

A
S E R I E S
OF
L E T T E R S ,

DISCOVERING
The SCHEME projected by FRANCE,
In M DCC LIX.

For an INTENDED INVASION upon ENGLAND
with FLAT-BOTTOM'D BOATS;
AND
Various CONFERENCES and ORIGINAL PAPERS touching that
FORMIDABLE DESIGN.

POINTING AT
The Secret and True Motives, which precipitated the Negotiations, and Conclusion of the
last Peace.

To which are prefixed,
The SECRET ADVENTURES of the Young Pretender

AND
The Conduct of the French Court respecting him during his Stay in Great Britain, and
after his return to Paris.

ALSO
The CHIEF CAUSE that brought on the late Banishment of the JESUITS from the French
Dominions; a Secret as yet concealed from the JESUITS themselves: with the real
Examination of FATHER HAMILTON, taken at Fountainbleau, October 1756, who was
employed to assassinate the YOUNG PRETENDER.

Together with
The PARTICULAR CASE of the AUTHOR,
In a MEMORIAL to his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

By OLIVER MAC ALLESTER, Esq;

VOL. I.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES,
EARL OF CAMBDEN,
Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*.

My LORD,

PERMIT me to have the honour to address and lay before Your Lordship a work, which, I flatter myself, will be found as interesting as any of the kind, or on political subjects, ever published in this kingdom, and to merit Your high consideration and patronage; for in it, together with many other interesting facts, will be fully disclosed the schemes and politics of the French court, in their late designs against his sacred Majesty, his crown and kingdoms; and by what, and whose means, those dangerous designs were discovered and defeated.

That a person, who has not the honour or happiness to be known to Your Lordship, should attempt to address his works to such an eminent and distinguished character, may seem somewhat extraordinary: but as it is the work that will Speak for the person, and the merit thereof alone that supplicates and demands Your Lordship's favour and generous protection, the author hopes that will plead his excuse.

Exalted, for inimitable virtues, to the highest pitch of

earthly greatness under the *British* crown, to be keeper and preserver of his Majesty's conscience, and the delight of his people, who know that justice and equity, pure and unspotted as new-fallen snow, stream from that fountain, which, unbiased and unprejudiced, flows from, and runs thro' all your actions, no wonder that the oppressed fly to to Your Lordship for redress of ills, for which the oppressor has no feeling.

Such considerations alone made me resolve to lay this work before Your Lordship, in hopes that they, with my services, and the injustice I have received, may reach the Royal ear; and that I shall obtain satisfaction, according to the merit of those important services; since, for the honour and security of the crown, and the happiness and prosperity os the nation, nothing that may contribute to either ought to be kept secret, or concealed from one in Your high station; beseeching Your Lordship to indulge me in the liberty I take, os subscribing myself, with all truth, and the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most devoted, and

Most obedient servant,

O. MAC ALLESTER.



A
 SERIES
 OF
 LETTERS.

LETTER THE FIRST.



CURIOSITY, from whose powerful influence no sex or age is exempt, naturally leads us to an enquiry after every thing that is new, amusing, or entertaining; but when interesting subjects, objects that regard the happiness and prosperity of a mighty sovereign, and a great nation, present themselves to view, there can be no doubt, but (thus excited) the ardent desire of a due knowledge thereof must be raised to the highest pitch, amongst all ranks of people; and that the public, ever anxious for the discovery of truth, and from whom those matters (for political reasons) are generally too long kept secret, will be greatly obliged, in having such discoveries and candid explanations laid before them, as may clearly and evidently give them the fullest proof, and the most ample satisfaction in these respects.

Persuaded as I am of your impartiality in judging of facts, convinced of your rectitude of heart, and inviolable

attachment to justice and the laws of your country; knowing also, that every power and faculty of your mind has not been less frequently employed in their defence, and in support of the just rights of the illustrious house of *Hanover* to the imperial crown of these realms, against the pretender and their common enemy, than in endeavouring to preserve the liberty and independance of your fellow-citizens, against injustice and oppression, I address, therefore,. these letters to you, Sir, and with an intention to commit them to the press; that the public, by a knowledge of the particulars of these interesting matters, may be truly informed thereof, and, amongst other things,. of some late formidable *designs* of the enemy in favour of the pretender, against his Majesty's crown and kingdoms, as well as against the lives and possessions of his liege people in general, to the entire ruin of this nation.

By this correspondence, you will find disclosed, by what, and by whose means, that formidable *design* of invading this kingdom was discovered and defeated; the means laid down, and visible In themselves, of making the whole troops and imbarcation victims of the enterprize, in case the attempt had been carried into execution together with the secret motives that brought about the late peace; authenticated by the strongest proofs, and such papers as have not heretofore been made known to the public.

You will also find, to your great surprise, and what is so inconsistent with the true *British* spirit, the ungenerous, cruel, and ungrateful treatment of the person, who rendered to his Majesty and this nation those great and important services; the manner in which he has been used by men in power, notwithstanding the promises and assurances made to him, of a generous and liberal recompence, both before

and after the services were performed; which, I dare say, you will consider with the public, as a dishonour to the *British* nation, and a great discouragement to others hereafter to risk their lives, to render such important services to either; the want of which may prove of the last consequence and greatest fatality to both.

To satisfy these objects, and give the clearest lights into the several transactions proposed, it may be necessary to step a little way back, and to mention some facts antecedent to the designs of the enemy for invading this kingdom, in the year 1762, by the flat-bottom'd boats, and an army of about 50,000 men, then assembled on the coast of *France*, and provided with all things necessary for that bold and formidable project's being, with the utmost secrecy of its destination, carried into execution.

The connection of many facts and anecdotes relative to the unnatural rebellion of the year 1745, and the present subject, makes *this* necessary; especially as many of them have not been heretofore made public. For which purpose, it must be remembered, that in the years 1743 and 1744, associations, or rather conspiracies, were entered into, in *Scotland*, by the chiefs of the clans there, and others attached to their own destruction, in the tyrant family of the *Stuarts*; which associations were duly signed by them, and sent to *Rome*, for raising a rebellion, which (according to their plan) was not to break out till the year 1746 or 1747, the time judged most proper for the execution thereof, by the enemies of the house of *Hanover*, to place the pretender on the throne of these kingdoms, or his eldest son *Charles*; who was to act, and did afterwards assume that title, and pretended to act, as *Regent*, during the troubles, which broke out in *Scotland* a year

sooner than was expected, or even intended, by the associates or conspirators themselves; many of whom, at that very time, were in the service of the crown of *England*, or had their bread depending thereon by pensions or other advantages, from which they drew their daily support.

