, on account of his violent and revengeful character. A multitude of anecdotes were current of his habitual cruelty. In Flanders, on one occasion, he had a deserter hung up before his own windows. The surgeons begged to have the body for dissection, but Hawley could not bear to part with so agreeable a spectacle. "At least," said he, "you shall give me the skeleton to hang up in the guard-room." Horace Walpole, who tells the above anecdote and others of a similar character, says, "he is called *Lord Chief Justice* (as if another Jeffries); frequent and sudden executions are his passion." Hawley, in fact, was a ruffian of a low order, though placed by fortune in a high place. He was an admirable foil to his royal patron, for, compared with Hawley, Cumberland was humane and generous, nor was there the least fear that the military fame of the favourite would ever eclipse that of the duke. Hawley found an occasion to outrage decency

even in his will, into which he introduced this expression: "The priest, I conclude, will have his fee; let the puppy have it!"

Hawley, on assuming the chief command, fully maintained the unenviable character which his previous conduct had secured to him. His first act, on entering Edinburgh, was to have two gibbets erected, whereon to hang the rebels who might fall into his hands. He applied to have several executioners attached to his army, and it was a common saying among his soldiers, that he conferred more frequently with his hangmen than with any other of his aides-de-camp. Lord John Drummond, holding a French commission, and styling himself commander-in-chief of the army of his most Christian Majesty in Scotland, sent to propose a cartel or exchange of prisoners. Hawley threw the letter into the fire, seized the drummer that brought it as a traitor, and made him write to Lord John, "that rebels were not to be treated with." Hawley delighted greatly to make poor "Johnnie Cope" the object of his scoff; but Cope was fully equal to the "*Lord Chief Justice*" in military ability, and was not degraded by the vices of his successor. "In one

word," as Lord Mahon says, "Cope was no general, but Hawley was not even a soldier."

Such was the man now opposed to the chivalrous prince, on whom rested the hopes of the Jacobites. Hawley affected to look down with the most unqualified contempt on his enemy. In a company of officers he boasted that "*he* knew the Highlanders; they were good militia, but he was certain they could not stand against a charge of dragoons that attacked them well." In point of numbers, Hawley's force was about the same as that of Charles. What with the Glasgow regiment, a few volunteers from Yorkshire, and the Argyleshire levies under Colonel Campbell, the government forces at Edinburgh amounted to between eight and nine thousand men. With these troops Hawley marched towards Stirling, to raise the siege of the castle—an enterprise, in the easy success of which he did not for a moment doubt.

As soon as he was aware of the enemy's approach, Charles advanced with his troops, leaving only a few hundred men to continue the blockade of the castle. On the 27th of January, he drew up his men on Bannockburn to await the attack, but, finding that neither on that nor on the following

day did the enemy show the least disposition to move out of Falkirk, he determined to anticipate the attack. Hawley, in his supreme contempt for the "Highland rabble," as he called the Jacobite army, neglected even the most common military precautions, such as sending out patroles.

He was indulging, on the morning of the 28th, in a good luncheon at Callender House, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock, who was at the time serving in the army of Charles. The countess, who had, of course, no motive to remind the self-sufficient general of his duty, was not unwilling to detain him from his troops at so important a moment; and he, on his part, seems to have been utterly unable to tear himself away from the well-covered table of his courteous hostess. The camp at Falkirk was thus left to General Huske, a better officer than his chief, but without authority to take upon himself the responsibility of any decisive movement. Under these circumstances, Charles had an opportunity to employ a stratagem, which was attended with complete success. With the main body of his army he marched round the southern part of the English camp—thus securing to his troops the advantage of the wind in the

battle about to ensue. At the same time, Lord John Drummond, with the whole of the cavalry, was detached towards the other extremity of Hawley's line, and along the straight road from Stirling to Falkirk, with orders to do everything likely to lead the enemy into a belief that the whole of the Jacobite army was advancing from that quarter.

So complete was the success of this stratagem, that Charles had already crossed the Carron, beyond Dunnipace, and was only separated from Hawley's troops by Falkirk Muir, then a rugged and ridgy upland; while General Huske's whole attention was still engrossed by the evolutions of Drummond's detachment. At about two o'clock, however, some country-people came running into the camp with the news that the Highlanders were coming; and this report was soon confirmed by some officers, who, on climbing into a tree, discovered the advancing Jacobites through a telescope. The whole camp was immediately alarmed—the drums beat to arms—the troops drew up—but the commander was absent, and his officers without orders; and frequent and loud murmurs were heard among the men, while messengers were

despatched to rouse the general from his comfortable quarters at Callender House.