Those persons, who had been at *Rome* on this business, as commissioners and emissaries, and to whom the secret, with every precaution for effecting the scheme, was imparted, being returned to *England* and *Scotland*, had their several parts assigned unto them for bringing it to perfection: that is to say, they were to prepare such materials, as they best could, for this daring enterprize, which, they were persuaded, was to be seconded by *France*, and supported by her troops, &c. They were to sound the minds and dispositions of their friends and acquaintance at *London* and elsewhere; to insinuate the great expectations of some new and happy change; to cultivate and improve every advantage and circumstance that might present itself for promoting this great *design*, without disclosing the secret confiding it but to a very few, and to those only as were then named and agreed on, as persons of known zeal and fidelity to the cause, and on whose prudence and integrity they could entirely rely; so that no opportunity should be omitted for the accomplishment of their hopes, and to conduct matters in such manner, as to ripen into perfection for the year 1747, or at soonest for the year 1746, according as the *English* army should be then more or less employed abroad, in *Flanders* or other distant places, and the kingdom less able to defend itself, for want of her national troops; an interval, which would give the *French* the opportunity of commencing such operations, as must lay the *English* under the necessity of sending forces abroad to

oppose them.

It was at this time the bomb was to burst in *Scotland*, the mask to be taken off by the *French*, and the young pretender to appear with lustre and eclat at the head of a *French* and *Highland* army, according to the project then agreed on, by the privity and approbation of the *French* court: and so careful were they of this secret, that the *English* ministry knew nothing of their design, and would scarce believe it, when it was first reported, that they had taken up arms in *Scotland*, under the standard of the pretender.

Want of proper intelligence of this design brought on an expence of millions to this nation, without reckoning the loss of many thousand lives, or the burning of castles, houses, plundering, and other calamities which followed, and which still are recent in the minds of many; all which might have been prevented, if at that time such intelligence had been given, as has been lately communicated in a much more dangerous affair; and which has been so ill encouraged, and as yet remains unrewarded, as will be fully shewn in the course of these letters.

The cause of this rebellion's breaking out a year or two sooner than the time agreed on by the rebels and conspirators themselves, shall be the subject of my next letter.

LETTER THE SECOND.

OBSTINACY and self-sufficiency, especially where weighty matters are in question, are generally

attended with bad consequences. The young pretender, on the prospect laid open to him by the associations and assurances of support from *France* (as mentioned in my former letter), could not wait the tedious delay of their being brought to maturity. Hurried by the natural impetuosity of his own temper, the gratifying of which, even in the smallest matters, he ever prefers before any other consideration: thirsting for vengeance on his enemies; expecting, or rather flattering himself, with the vain hopes, of immediately possessing a crown and three kingdoms, by a *coup de main*: believing his own judgment superior to that of his father or his friends, in the pursuit of his ambitious and bloody designs: acting in all things contrary to the express orders and commands of the first, and in contempt of the advice and entreaties of the latter, which had been frequently repeated to him, and which he had as often promised to observe, whenever the subject of an invasion was agitated; in a word, in violation of all filial obedience, and the most: solemn promises made by him, as often as this point was under consideration, *Edward* privately determined to set out for *France*, having by letters to his secret friends, and otherwise, previously taken all the precautions he thought necessary, for escaping the difficulties and dangers that might attend his hazardous journey, or apparently obstruct his secret views and rash designs.

Thus determined, he sets out from *Rome* for *Paris*; and arriving, in his way thither, at *Avignon*, *incog*, he found means to be well received by a gentlewoman, who had been distinguished for her wit and great connections, and who had been brought up in a convent of that city, and whose uncle was a bishop residing there: to whom he made his court

directly, in order to conceal himself, by the assistance of the *fair religious*, in case of a pursuit, which he suspected; and, not without reason, apprehended might be made to stop him, and bring him back to *Rome*.

The good lady, at that time young and gay, and since not less known in the literary world by her writings, than by her misfortunes, at *London*, within these few years past; nor less proud of her guest than the confidence he reposed in her, was not wanting on her part to provide him a safe retreat; nor did she fail, through interest, piety, or gaiety, to shew him every mark of politeness, hospitality, and tenderness, which might render his retired situation pleasing and agreeable to him, until she could take such measures as her interest, character, and her authority in the church, being a prelate's niece, gave her a reasonable pretext to make use of, for safely conveying him out of the pope's territories into those of *France*, which are not far distant from that city. His apprehensions were not ill grounded for it was not long before messengers arrived with orders to the pope's governor (to whom *Avignon* is subject) to examine all passengers, and not to suffer any to pass the gates of that city, without a passport; to which was annexed an order from the old pretender to stop his son, and bring him back to *Rome*, in case he should be found to travel that way.

The zeal and activity with which these new and extraordinary orders and commands were obeyed, in a short time subsided; it being suspected, that the bird had flown in the dark before the cage was shut. The kind religieuse, however, neglected nothing that might contribute to the accomplishment of the wishes of her guest; when feigning a pretence to visit an abbess, at a convent in the country, she

wrote to the governor for a passport for herself; and he not in the least suspecting, that a person of her character could have any part in such a business, to favour the escape of the young adventurer, sent her the passport she desired.

Provided with these essential protections from enquiry, a carriage, with every necessary for his journey, was prepared; and the lady with her charge, which she had drawn from his retirement, being therein artfully placed, in such manner as not to be suspected or seen, set out on her pretended visit; and sending a servant a little before, to shew the governor's passport to the officer, who commanded at the gate, she, on her arrival there, passed with every mark of respect, and without the least suspicion or examination; and conveyed the adventurer safely to the place agreed on, in the territories of *France*, where other convenience being provided, after reciprocal acknowledgments, declarations of friendship, and thanks, he prosecuted his journey to *Paris*, without interruption.

All wickedness, you will agree, is folly; nor is it much to be doubted, but that open acts of disobedience, and evil doings, will be generally attended with sorrowful consequences to those who do them; disappointment, mortification, and infamy, being the usual recompence of perfidious and unjust actions.

The good offices of this lady, as she herself declares, were no sooner performed than forgot. She had, however, reaped this advantage by her new connections; for, having some time after commenced a suit at *Rome*, to be absolved and discharged from her religious vows, as being forced into a convent by her relations, during her tender years, contrary to the canons of the church, and contrary to her own

inclinations, she, by the interest and recommendation of the father, then *Chevalier de St. George*, obtained a sentence or decree from the pope, whereby she was absolved and discharged from her vows, and the duties of a nun; in consequence of which, she resigned her charge and authority, which she held in that convent, and quitted both the house and the habit; since which time this lady has been the subject of much discourse and conversation, both at *Paris* and *London*.

The *adventurer* arriving at *Paris*, had immediately many private interviews and conferences with his most Christian Majesty and his ministers, who advised him to lay aside his intentions of invading *Scotland* for some time. Here also he met with reproaches, in letters from his father, for the undutiful behaviour he had shewn, and the injudicious steps he was about to pursue; but those remonstrances and rebukes served only as spurs to a horse under the curb, to raise and inflame his passion for going forward, and to bring upon that miserable country, and those who joined him, the desolation and sufferings that soon after followed.