Startled by the intelligence, he galloped off to Falkirk, where he arrived out of breath and without his hat. Ordering the infantry to follow with fixed bayonets, he immediately placed himself at the head of the three regiments of dragoons, and led them full speed to the summit of Falkirk Muir in the hope of anticipating the Highlanders; but his troops had to advance against a storm of wind and rain, so that the nimble mountaineers gained the race, and arrived first on the top of the hill.

Now, as on every occasion when in presence of the enemy, Charles recovered all his cheerfulness, and all that gallant bearing, which from the first had inspired his followers with so unbounded an enthusiasm for his cause. It seemed as if now, for the first time, he had recovered from the dejection caused by the retreat from Derby. Surrounded by his staff, and accompanied by the Marquis d'Eguilles, he rode through the ranks, while his soldiers gazed on him with pride and confidence, and shared in all his eagerness for the onset. Lally and the troops recently arrived from

France formed the reserve. They would willingly have occupied a more prominent position, but Charles could not venture to deprive the more important of the clans of the honour of marching in the van. Desirous, however, of availing himself of the experience of the French officers, he attached many of them to the different divisions of his army, and requested Lally himself to act as his aide-de-camp. His own wish was to lead the first line; but he yielded, as at Preston, to the solicitude of the chiefs for his personal safety, and took up his position in the rear of the second line, on a slight eminence, which still bears the name of Charlie's Hill, and is now overgrown with wood. Lord George Murray commanded the right wing, and Lord John Drummond the left. Hawley's troops were drawn up on somewhat lower ground, their cavalry in front, and their infantry, like that of the Jacobites, in two lines, with a reserve composed of the Glasgow regiment and the Argyle regiment. Hawley commanded the centre, Huske the right wing. Colonel Ligonier, who, on the death of Gardiner, had succeeded to the command of his dragoons, commanded the cavalry.

Ligonier opened the battle. He was ordered to attack the right wing of the Highlanders, and to drive them from their position; but the Macdonalds received the charge with a steady and well-supported fire, which they reserved till the dragoons were within ten yards' distance. The fire then opened upon them was so effective, that the heroes of Colt Brigg were immediately thrown into complete confusion, and cantered away as they had done on former occasions. The third regiment (Cobham's dragoons) maintained its ground somewhat longer, but at last also gave way. Lord George Murray now in vain endeavoured to restrain the martial ardour of the Macdonalds, and to keep them in line; but it was impossible to control them; they rushed upon the flank of Hawley's two columns, which at the same moment were furiously assailed in front, the Highlanders, after their fire, dropping their muskets, and charging sword in hand.

The English infantry, discouraged by the inactivity in which they had been kept, and nearly blinded by the wind and rain, were unable long to resist the sudden onset, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of their commander, the whole

centre soon gave way, and fled in the greatest confusion. On the right of Hawley's army matters had meanwhile gone on very differently. There, the English, protected by a ravine, had kept the Highlanders at bay; and, on being supported by Cobham's dragoons, who, in the mean time, had rallied in the rear, they assumed the offensive, and threw the left of the Jacobites into such complete confusion, that many of them fled with precipitation, under a belief that the day was irretrievably lost. The triumph of the government troops, even on the right, was but of short duration. Charles no sooner perceived the check which his left wing had experienced, than, placing himself at the head of the second line, he flew to the rescue, and forced the advancing enemy to withdraw from the field. Theirs was a retreat, however; whereas the rest of Hawley's troops were flying in the most disgraceful confusion.

Had the Jacobites followed up their advantage, the whole of Hawley's force must have been destroyed; but night was coming on, the storm continued to rage, the rain was still pouring down, and Lord John Drummond, remembering how admirably those very regiments had behaved at

Fontenoi, was apprehensive that the retreat might be merely a feint, with a view to draw the Highlanders into an ambush. Under this impression, the Jacobites remained for some time inactive and unresolved on the field of battle, until some parties, sent forward to reconnoitre, brought Charles the intelligence that the English had already evacuated Falkirk, which the Prince then entered by torch-light, while Hawley spent the night at Linlithgow, and on the following day reached Edinburgh again. His loss at Falkirk amounted to about four hundred killed, among whom were Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, three lieutenant-colonels, and nine captains. The Jacobites estimated their loss at about forty men, about one third, it is supposed, of the true number. They took about a hundred prisoners, among whom was Home, the author of "Douglas," and the historian of the war of 1745. Three standards and all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the English army fell into the hands of the insurgents. Hawley had, indeed, attempted to set fire to his camp, but the torrents of rain that poured down had extinguished the flames.* His only consolation, on his arrival at

* At Linlithgow, Hawley's soldiers were more successful in their attempts at conflagration. Some of the men were quartered in the

Edinburgh, was to turn his gibbets to account, and, as he had no rebels to decorate them with, he gratified his "passion for executions" by hanging a few of his own runaway dragoons. Four were thus hanged on one day, and a number of others were severely flogged. In his official account of the battle, Hawley, following the example of Cumberland at Penrith, claimed the victory, alleging that the stormy weather had prevented him from following up his advantages.

royal palace, and, on breaking up in the morning, they raked the embers into the straw pallets, and thus deliberately reduced the venerable pile to a blackened and desolate ruin. Such at least is the version of Chambers and of Sir W. Scott. Grose, in his *Antiquities of Scotland*, ascribes the fire to accident.

## CHAPTER XIX.

CHARLES'S ARMY WEAKENED BY THE DEPARTURE OF HIGHLANDERS TO SECURE THE PLUNDER TAKEN AT FALKIRK—SIEGE OF STIRLING RAISED—RETREAT OF THE REBELS FROM STIRLING.

THE victory of Falkirk was not attended by any substantial advantages to the Jacobite cause. In a memorial addressed at a subsequent period to the King of France, and of which farther mention will hereafter be made, Charles attributed to the want of provisions his inability to follow up his triumph by the entire destruction of Hawley's army. Among the Highland officers great dissension arose, Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond mutually reproaching each other for not having completed the destruction of the enemy. Lord George said that Lord John had not supported, as he ought to have done, the operations of the right wing, and Lord John blamed Lord

George for not having consented, after the repulse of the dragoons, to a simultaneous attack by both wings on the enemy's infantry.

Nor were these disputes among the worst consequences of the battle of Falkirk. The Highlanders had collected rich spoils from the field,* and were anxious to secure their booty in their mountain homes; and the numbers that set off for this purpose reduced the army to a comparative skeleton. This spirit of desertion was increased by an unfortunate occurrence. A clansman of Clanranald's was examining a musket, part of his booty, at an open window, when the piece went off, and killed a son of Glengarry, who was passing through the street. The Prince, conscious of the unfavourable effect likely to be produced by this unfortunate accident, neglected nothing that might serve to soften the anger of the offended clan. The body of the slain man was placed in the same vault in which reposed the

* The mountaineers, according to Chambers (*History of the Rebellion*), stripped the dead so effectually "that a townsman of Falkirk, who surveyed the field of battle on the following morning, used to say that he could compare the slain only to a large flock of white sheep at rest on the face of a hill, so completely had the Highlanders stripped them."

body of John Graham, who died in battle under Wallace, and Charles himself attended the funeral as chief mourner. The tribe of Glengarry were not, however, appeased, but, in the spirit of feudal vengeance, demanded life for life. Clanranald reluctantly yielded up his follower, who was taken out and shot, his own father joining in the fire, that the youth's sufferings might be the sooner terminated. Even this wild act of vengeance did not satisfy the Glengarry men, the greater part of whom abandoned the Prince's standard and returned to their mountains.

The pursuit of Hawley had been neglected in the moment of victory, but became impossible when the Jacobite army had been so seriously reduced in numbers, and when Hawley had collected his beaten and scattered troops within the walls of Edinburgh. Charles, therefore, retired, and resumed the siege of Stirling Castle, after having printed at Bannockburn his account of the battle, a document which proved to be the last of his Scottish proclamations. The siege was badly conducted. Mirabelle, the French engineer who had arrived with Lord John Drummond, in no way justified the confidence reposed in him by

Charles, but erected his batteries in exposed situations, where they were soon silenced by the fire of the castle. The Highlanders soon grew weary of a service for which they were unfit, and refused any longer to man the batteries or go into the trenches. The operations of the siege were then left to the piquets of the Irish brigade, and to the regiment brought by Drummond from France. Many of these men were killed by the fire of the castle, and the besiegers were at the same time harassed by the guns of an English sloop of war that had ascended the Forth. Provisions too were scarce, and fresh supplies not to be obtained without difficulty, so that the siege became daily more distasteful to the troops engaged in it.