Effectually then to carry his own project into execution, he went to lodge at the house of * *Enæas Macdonnel*, who

* *Enæas Macdonnel*, after the defeat of *Culloden*, surrendered himself to the then honourable General *Campbell*, now duke of *Argyle*. He was brought to *London* prisoner, and for some time confined at a king's messengers; from thence carried to *Newgate*, from which place he made his escape, by throwing a box of snuff in the turnkey's eyes, as he was opening the door of the press-yard (where *Macdonnel* was confined) to let a visitor out. He was immediately retaken, and brought back by a poor ordinary fellow, who saw him run through the street; was afterwards tried and

afterwards appeared under the title of his banker, and who has since felt the effects of his tyranny and ingratitude. In this house, as well as in other private places of rendezvous, the adventurer held his separate assemblies, where *Kelly, Sullivan, Stapleton, Sherridan, * Glengarry*, the chevalier

condemned at *St. Margaret's Hill*, and confined in the new goal, *Southwark*. Twice or three times the cart at the door, and he ready to mount therein, and all the apparatus for his execution ready; when he was each time reprieved, luckily for him, before he was carried to execution. At length he obtained mercy, by his late majesty's most gracious *pardon*. On his return to *France*, he obtained a pension from that court for his support, which he some time enjoyed; but the adventurer displeased, or pretending to be displeased, with something in the conduct of this unfortunate man, during his sufferings, and which most probably saved his life, wrote to marshal *Belleisle* against him; and never ceased his undoing, until he caused the pension to be taken away; leaving him destitute of bread, which was afterwards, nevertheless, in some measure supplied to him, by the benevolence of a farmer-general.

The cause of the adventurer's displeasure and resentment was at this time said, and strongly reported at *Versailles*, to be owing to some intelligence he had received from some one then near his royal highness *Frederick*, the late prince of *Wales*, who had communicated to him something that *Macdonnel* had said or disclosed when he was sent for one night, and examined before the p----- council after his condemnation, by which he saved his life; at least this was the prevailing account given at that time.

* This *Glengarry*, brought up in *France*, in a genteel, or rather splendid manner, was eldest son of *Macdonnel* of *Glengarry*, in the *Highlands*, chief of a large clan of that name, always attached to the *Stuart's* family, and whose estate was pretty considerable. He was taken at sea with lord *Derwentwater*, and made prisoner in the Tower; is the same person, who at first was

Maclean, *Blaw*, and some few others, attended the consultations, and concurred in the resolutions there taken; some of whom had address and interest enough at *Versailles*, at last to draw the *French* ministry into a seeming approbation of this plan. The two last being ordered away to *Scotland*, to prepare the clans, were closeted with the king, and afterwards with Monsieur *D'Argenson* (as they themselves boasted) the night before their departure, where they received the strongest assurances of assistance in men and money; with directions to inform the friends of *the cause*, that there should not be wanting powerful supplies of every kind, when all things should be prepared for a rising, and the clans should be in arms.

The chevalier and *Blaw* immediately set out on this commission, and were the first messengers of this intended descent in 1745, and the first victims of their own weakness and stupidity, as well as of the vigilance of the *British*

suspected, and universally reported, to be the adventurer's brother. His father was a long time confined close prisoner in *Edinburgh* castle, on account of the then troubles, and his younger brother was at the head of his clan in the action at *Preston-Pans*. In 1747, the elder, through the clemency of his late majesty, obtained his liberty, by being discharged out of the Tower, and sent back to *France*, with Sir *Hector Maclean* and others, then discharged. Some time after his arrival in *France*, he solicited the young adventurer for his interest to procure him some advancement in one of the *Scotch* regiments; but notwithstanding his own and his family's services, and sufferings, he met with the utmost contempt and unkindness from the adventurer; who told him, he thought a serjeant's post was too good for him. This is not the only instance We shall meet with in him of the blackest ingratitude.

government: for, arriving at *Edinburgh*, where they lived too freely, and staid too long at a public-house, for men charged with such important matters (as they were afterwards reproached for, by their superiors and friends) the landlord suspecting, from their behaviour and discourse only, that they were embarked in some bad design, gave information against them, and they were, in consequence thereof, arrested; and a warrant being sent by the marquis of *Tweedale*, then secretary of state for the affairs of *Scotland*, to bring them to *London*, they were conducted under a guard of horse, and kept close prisoners. However, notwithstanding the several examinations they underwent, they had the conduct to let nothing material transpire.

In some weeks after these transactions (uninformed of the fate of his two emissaries) the adventurer himself, with those who accompanied him, after a narrow escape of being taken at sea, arrived in the *Highlands*; where we shall leave him for the present, and conclude this letter with observing, that it was to this spirit and obstinacy of opinion in the adventurer, that the rebellion broke out in 1745, and which brought him so ill provided into *Scotland*; and, in my next, I shall give you some account of what was doing at *Rome*, and the steps taken towards forwarding his affairs; though he had withdrawn himself from thence in the manner before mentioned, to plunge himself, and thousands besides, into unspeakable miseries, hardships, and distresses; of which many families feel the severe effects unto this day.

LETTER THE THIRD.

DISPLEASED as the old chevalier appeared to be, at his son's precipitate flight, such measures were, nevertheless, immediately resolved on, and pursued, as might still favour the *grand design*, (this is what, in the vulgar phrase, is said "to make the best of a bad market") amongst which it was judged necessary to dispatch private messengers with letters, as soon as possible, to acquaint some of their particular friends, in *England, Wales, and Scotland*, of his sudden departure for *Paris*, and thereby to invite the few, in whom the greatest confidence was placed, and who could be most useful, by their rank, character, and abilities, to join him at *Paris*; as also to encourage all his friends to continue steady in their attachment, and endeavours for promoting the great end of the young adventurer's undertaking; with assurances, that it would be well supported. *French* promises, like foreign bills not duly honoured, should be protested and returned for non-payment.

Amongst others, a letter was wrote to the * earl of

* Lord *Clancarty*, several years before he received the letter of invitation from the old pretender, had been in *Ireland*, where he brought ejectments for recovery of an estate forfeited by his father, amounting to about £.60,000 *per* year, which he claimed under a settlement of marriage. The parliament of that kingdom passed a vote, whereby it was resolved, that any lawyer, counsel, attorney, or solicitor, that should proceed in such suit, &c. should be deemed an enemy to his country, &c. This resolution, which quieted the minds and interests of the possessors of that large estate, enraged the mind of the earl, who thought himself intitled to the whole; and disappointed in that expectation, he sought any occasion for procuring to himself the prospect os possessing that great fortune, and would have joined the Grand Turk or Cham of

Clancarty, to the above effect, by the *Chevalier de St. George* himself. He therein acquainted the earl, that his son was set out from *Rome* for *Paris*, to settle some preliminaries with that court for effectually putting the *project* in execution; and that as he had received the most satisfactory assurances of succours in men and money, and every other material necessary for the completion of the business, he prayed and required his lordship (who, it was agreed on, was to command at sea, being well acquainted with, and brought up in that service) to leave *London*, as soon as conveniently he could, and to go directly to *Paris*, in order to join his son, who at that time, he doubted not, but hoped, might be dissuaded from pursuing rash measures, and prevailed on to postpone his voyage to *Scotland*, for some time longer at least, until things could be duly prepared; and who perhaps might, in the interim, appear publickly there, according as the circumstance and situation of affairs should admit, or best correspond with the intrigues and politics of the *French* court.

This nobleman, who had thought himself ill used by the ministry of *England*, required but a very slender invitation to join in any enterprize, that, in his opinion, might distress them; and, therefore, with great alacrity and readiness began to settle his affairs, and prepare to set out for *Paris*.

Yet the disposition he shewed, of an obedience to this letter from the old *chevalier*, did not proceed from any particular affection or attachment to him or his family, as will appear by the sequel.

Hopes of recovering and possessing a large estate forfeited

Tartary to obtain it.

by his father, with the ambition of appearing at the head of a powerful squadron at sea, as he was made to believe, seem to have been his chief motives, and strongest incitements. Be that as it may, he soon arranged his own private affairs, and set out for *France*; but, alas! how great was his surprize and disappointment, when, on landing there, he found, that, whilst he was performing his voyage to *France*, the adventurer had set out from thence on his voyage to *Scotland*, and had actually arrived in that kingdom! Quos Deus vult perdere nemo dementat.

The news of the adventurer's danger and escape at sea, and of his being safe landed in *Scotland*, was known in *France* before the *English* ministry were fully apprised thereof, or at least convinced that it was so. This news, however, had very different effects on those to whom it was communicated; some were rejoiced at the happy deliverance he had, from the danger that so nearly threatened him, and at his safe landing in *Scotland*, looking on both as good omens in his favour; whilst others, of more solid judgment, and greater foresight and penetration, looked upon this attempt as not only rash and inconsiderate, but as most effectual to shipwreck his fortune.

His friends whom he had left behind, especially those who were most sanguine and earnest in sollicitations for succours to be sent after him, began to conceive great hopes to themselves, by the news frequently received from *Scotland*; and they boldly spoke on that behalf, to procure troops for that service.

Troops were not wanting on the coast of *France*, had the ministers at that time been in the least disposed to send them. *Boulogne*, *Calais*, *Dunkirk*, and other ports, were

sufficiently garnished with forces; but the court was not, or appeared not to be, entirely satisfied with the expedition. Besides, there was a large *French* army encamped in *Flanders*; and their king was with the army, attended by his ministers, where they remained for some time.

The adventurer's brother, then called *duke of York*, was in *France*, and had at this time his residence generally at *Boulogne* or *Dunkirk*, where he was pompously attended by several persons of distinction; and couriers under disguises and various pretexts were frequently going and coming to and from *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, with letters and dispatches; but no order for troops to be sent to *Scotland* could be obtained from *France*.

At length the partizans of the cause, thinking it their duty not to neglect so fair an opportunity, as that of the king and his minister's being with the army, the earl of *Clancarty* and lord *Marshal* were deputed and dispatched to the camp in *Flanders*, to solicit the minister for immediate assistance, and immediate supply of forces, to invade *Scotland*, and to keep up the spirit of rebellion in that kingdom.

Monsieur *D'Argenson*, the then minister, received these two earls with that politeness due to their rank; and entering on the subject of their commission,. *D'Argenson* (speaking to lord *Marshal*) affected to be surprised that his lordship did not go to *Scotland* with the adventurer; to which the other replied, he thought he was not sufficiently supplied or prepared for such an expedition; but that, as he had begun, he might continue to make a good diversion, until a proper and reasonable supply of men could be sent to him.

D'Argenson then asked him, what number of men

hethought might be sufficient to do the work, with those who were already in arms? (still at times expressing his surprise, that he did not embark with *his prince*, as he called him, and conduct him to *Scotland*, as it was his lordship's native country, and he so well acquainted therewith, and beloved by the people, that he might have drawn many more together, who would have readily followed him). The lord *Marshal* answered, that if he would give him but 7000 men he would immediately embark with them, and undertake, upon peril of his life, with the troops already in arms and those that would rise on his appearing at the head of the army there, to complete the work, and place the pretender on the throne, as there were not sufficient force then in *England* to oppose them; but that it was necessary that this supply should be sent with all dispatch, before the *English* troops could be called home from *Germany*.

The *French* minister coolly replied, that he was very sorry, as he feared such a number could not be then spared; but said, he would think of it, and see what could be done; assuring them, nevertheless, that the cause should be sustained, and help should not be wanting. Lord *Clancarty* going on in importuning the minister, and seconding lord *Marshal's* demand, *D'Argenson* says to him, *Quant'à votre prince; Monseigneur, il est aller en Ecosse, en Blancbec j'en suis faché. Vous n'etes pas bein coeffe, Monseigneur; voulez vous que je vous envoie mon peruquer, il fait bein coeffer.*

Lord *Clancarty* is a man generally careless in his dress; though, on occasions, no man dresses better, appears with more lustre, or has a better taste in cloaths; but happened at this time to be in a deshabelle, with an ordinary black tie-wig, such as he commonly wears on journies, and which added no

ornament to the rest of his dress; which gave the minister the opportunity of changing the discourse, and making him this sneering compliment (all this being lord *Clancarty's* own account). It provoked him so much, who is naturally warm and rough, though a man of good sense, with a bad application of it, that he started up from his chair, desiring lord *Marshal* to come away, and saying to him in *English*, which he knew the minister did not understand, "Damn the fellow, he is making his diversion of us;" and never after could he be prevailed on to go near him. The consequence that followed this interview I must reserve for my next. It was said indeed, that if the peer had met the minister on any other than *French* ground, he would have given him more occasion for a surgeon to dress his head, than his lordship had for a barber to accommodate his wig.

LETTER the FOURTH.

DESPONDENCY and resentment seldom fail to follow disappointment close to the heels, when we find that promises of services, and professions of friendship, are only made and calculated to delude and deceive us. It is not, therefore, much to be wondered at, if the two lords mentioned in my former letter had retained a little of both, on the reception they met with from the *French* minister, and the little attention he shewed for the success of the *Scotch* affairs, in the conference they had with him; for the support of which, their solicitations were entirely directed.

Lord *Marshal* * and lord *Clancarty* had both been long

* Lord *Marshal* received so many slights and affronts from the

persecuted, by the malevolence of their adverse stars. Fortune seemed to have turned her back upon them. Accustomed to her frowns, they courted not her smiles; nor were they ignorant of the little faith that should be given to promises of men, whose principal study, whose greatest merit, whose daily practice and highest ambition, is to cajole and deceive.

Contrary, then, to what one might expect to result from such dreads and apprehensions, as fill the mind on believing their cause, *their all*, to be abandoned or lost, their ardour cooled not; no dejection was perceived; nor was their resentment less for being smothered. They heartily wished, it is true, all the ill possible to *D'Argenson*; and there was not at that time any one of the party in *France* that would not have triumphed at his death or downfall. But they did not think it for the interest of the cause to shew any outward tokens of their discontent. Neither did they publish what had passed at their conference with *D'Argenson*, lest it might dispirit their friends, and otherwise hurt the interest of the cause. For those reasons, it was made known only to a few.