Thus were two weeks wasted in useless operations. Meanwhile the Highland chiefs, to whom Charles had never restored his confidence since the unfortunate result of their deliberations held at Derby, were mortified by their exclusion from his councils, and justly irritated by the incompetency and presumption of the French engineer. They concerted measures to recover their lost authority, and in that view drew up a memorial, which was sent to the Prince by Lord George Murray, who is

supposed to have been the secret mover of the whole design. This document, which is given in the Appendix to Home's History, is couched in these words:—

"We think it our duty in this critical juncture to lay our opinions in the most respectful manner before your Royal Highness. We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of your Royal Highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk; and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent; and, as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it fall into your Royal Highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy. For these reasons we are humbly of opinion, that there is no way to extricate the army out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed, the remainder of the winter, by taking and mastering the forts of the north, and we are morally sure we can keep as

many men together as will answer that end, and hinder the enemy from following us into the mountains at this season of the year; and in spring we doubt not but an army of ten thousand effective Highlanders can be brought together to follow your Royal Highness wherever you think proper. This will certainly disconcert your enemies, and cannot but be approved by your Royal Highness's friends both at home and abroad. If a landing should happen in the mean time, the Highlanders would immediately rise, either to join them, or to make a powerful diversion elsewhere. The hard marches which your army has undergone, the winter season, and now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by your Royal Highness's allies abroad, as well as your faithful adherents at home. The greatest difficulty that occurs to us is the saving of the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but better some of these were thrown into the river Forth, as that your Royal Highness, besides the danger of your own person, should risk the flower of your army, which we apprehend must inevitably be the case, if this retreat be not agreed to and gone about, without the loss of one moment;

and we think that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance, when there are such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources your Royal Highness will have from your faithful and dutiful followers at home. It is but just now we are apprised of the numbers of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight. And we offer this our opinion with the more freedom, that we are persuaded that your Royal Highness can never doubt of the uprightness of our intentions."

This memorial bore the signatures of Lord George Murray, Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, Ardshiel, Lochgarry, Scothouse, and Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat.

On the very day before that on which this document was handed to Charles, Lord George Murray had been with him, to submit to him a plan of the intended battle, which he had approved and corrected with his own hand. He was, therefore, the more surprised and grieved by a remonstrance, which, coming from such men, came armed with all the force of a command. When he had read the paper, he could scarcely

believe his eyes. "Good God! have I lived to see this?" he passionately exclaimed, and struck his head against the wall with such violence, that he reeled back from the force of the blow. He immediately sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to the chiefs, to induce them to abandon their design; but the attempt was vain, the chiefs remained bent on the retreat, and Charles, with a melancholy foreboding of his fate, was again obliged to turn his back upon an enemy whom he would fain have met face to face in the field.

In justice to the Highland chiefs, it must, however, be admitted that the reasons for an immediate retreat were most urgent. The Duke of Cumberland had arrived at Edinburgh to assume the command of a more numerous army than had fought at Falkirk, and the number of Highlanders who had gone off, left Charles at the head of a force altogether insufficient to enable him to maintain his ground. Accordingly, on the 12th of February, the retreat commenced, as soon as the Jacobites had spiked their heavy cannon, and blown up their powder magazine at St. Ninian's. This last operation was so unskilfully executed, that the explosion destroyed a neighbouring church,

and killed several country-people, a circumstance of which party spirit was quick to avail itself, and to impute it to deliberate malice. The circumstance that several Jacobite soldiers, including the man who fired the train, were among the victims, is a sufficient proof that the mischief done was the result of accident and not of design.

The men rested the first night at Dumblane, and marched on, the next day, to Crieff, but with very little of the discipline and good order that had formerly accompanied their movements. Mortified at the restraint under which he felt that he was acting, Charles gave way to a froward temper, and endeavoured to show, as during the retreat from Derby, that it was no longer to his orders that the army was amenable. More than once he neglected to give the necessary orders, at other times suddenly countermanded those that had been given, and much confusion and loss of baggage ensued. But even amid all his ill-humour, his gallant bearing never deserted him. At a council of war, called near Crieff, when the officers mutually reproached each other with having caused the disorder of the retreat, Charles at once put an end to their recrimination by taking

the whole blame to himself. At this council it was determined to divide the troops into two columns, one of which, under the command of Charles, was to march by the direct road to Inverness, while the other, under Lord George Murray, was to proceed to the same place by the route of Perth, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Peterhead.

## CHAPTER XX.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND FOLLOWS THE RETREATING HIGHLANDERS—ROUT OF MOY—OCCUPATION OF INVERNESS—REDUCTION OF FORTS GEORGE AND AUGUSTUS—UNSUCCESSFUL SIEGE OF FORT WILLIAM—MOUNTAIN WARFARE—DISTRESS OF THE HIGHLAND ARMY—PLAN OF A LANDING IN ENGLAND ABANDONED BY THE FRENCH COURT.

THE varying fortunes of the war since the retreat from Derby had naturally kept public feeling in London in a constant state of anxious excitement. The first news that the retreat had been actually commenced, was received with apparent joy by the whole court of George the Second. There was one man only who was excused for not openly participating in the general triumph, and that was Sir John Cope, who, though acquitted by a court-martial for his conduct at Preston, had not been able to escape the censure of public opinion. The

newspapers had made him the object of their virulent attacks; and to such a degree had he become an object of public derision, that it was necessary for him to take precautions not to be recognised in the streets. To defend himself, he had always maintained that the first commander after him, who engaged in a general battle with the Highlanders, would succeed no better than he had done at Preston, and this opinion he had supported by several high wagers, the amount of which was said to exceed £10,000. Everything, therefore, concurred, when the news of the battle of Falkirk reached London, to make Sir John Cope the only man at the court of St. James's whom no one expected to wear even the semblance of sorrow, on hearing that he had at last a partner in his misfortune or misconduct.

Since the return of the Duke of Cumberland from Carlisle, the insurrection in Scotland had been looked on as a matter of comparatively little importance, and even a French invasion had ceased to be an object of apprehension to the nation at large. This feeling of security yielded to one of an opposite character, on the arrival of evil tidings from Falkirk; and a second occupation of Edin-

burgh, followed by a second march towards London, was again spoken of as within the range of possibility. The Duke of Cumberland was immediately pointed at as the only man capable of retrieving this new disaster. The Duke, as we learn from Lord Marchmont's Diary, "laid the blame of the affair of Hawley on want of discipline, and said, were he there, he would attack the rebels with the men that Hawley had left." An opportunity was quickly afforded of testing the sincerity of this declaration. The cabinet, in its embarrassment, appointed him at once to the chief command of the troops in Scotland, with an urgent request to lose no time in proceeding to that country. He set off immediately, and, travelling night and day, arrived at Holyrood House on the 10th of February, where he took up his lodging for the night in the same apartments, and even slept in the same bed, that had lately been occupied by Charles.

The Duke of Cumberland was nearly of the same age as Charles Stuart, being only four months younger. Both princes possessed in an eminent degree the talent of ingratiating themselves with their soldiers; but the duke was destitute of those graces of person and manners, and deficient in

those chivalrous sentiments, which so strongly characterised his cousin and competitor. For his age, he was remarkably corpulent and unwieldy, and in his manners he was rough and disagreeable. Among his soldiers he was known by the appellation of "Bluff Bill," but even to them he was at times an object of terror, on account of his harshness and rigour. On his arrival at Edinburgh he put a stop to the savage executions of Hawley, but towards the Jacobites he soon showed himself incapable of a generous sentiment. The sequel will afford a faint idea of the barbarities of which he was guilty in unhappy Scotland. His contemporaries branded him with the by-word THE BUTCHER, and History and Poetry have joined in confirming the name. He was not destitute of personal courage, and had made himself master of all the details of his profession; still, upon the whole, his military career cannot be called a brilliant one; his talents as a general were not of a high order; he was never victorious but in one battle; and his signature of the capitulation of Kloster Seven can scarcely be looked on in any other light than as a disgrace.

After a few hours' repose at Holyrood House,

the duke summoned all the principal officers of the army, and made immediate preparations for the campaign. He received the magistrates and the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh; and, in the evening, while the city was illuminated, he gave an entertainment to the *beau monde* of the Scottish capital. Among his guests on this occasion were many of the fair Jacobites who, not many months ago, had displayed so ardent a zeal for the cause of the Stuarts, and who still took pleasure in manifesting their political partiality by a profusion of white ribbons. The duke remained only thirty hours in Edinburgh, and then set out for Stirling at the head of ten thousand men, accompanied by General Hawley and the Earl of Albemarle as his lieutenants-general.

At Falkirk, the duke received intelligence that the Jacobite army had left Stirling. He was soon satisfied of the difficulty of overtaking the nimble Highlanders, and thought it prudent to oppose all the precautions of regular warfare to the undisciplined bravery of the enemy with whom he had to contend. One day was lost in repairing a bridge, to enable his troops to cross the river; and, when he reached the Highlands,

he found his progress, during a severe season, frequently arrested, as that of Cope had been, by impediments, which to the mountaineers were none. He accordingly halted at Perth (17th February), established his head-quarters there, and sent out detachments to insure the submission of the surrounding country. About this time there arrived six thousand Hessian auxiliaries, who had been taken into English pay, in the room of the six thousand Dutch troops, of whom mention has already been made, and who had been withdrawn from the English service in consequence of the remonstrances of Lord John Drummond, who, as a French general, demanded the retirement of troops that had pledged themselves at Dendermonde and Tournay not to serve against France during the present war.