They, therefore, continued their solicitations at court, with more warmth than before, seconded by the adventurer's brother; in which several of the *French* nobility, friends to

young pretender and his brother, after the attachment he had shewn for that cause which he had unfortunately embarked in, and the many services he had rendered them, that he at length abandoned both, and would never after be persuaded to meddle in their affairs; the ill treatment and ingratitude he met with from the two brothers having raised and provoked his highest resentment, which at last opened his eyes, and convinced him of the errors in which he had been too long blindly wandering.

that family, assisted and joined; some ladies declaring at that time, in their private cabals, that if the adventurer wanted money, they would, amongst their own sex, raise by subscription a large sum to be remitted to him, even should they be obliged to sell or mortgage their jewels to procure it. Thus the spirit of his affairs was revived and wrought up, when they were thought to be at low ebb. New applications were also continually making in his favour from *Rome*, and other places; which at length disposed the minister to shew, at least in appearance, an intention of aiding and assisting the young adventurer, by transporting a body of troops into *Scotland*.

His success at *Preston-Pans* reanimated the courage of his friends in *France*, and gave them room to demand, with greater freedom and boldness, the performance of at least some of the bountiful promises so profusely scattered in his behalf a long time before, and which, until then, seemed to be totally laid aside, or entirely forgot.

The minister then began, thro' shame, (if any such thing can be found in the possession of those ministers, who, from the authority of office, imagine there is no shame in violating their faith, and the most sacred promises) or he was driven by the pressing importunities, with which he was daily tormented, seriously to think of doing something to relieve himself from both, and dazzle the hopes and expectations of all. For which purpose, some piquets drawn from the *Irish* brigade were ordered to embark, which landed in *Scotland*, except a few, who were taken at sea. Lord *Clares* regiment entire embarked, with old *Shortal*, their lieutenant-colonel, who then commanded them for that expedition, being at that time the only *Irishman* alive, of all those, who had left

Ireland with *James* the Second, after his defeat at the *Boyne*. This old officer, in his very advanced age, was so sanguine, that no argument could dissuade him to quit the colours of the regiment; and notwithstanding the great infirmities incident to one of his years, he embarked, with the hopes of seeing, as he often since declared, once more his native country, before his death, by a voyage he intended to make thither from *Scotland*, as soon as that kingdom could be reduced: which childish resolution may well be attributed to the effects of his great age.

This regiment, with their old colonel, suffered much in their voyage to *Scotland*, from contrary winds and bad weather and the old man, to augment his afflictions, had the additional mortification of seeing only the hills and plains of that unhappy country (for such it certainly was at that juncture) without having so much as the pleasure of putting his foot on shore: for the captains of the vessels, in whom these troops, and some few others, were embarked, for reasons and pretences best known to themselves (but which were soon suspected to be by secret orders given to them by the *French* ministry) refused to land them; which created much disturbance and dissent in those ships, amongst the officers and men; who, enraged at the disappointment of getting on shore, were almost ready to mutiny. Some few of the officers, however, by force or artifice, got on shore, and went and joined the rebel army; the rest were directly brought back to *France*.

There were at this time likewise some few officers, who had quitted their regiments in foreign service, who found means to get into *Scotland*, under pretence of zeal for the cause; but more from a principle of self-interest, to obtain, in the

trouble and confusion, at that time daily increasing, preferment in an undisciplined army, that wanted officers to instruct them in the military exercise: but most of those unfortunate enterprisers, with many others, the year following, found their retreat in the prisons of *London* and *Southwark*, where they remained to lament their fate, till sent back to *France*.

Through policy or finesse, the court of *France*, to shew, or pretending to shew, her approbation and concurrence in this business, sent over on this occasion (*as part of the promised succours, no doubt*) one Monsieur *Boieer*, cloathed with the character of a minister, to the young adventurer. This foreign *ambassador* puffed away declarations, said to be his master's, or by his order; whereby it was declared, that a treaty of alliance had been entered into between *him* and his *cousin*; that as he had drawn the sword,. he would not sheath it, until he had placed him on the throne of his ancestors, &c. or to that effect; the importance of which, as well as of this embassy, for some short time, gave a high and new air to matters; and a tone extraordinary to the friends in *Scotland*, as well as to the partizans of the cause in *France*.

Public promises and professions of this kind, made without any great appearance of performance, no effectual supplies being yet arrived from *France*, though so long expected, and so many favourable opportunities for sending them had then elapsed, were not swallowed down by all, and became doubtful to many; in so much that most of the *Highland* chiefs, who began to look upon *this man* with an eye of suspicion, would have been much better pleased, and would have found (as they said themselves) better resource, in the arrival of three or four thousand auxiliaries, than in all the

odious, fulsome, perfidious declarations, he daily expressed, and which soon, like smoak, evaporated, without any better effect than leaving those, who were credulous, to be dupes to their own credulity.

Great, it is true, were the expectations which the adventurer's success in the action at *Preston-Pans* raised amongst his friends abroad, and particularly amongst many of the *French* themselves; some of whom in secret began to look upon him with fear and jealousy; which occasioned *Boiere*, the pretended ambassador, who in fact was regarded in no other light than as a spy, to be sent over. That victory, which, with so much facility, declared itself, in that action, in his favour that day, and which gave him, his followers and partizans, at home and abroad, such flattering delusive hopes, had been infinitely better for him and his followers to have been lost than gained for him: he would then have been obliged to have returned from whence he came, (if not taken by those he came to destroy) the lives of thousands had been spared, and the troubles, distresses, and calamities, that followed, had never been known. This success then proved as a snare or a decoy to lead him to misfortunes, which he did not foresee, and of which his advisers were ignorant, by encouraging him in his ambitious project, in which providence, it is visible, intended he never should succeed, as I hope clearly to prove to you in my next.

LETTER the FIFTH.

INFATUATED by this victory, he remained at *Edinburgh*, much longer than one in his desperate situation ought to

have done, if he had any hopes of accomplishing his evil designs; if he had not been under the fatality, that his wayward fate had determined to render his expectations abortive in the end.

Many were the motives assigned for his delay, and strongly reported, by his best and nearest friends: yet at this very time he began to exert a spirit, which he had not before shewn, and privately to murmur at the obstinacy and perverseness of the *Scotch*, and the disrespectful treatment he had received from several of that nation, who then accompanied him to their own ruin.

Entertainments, operas, balls, and other amusements of that nature, greatly occupied a considerable part of his time. By this he thought to render himself amiable and agreeable to the nobility, and others, who at that time resorted to *Edinburgh*; and in order, by an affable, obliging, and courteous behaviour, to remove those prejudices that had been and remained strongly imprinted on the minds of most people, against his family, as well as to establish a good opinion and favourable reputation of himself; whilst his natural inclinations, and real intentions, were, by this artful behaviour, concealed. On the other hand, it was said, with equal appearance of truth, that he remained at *Edinburgh* only to wait for the arrival of some of the clans, who were preparing to follow, and who had faithfully promised to march and join him. One or other of these reasons may be true; and, for my own part, I am inclined to believe, that there is some truth in both.