The Hessian troops were under the command of Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel. For the sake of an interview with the prince, Cumberland returned to Edinburgh, where public rejoicings took place, as though the retreat from Stirling had been equivalent to a victory and the civil war already terminated. It was arranged that Prince Frederick's troops should remain in the

southern counties of Scotland, to retain them in subjection, while the duke's should continue the war in the Highlands; and with this view Cumberland returned to Perth, and proceeded for some time to follow in the track of his opponent, having daily opportunities, though he had no enemy to fight with, of convincing himself of the determined hostility of the Highlanders to the cause of his family. The lairds of Angus showed themselves for the most part devoted to the house of Stuart, and at Forfar a whole Jacobite detachment was concealed in the town while the duke was marching through, and no sooner had he passed, than the streets resounded again with the drums of the insurgents to levy fresh recruits in the name of King James.

Similar manifestations of public feeling marked his progress through Brechin and Glenesk, places which the duke described as Jacobite nests, that ought to be cleared out by fire and sword. At the castle of Glamis, popular superstition was resorted to, as a means of annoying the duke. According to an old tradition, a certain Earl of Glamis, five hundred years before, in his rage at having lost a large sum of money at cards, made

a vow that he would continue the game till he won back the money, even though he should have to play on till the day of judgment. In consequence of this profane vow, a demon was said to have taken his place at the table, and the game had gone on ever since, the oaths and blasphemies of the gamblers being frequently heard in Laird Barbu's room, where the infernal diversion was to continue till the last trumpet called the players from their game. The duke spent a night at the haunted castle, and in the morning the saddle-girths of himself and all his attendants were missing. No one would venture to look for them in "Laird Barbu's room," where they had probably been concealed, and the better part of a day was lost in supplying the deficiency. On the 11th of March, the duke established his head-quarters at Aberdeen, where he determined to await the return of a milder season, before he again advanced towards the banks of the Spey.

Charles, in the mean time, had arrived with his column in the vicinity of Inverness. Lord Loudon, since the commencement of the campaign, had fortified the place with a ditch and palisades, and occupied it with two thousand men, levied

through the influence of Duncan Forbes. With this force Loudon had thus far succeeded in keeping the Jacobite clans of the neighbourhood in subjection. To insure the capture of the Highland capital, Charles delayed the attack till the arrival of Lord George Murray's column; and, in the mean time, having cantoned his troops in the neighbourhood, accepted the hospitality of Lady Mac Intosh at Moy Castle, about ten miles from Inverness. This lady, whose husband was serving under Loudon, had nevertheless raised the clan for the Stuarts, and was in the habit of riding at the head of her kinsmen in martial attire, with pistols at her saddle-bow, Colonel Mac Gillivrey, of Drummaglass, commanding the men when in the field. Charles, attended by about three hundred men, had scarcely taken up his quarters at Moy Castle, when Lord Lovat, who had been detained for some time on suspicion in Inverness, succeeded in effecting his escape. Loudon, however, resolved to attempt a surprise on Moy Castle, and thus to possess himself of a far more important captive than the one he had lost. In the evening of the 27th of February, all the gates of the town having been

closed, Loudon marched out with fifteen hundred men, expecting to arrive at Moy at about eleven o'clock. Lady Mac Intosh, however, received timely information of the intended visit. A girl of about fourteen, whose father kept a public-house at Inverness, had heard some English officers talking in the tap-room of a night-march to Moy, to be executed that night, and lost no time in hastening to the castle to inform Lady Mac Intosh of the danger that menaced her. The lady, scorning even to wake her guest, sent six or seven of her men to disperse themselves in the woods through which the road passed. When Loudon and his soldiers arrived, the Highlanders fired from their several stations, and immediately set up the war-cries of the Lochiels, the Keppochs, and the other clans, while a few bagpipers, who accompanied them, struck up the several family tunes. The deception was complete. Loudon's men believed that they had fallen into an ambush, and that they had the whole Highland army about them. Under this impression they returned to Inverness with so much hurry and confusion, that their night-march continued for many years an object of derision among

the people, under the name of "the rout of Moy."