But amongst all the idle uncreditable reports that were then spread abroad on this subject, none was more ridiculous, false, or ill founded, than that which related to an

intrigue with a woman called * *Miss Jenny Cameron*; her station, her age, her occupation, taste, and character, effectually remove every kind of suspicion on that head. This woman brought on herself the reputation, or rather the nick-name, of his mistress, merely by speaking favourably of him and his interests, and by professing an attachment to him, which was common to all her name, who at that time formed a large clan. Had the liking or passion, which had captivated him for *Miss Walkingshaw*, whom he afterwards caused to be brought over to *France* to him, and who still remains with him, notwithstanding his repeated unkindnesses, and cruel treatment of her, as may hereafter be more particularly mentioned; had this, I say, been known at that time, the name of *Jenny Cameron* had been as much in oblivion then, as it is now, and ever will remain.

It was to these amusements, entertainments, dancings, and the like, with waiting for some of the clans to advance and join him, that the delay was owing; which prevented him from marching forward sooner, in order to attack *Carlisle*, to open for himself a passage into *England*, which he afterwards, but too late, effected, with respect to his grand view, and other interests: for whilst, by his delay at *Edinburgh*, he was securing to himself an imaginary fund of praise and affection, he was, in reality, drawing upon himself a load of blame, trouble, and disappointment; which, by a

* This woman lived at *Edinburgh*; was what the *Highlander*: called loyally attached to the family of the *Stuarts*; was used to invite the ladies and gentlemen of the town to come to see her, and drink *Charly's* health. She was far advanced in years, kept a kind of milliner's shop, and was only dubb'd by Way of ridicule with the name of his mistress.

woeful experience, he soon after discovered, in the fatal consequences that followed. He doubted not of being joined by several in his march to *Derby*; but, to his great mortification, a few only of the common people, about *Manchester*, ranked themselves unfortunately under his forelorn standard. Besides, his delay gave time for the *English* ministers to call home some of the national regular troops from *Flanders* (where they were then employed) with the duke of *Cumberland* at their head; whilst others, in the pay of *Great Britain*, or by treaty united to her interests, put themselves in march for the same purpose, and soon arrived in *England*.

This answered the views of the *French* minister: for, *Brussels* being at this time closely besieged by Marshal *Saxe*, it soon fell into his hands. He had thrown such a quantity of bombs into that city, that many churches and convents suffered thereby; and most of the nuns, who for years before had not once seen the street, or enjoyed the conversation of men, unless that of their confessors, were obliged to fly from those convents, for some time, which gave them the opportunity of seeing the world once more, and of tasting, for some short time, those pleasures of life they had so long renounced.

We cannot too much admire or applaud the dispatch and chearfulness, with which the *English* army advanced to seek the enemy. A kind of terror had, at this time, began to spread itself abroad, and the progress of the rebels alarmed great numbers of people; which rendered the business much more serious than it appeared to be in its first breaking out. What is it any army will not do or endure, commanded by a general whom they love, and in whom they place their hopes and

confidence? After the fatigues of long campaigns abroad, their courage warm, and, reanimated with love and duty for their king and country, they look for an occasion to give fresh proofs of both, being persuaded, that they shall return with victory and laurels.

London was not at this time, you know, entirely free from apprehensions and inquietude; but the city, always ready to support the just rights of the crown, not less distinguished for its zeal and attachment to the illustrious family on the throne, than for their detestation and contempt of the *Stuarts* race, was not wanting to take such precautions, and pursue such measures, as the exigence of the times, the danger that menaced the public tranquillity, and the necessities of the national affairs, demanded. Their attention and liberality were of very great utility: contributions * were made, and necessary supplies were sent to the soldiers, which were not otherwise provided for; and who, in a hard winter, at that time advancing fast upon them, in proportion as they advanced to meet the enemy, found great benefit and relief thereby; as they prevented many from being attacked by colds and other disorders, that might have been fatal to them, and weaken the arms of our country, and which are generally the certain consequences of winter campaigns.

But this was not the only happy effect of their loyal and prudent deliberations and resolutions on this event. It had an

* The utility of Alderman, now Sir *Stephen Theodore Janssen's* great services on this occasion, can never be forgot.—See the Appendix at the end of the 2d volume, giving an account of the particular sums raised and applied by the city of *London* on this critical occasion.

effect, perhaps, not thought of, or much expected, at the time of taking those resolutions, and exerting those acts of zeal and generosity. The adventurer saw with grief, that he had no friends, or none of any consequence; that the good and glorious example of the city of *London* would soon be followed by the rest of the kingdom, if there should be any farther necessity for other supplies, of what nature soever they might be. He saw with a sorrowful heart, that no risings, or appearance of risings, in any respect, shewed themselves in his favour, either in town or country, that could be of any material consequence to him. His expectations of drawing any advantage from discontent or disunion amongst the people, were fruitless; for discontent or murmuring there was none. The only struggle was in an emulation amongst those, who were endeavouring to shew their greatest zeal to defeat him, and to root out the whole seed of the Jacobites.

The influence resulting from this example set by the city of *London*, at that critical time, over the whole nation, did not fail to strike him and his followers with such a damp, as obliged them to think of their own security, to retreat, and to hasten back faster than they came; lest they should be surrounded, or cut off by the troops then advancing under the command of his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland*, and those-other general officers, who acted under his orders: wherefore it became necessary for self-preservation to decamp. Directions were given to plie baggage; and the retreat began. The roads, they were to take, and the dispositions for their march, in order to escape the danger that threatened them, of being taken or cut off by the duke's army, were entirely settled and privately directed by *Sullivan*, who, it was said, better than any of the rest, by the situation

of the *English* army, and the dispositions made of some detachments of the troops, foresaw the danger the rebels were then exposed to, and the facility of their destruction, unless timely avoided by every prudent step and precaution that was possible to be taken.

No time was, therefore, to be lost. Ladies * and men, boys and wenches, who had followed their fathers, brothers, and relations, marched with their army, some in front, some in rear; some half starved, some half naked; but most of them without shoes or stockings. It was a kind of comedy to see the grotesque figures many of them cut at that time; but to most of whom, in the end, it proved a tragedy. They were pursued in their retreat into *Scotland* by the duke, with his army at their heels.

So much, as I apprehend, may be material to relate, and satisfactory to you, as to what followed this retreat, I shall cursorily mention in my next; not intending to write a history of that rebellion, but only to relate such particular transactions as have some connection with what is to follow, and which may be worthy your observation, and public attention, and have not been made public.

LETTER the SIXTH.