On the following day, Charles assembled his men, and on the 1st of March advanced to Inverness, to repay Lord Loudon's visit. The latter did not, however, await the attack, but embarked with his men, accompanied by Forbes, and landed at Cromarty, whence, pursued by a Highland force, under the Earl of Cromarty, he was some time afterwards driven into Sutherlandshire, and at last obliged to dismiss his troops, and escape with the Lord President to the Isle of Skye. Cromarty, on his return, was, however, surprised, with some of his officers, at Dunrobin Castle, by a party of the Sutherlandshire militia; but, as this happened only on the 26th of April, the day before the battle of Culloden, it exercised no influence over the events to which our consideration is at present directed.

Two days after our hero's entry into Inverness, he reduced Fort George, and Fort Augustus was shortly afterwards obliged to surrender to Lord John Drummond. Both fortresses were destroyed, to the great delight of the Highlanders. Charles was again urged to put to death his prisoners,

in retaliation for the executions with which the Jacobites were threatened. This he refused to do, to the great disappointment of his Higlanders, and he equally rejected a proposal to have the right hand thumb of each of his captives struck off, by way of disabling them from farther military service. He determined, however, for the future, to send all officers who might fall into his hands to France, there to be kept as hostages for the security of the Jacobites who had been taken prisoners by the government troops. To this he was also in some measure led by the conduct of those officers who had been dismissed on parole, and yet did not hesitate to serve against him immediately afterwards.* But he had not always at his command, the means either of keeping his prisoners in safe custody or of sending them beyond seas; and a number of officers who fell into his hands, a short time afterwards, were again dismissed on parole, having pledged themselves not to serve against him for a period of eighteen months. The Duke of Cumberland, by a circular, relieved the officers in question from the obligations

* So at least says Sir W. Scott in his *Tales of a Grandfather*. The Highlanders, to mark their sense of this perfidy, dismissed some of Hawley's executioners on parole after the battle of Falkirk.

of their parole, and threatened them with punishment if they did not immediately join their several corps. Four only had the spirit to answer that their commissions, but not their honour, were at the disposal of his Royal Highness.

The siege of Fort William by Lochiel and Keppoch was less fortunate. The Highlanders could not prevent the arrival of constant supplies by sea, and the fort was stoutly defended by a garrison of six hundred men. Lord George Murray, about the same time, failed in an attempt on the castle of Blair. He began the siege towards the end of March, after he had cleared the vale of Athol of the government troops, about three hundred of whom were taken prisoners; but the castle, seated on a rock, fenced by walls seven feet in thickness, and commanded by a vigilant and experienced officer, Sir Andrew Agnew, was not to be taken by the aid of the two light field-pieces that Lord George was able to bring against it. The castle might have been reduced by famine, had not a party of Hessian troops, under the Earl of Crawford, arrived in time to raise the siege. On the approach of the Earl, Lord George sent a messenger to the Prince, offering to attack the

Hessians, if a reinforcement of twelve hundred men were sent him. Charles, however, who is supposed to have entertained at the time some unjust suspicions of Lord George's fidelity, refused the required reinforcement, under the plea that he was about to concentrate his forces.* Lord George, in obedience to Charles's order, abandoned the siege, and fell back upon the main body of the army, after having offered the Prince of Hesse an exchange of prisoners, to which the Prince consented, but which the Duke of Cumberland refused to ratify.

The Highlanders had obtained a number of partial advantages in the course of their mountain warfare, nevertheless the situation of Charles at Inverness was daily becoming more precarious. Master of the country for a hundred miles round, he was *able* to disperse his troops over a great extent of country, and this he was *obliged* to do by the great difficulty he experienced in supplying

* A rough draught in Charles's writing, found among the Stuart Papers, declares: "When Lord George Murray undertook the attack of the post at Blair Castle, he took an officer, whom he sent back, without so much as consulting the Prince, a thing so contrary to all military practice, that no one that has the least sense can be guilty of it, without some private reason of his own."

them with provisions. His finances were at the same time at a low ebb, his little treasury having been reduced to about five hundred louis-d'ors, so that he was obliged to pay his men in meal, and was not able to make even this species of payment with the necessary regularity.* Assistance from France could alone relieve him from these embarrassments, and it may, therefore, be as well, before we proceed with the events that followed at Inverness, to show the precarious character of the succour which the French government meted out to him in his present difficulties.

Immediately after the battle of Falkirk, Count Lally, who had fought on the occasion with distinguished bravery, quitted Scotland for Ireland, whence he proceeded to Spain, to stimulate the friends to the cause to renewed exertions. He even ventured to London, where the police obtained a scent of him, but he succeeded in escaping in the disguise of a sailor. He met with some

* In Macdonald's Journal (*Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 508) we are told: "Our army had got no pay in money for some time past, but meal only, which the men being obliged to sell out and convert into money, it went but a short way for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly, and were suspicious that we officers had detained it from them."

smugglers, who pressed him into their service; but, learning that these men were on the look-out for Count Lally, for whose apprehension a large reward had been offered, he found means to turn the discovery to his own advantage. He persuaded them that he had himself been instrumental to the count's escape, but promised, if they would run across to the French coast, that he would inveigle the fugitive into their power again. On their arrival at Boulogne, however, he had them arrested, and hastened on to Versailles, to urge the court to lose no time in forwarding the promised succours to Scotland.

It was not, to be expected, after France had neglected to interfere in an energetic manner while Charles was advancing to Derby, that her government should display a greater degree of alacrity when the Jacobite army was cooped up in the Highlands, and the affairs of their prince wearing every day a less prosperous aspect. Single ships, with a few men and some money on board, were sent from time to time, but fell for the most part into the hands of the English cruizers, or returned to France, in consequence of not having been able to effect a landing on a favourable part

of the coast. The Hazard, an English sloop of war, which had been surprised by the Highlanders, was sent to France, after her name had been changed into that of the Prince Charles. In this vessel, the Marquis de Fimarçon was sent to Scotland, with a hundred and fifty recruits and ten thousand pounds in gold. The Marquis was chased by an English cruizer, the Sheerness, but succeeded in escaping her, and ran his vessel into the Kyle of Tongue, where he and the ship were captured by some government troops under the command of Lord Reay, who had remained in the northern part of Sutherlandshire after the retreat of Lord Loudon. Charles, informed of the arrival of so desirable a supply, sent Lord John Drummond and the Marquis d'Eguilles with a strong detachment to cover the landing; they arrived too late to save the Prince Charles and her valuable cargo, and from that time no more succours were received from France.

The want of money and provisions produced dissatisfaction among the men, and very soon loosened the bonds of discipline, while, at the same time, it became the more difficult to concentrate a force upon a given point, with a view to any important operation. At a time when

the men were often pinched with hunger, when, according to the report of an English prisoner, even the best officers were glad to procure a few blades of raw cabbage from the farmers' gardens, it can scarcely excite wonder to learn that desertions became alarmingly numerous. From eight hundred to a thousand men quitted their respective corps, and returned to their mountains. The cavalry had suffered severely since the retreat from Stirling, and several of the clans were too far away from the main force to be easily united again. Yet all these misfortunes were light compared to the evil influence which about this time began to operate upon the Jacobite cause, in consequence of the mutual jealousies and dissensions among the chiefs. We have seen that Lord George Murray no longer possessed the Prince's confidence, and the fact was known to many at head-quarters. Faithful to the declaration with which he had closed the council of war at Derby, Charles had from that time taken the whole direction of the army into his own hands, placing his chief confidence in his secretary, John Murray, in his former tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and in the Irish officers in French pay by whom he had been joined. The Highland chiefs were mortified to

find themselves supplanted in the confidence of their prince, the more so, as they looke don the Irish-French officers as men who were not fighting for the cause of Scotland, but as mere adventurers who looked only for promotion in the French army as their reward.

At Inverness, Charles was joined by two gentlemen, who brought him positive intelligence that the cabinet of Versailles had finally abandoned the idea of a landing in England; and that the Duke of York, who was to have been placed at the head of the expedition, had been recalled to Paris. Nevertheless, as soon as he had recovered from a slight attack of fever, which had confined him for a few days at Elchin, and had returned to Inverness, the Prince recovered his constitutional gaiety of disposition, hunting in the morning, and attending balls and other entertainments in the evening. Walter Scott ascribes the good spirits of Charles at this time to a conviction that the Duke of Cumberland's soldiers would never give battle to their rightful prince; but it is difficult to suppose that Charles should think that the same soldiers who fought at Preston and Falkirk under Cope and Hawley would not be as ready now to fight under the orders of Cumberland; and besides,

Scott himself says a little further on, "for all these evils Charles Edward saw no other remedy than a pitched battle." Charles's gaiety at this time must, therefore, be attributed either to a characteristic levity, and a disregard for the future, or to a firmness which misfortune could not shake, and to a power of controlling his inward emotions, and of disguising his real grief under a gay seeming. As he never manifested levity and a disregard to consequences on any other important occasion, and as an inflexible firmness constituted through life one of the most prominent features of his character, it is but fair to attribute his gay bearing at Inverness to a tranquillity and determination of purpose, and perhaps to an excusable confidence, inspired by the reflection that he had hitherto gained every battle he had fought.

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