THE adventurer and his army taking the rout of *Carlisle*, in their way to *Scotland*, he left in that city and garrison, as he passed by it, a few, who, he knew, could make little or

* Lady *Ogihie*, and others. who followed the army; she was afterwards taken, and made her escape out of *Edinburgh* castle.

no resistance against the force that closely pursued him, and which would soon retake that city, though it had been ten times better supported. It was necessary here to make, as he thought, a sham parade to amuse them: for which purpose he gave orders to those, who commanded in *Carlisle*, to make the best defence possible, and not to surrender till the last extremity; promising that he would soon send a sufficient force to raise the siege, and repulse the enemy: from which he proposed this advantage, that thereby he might retard the march of the *English* army, and facilitate his own escape into *Scotland*.

How cruel and wicked this deception, can easily be imagined: he well knew at the time he gave these deceitful orders, that these troops, and the officers, who commanded them, and the governor of the town, must, on the approach of the *English* army, fall a sacrifice for their rebellion, and become an easy prey to the conqueror. Their destruction he considered as his own security, and therefore preferred it; though he might as well have brought them with him, and given them the chance with the other unfortunate wretches, then devoted to his banners, to shun for a while longer the miserable fate that soon after befel them all. For as soon as the duke's army arrived before the town, after a very slender resistance, the rebel garrison surrendered at discretion, most of them receiving afterwards the punishment which the law in such cases inflicts.

Instead of making the preservation and happiness of those, who joined him, the motive of his care and concern, he regarded only his own interest and safety; nor ever bemoaned the sufferings and misfortunes of any, provided he could accomplish thereby his ambitious views or desperate designs;

believing (tyrant like) that all those over whom his dominion or power extended, are born to die at his pleasure or caprice. How unhappy is, then, the state of human nature, if thousands are to be wretched and miserable, to aggrandize one man, with wealth and power, at the expence of their liberty and lives, in whom no gratitude or just acknowledgment can be found, and from whom no recompence or satisfaction can be obtained! Detested and abominable must he be, who would establish his greatness in the oppression and ruin of his fellow-creatures; since all mankind are but one family, dispersed over the whole globe of this earth.

On his return into *Scotland*, his friends and followers began to complain of their misfortunes and distresses, and the dangers they were still exposed to; and that even victory in any new engagement they might be driven to, would only serve to render their case more desperate. They lamented the lost time wasted at *Edinburgh*; alledging, that is he had marched on to *England* after the battle of *Preston-Pans*, he would have found little or no resistance, as there were then but few troops to oppose him; that many would have joined him, if the reinforcements from *Flanders*, and the auxiliary troops, had not arrived so critically; which was what intimidated those who were disposed to do any thing in his favour: that, by pursuing such a plan, he would have done his business before the *English* troops had arrived; but that the above delay had defeated their hopes, and brought on their ruin.

He listened to those remonstrances and murmurings with complaisance and patience; was careful not to shew his uneasiness or dissatisfaction at the behaviour of some

particular persons on this occasion, and submitted to their advice, and every thing they said. *Edinburgh* was not a place of safety now for him to retire to, and of course he took a long and lasting adieu of that city. Many of the men, who had marched with him into *England*, had returned home, but most of them with a promise of coming back to join him. The broken spirits and drooping courage of those, who accompanied him, he saw with chagrin and sadness, but did all in his power to conceal it: his words and actions were courteous and obliging, easy and familiar with every one, and sharing with the commonest man every hardship and fatigue. in their march. This conduct was the effect of fear alone (for in his heart he loved them not) from the very haughty and perverse behaviour, which he met with from several of the chiefs, who brought their men to join him; and; who had command over the troops; to whom they frequently gave such orders as they thought fit, and which were often contradictory to what he liked or desired; not daring to shew any resentment or open dislike to this treatment: and his apprehensions that he might in the end be betrayed and given up, forced him to disguise his intentions and resentment. It was, however, necessary, he thought, to remove, as far as possible, all the difficulties or objections that might be opposed to his designs, and of endeavouring, not only to keep his army from separating, but to inspire it with some flattering hopes of future advantages, and better success, in order to keep them together, and raise their courage: for which purpose, he assures them of his receiving advice, that troops embarked from *France* were then at sea, and that he doubted not of their being landed by the time he and the army should cross the *Spey*; that he feared not, with these succours, to drive the *English* army out of *Scotland*,

and at least to preserve that kingdom independent, until he should be in a condition to re-enter *England* once more, which he would not fail to do with such an army of *French* and *Scotch*, as would compleat his design, and fully recompence the loyalty, zeal, and attachment, they had shewn, as also their hardships, sufferings, and fatigues.

England being then the land of promise, these promises and assurances had the desired effect; the army marched on with more chearfulness; and some advantages, which they boasted to have gained in their retreat, confirmed in some measure their hopes, arising from the assurances, insinuations, and promises, he had so liberally bestowed upon them. Having crossed the *Spey*, councils and consultations were held, whether they should not oppose at this place the passage of the *English* army: he was strongly for this proposition; but the *Scotch* expecting the *French* troops to land, according to promise, would not run the risk alone; thinking it better to go farther north, the sooner to meet and join the expected succours, or to be nearer the mountains and difficult passages, where, if any misfortune happened, they might find surer retreats, and more assistance and relief amongst their friends and kinsfolks. Many were the excuses and pretences made use of for the delay of the *French* troops not arriving and landing, which gave the *Scotch* new cause of murmuring and complaint; some of whom were not wanting openly to pour out bitter curses and imprecations against that nation, and the worthy ambassador, who had so egregiously failed in all his promises. The *English* army having crossed the *Spey* without the least opposition, pursued its march; and the *Scotch* having got to *Culloden*, I shall in my next touch upon what

happened there, and shortly as possible proceed in what relates to this march, and its miserable consequences, which the adventurer brought by his detestable enterprize, upon that nation.

LETTER THE SEVENTH.

MONEY, the food and support of war, had been sent from *Rome*, by bills on bankers at *Paris*, to be remitted to *Scotland*, whilst the adventurer was on his march to *England*; and though the sum was not very considerable, it was much wanted, and would have been of great service, and extremely acceptable, had it arrived according to expectation; but in this, as in other events, there seemed to be a fatality or evil genius in conducting his affairs; for the negotiating those bills, and remitting the money, was by *O'Brien*, then secretary to the chevalier *St. George* at *Rome* (and who took upon himself the title of earl of *Lismore*, of the county of *Waterford* in *Ireland*) under pretence of his being created such by that old man) committed to the care and management of his gay wife, then residing at *Paris* and *Versailles*. This woman was tolerably handsome, of a genteel and good figure, of good address, and perfect mistress of every art of intrigue and dissimulation, which could recommend her to that court, where she acted as agent for her husband and his master, in attending the ministers of *France*, remitting to them the dispatches and letters sent to her from *Rome*, receiving their answers, and sending them back; in a word, transacting the most secret matters which were then upon the tapis relative to the pretender's affairs.

Her allurements, charms, and gaiety, drew the eyes of many upon her. Though she was a native of *Ireland*, she was brought over so very young into *France*, where she was educated in a convent, that she scarcely spoke a word of her native language: so much was she mistress of the *French* tongue.

Amongst the numerous resort of persons of the first distinction, who visited this lady, and who were in return visited by her, there was not one to whom she mewed more complaisance and attention, or who had gained so absolute a dominion and influence over her mind and affections, as the late archbishop of *Cambray*, one of the handsomest men in *France*, a fine gentleman, a man of great learning, and the admiration and delight of the fair sex. To such a degree did many of that sex carry their ideas of this ecclesiastic, that several virtuous married ladies of the first rank of the nobility in that court, as soon as they found themselves pregnant, found means to have his picture in great or small, which they constantly kept in their bed-chamber or cabinet, in hopes, that by frequently looking on it, to bring into the world a child resembling so great a prelate. Nor was this admiration of the fair sex in any wise surpassing the respect and esteem which all men bore him. He was natural son to the late duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France* during the minority of the present king, which gave him no small influence at court. Besides the great accomplishments, which he possessed in the most eminent degree, he was a sincere friend where he professed; and his generosity and liberality knew no bounds. To such *divine* authority, to such temporal interests, to such manly charms, seconded by the highest prospects of worldly pleasure and advantage, how many women are there not,

who would be proud to become devotees, or glad to make their sacrifice at such a shrine? Madam La Comtesse de *Lismore*, as then called, with a sensibility natural to gay and ambitious minds, thirsting after wealth and grandeur, unable to resist such a mighty torrent of temptations and benefits, as bore down, overflowed, and even submerged every other consideration, became entirely devoted to his Grace: she then, or very soon after, took the lead; and having at length in her turn obtained an absolute ascendant and dominion over his person and fortune, she almost disposed of both, as she thought fit: her hotel, her brilliant equipage, and every article necessary for rendering life splendid and magnificent, were only equalled by few. Without speaking of the elegance, profuseness, and expence of their tables, such pomp and splendour with those bewitching delusive amusements, which in *Paris* are the certain consequence of wealth and greatness, blotted out of her mind the thoughts of returning to *Rome*, and almost extinguished the remembrance of every thing that had been dear to her at her departure from thence, tho' Mr. *O'Brien*, the husband, did not die till the year 1760; always continuing to transact at *Rome* the affairs of the Chevalier de St. *George*, as his minister, to the time of his death.

Transactions so public, and a conduct so bare-faced, could not escape the eyes of the public, nor the knowledge and observation of the court, where even the most trifling offences, how artfully soever they may be concealed or disguised, are generally first known, and much sooner than most people can imagine: in consequence of which, some animadversions being made, and intimations given for a change of manners, and preserving decorum, so as, at least,

to save appearances, but without procuring the desired effect, the lady was at length forbid the court, and exiled to reside and remain at *Arpajon*, a village about twenty miles from *Paris*, where she retired, and went accordingly.

Interest and power, to the reproach of authority, may it be said, too frequently draw a veil over the most hardened crimes, and even gild them with the name of virtues by finesse and artifice. This banishment, therefore, did not hold a very long time, and Madame was at liberty to return again to *Paris* ., which she soon did; and went afterwards as boldly to *Versailles*, with as much pomp and magnificence, as if nothing in her conduct had been reproachable, but rather had merited some extraordinary favour or reward, or some considerable pension. But here again she was very much deceived, and very greatly mistaken; for, though the court did not directly shew any resentment or dissatisfaction at this procedure, as business from *Rome* sometimes gave occasion for those journies, she was nevertheless, at last, given to understand, that it would be best for her to retire even from *Paris*: which she did accordingly, taking a few particular friends with her, in whom she could confide, and on whom she could depend, to keep her company.

You will now be surprised to think where she went to, and you may very reasonably think, that, in her situation, the place she chose for her residence and retreat was the only place she ought to have declined going to, for reasons most obvious and infinite. In short, away she goes with her few friends from *Paris* to *Cambray*, takes possession of his Grace's palace there, and plants herself and them therein, to enjoy the sweets of that agreeable country; receiving his lordship's rents and large revenues, considerable presents

from numbers of the clergy, and visits from many persons of distinction: to all which the generality added to her the honourable title of *lady bishop*; his lordship still remaining at *Paris*. or *Versailles*.

Pall'd after three or four months of rural entertainments and recreations, she returns to her hotel at *Paris*, where the former conduct continued until last year; when his lordship's death, universally, with great reason, lamented by all sorts and conditions of people, put a final end to this intimacy and acquaintance. Notwithstanding his large revenue, and the income of a good estate, all which he dissipated in acts of generosity and bounty, he left debts to the amount of. about two hundred thousand livres; to satisfy which, his patrimony must be sold, if not already disposed of.

Whether it was owing to this lady's engagements, amusements, or occupations with this reverend prelate, or to the little share of interest which she took in his (the adventurer's) affairs (as she never loved him) that the money was not sent in time to *Scotland*, as directed, is not quite clear; but this is certain, that it was delayed for about three months longer than expected, and that the adventurer laid the whole blame of the delay upon her, and the ill consequences the want of that money brought on him and his affairs and that his resentment to her is, and has ever since been such, as that he never could be prevailed on to see her, or forgive her; nor can he hear her spoke of, but with horror and detestation. There was about thirty thousand pounds brought in some short time before the defeat at *Culloden*, said to be sent from *Spain*; which came under the hands and management of the before-mentioned *Enæas Macdonnel*. The circumstances and consequences attending this money

being, I think, entertaining, and particular in its own nature, I must extend the detail of the *Scotch* voyage longer than I at first expected; and shall, in one or other of my next, write you what relates to that sum of money, which brought one man to an untimely end, and several others into the greatest peril.

LETTER the EIGHTH.

THE night before the battle of *Culloden* was fixed on by the rebels to attack the duke's camp and army, with a presumption that they should be able to succeed in the attempt, and, in the confusion attending such a desperate enterprise, to take his royal highness, and the greatest part of the *English* army, &c. prisoners, as the only means to recover their losses, and re-establish their broken fortune. They had nothing left to save them from the impending ruin that hourly threatened them, but to make some rash effort, by stratagem or *coup de desespoir*, to free themselves from death, and those dangers and calamities, with which they were surrounded, and ready to be swallowed up in. Their army was somewhat reduced, and much fatigued, by long marches; their provisions scarce, and almost exhausted; many of the *Highlanders*, who, in the journey to and from *England*, had scraped and raked together some trifling matters by plunder and rapine, retreated home with their ill-gotten wealth; which, tho' perhaps in itself inconsiderable, yet to them, who had never possessed so much money before, it was highly estimable. To preserve and conceal, therefore, these wretched acquisitions, the bitter fruits, as it afterwards proved to them, of the desolation and calamities, which they often wantonly and indiscriminately lavished on all such

persons, and in all such places, where they thought they could draw profit or advantage, how little soever it might be, many of them retired; foreseeing, that some unlucky hour, which seemed not very remote, might easily deprive them of what they had so unjustly and rapaciously obtained, in case they had kept this beggarly wealth, in the field. Some few of them, it is true, returned, and a few more had joined the pretender's forces; but no such number as was expected: for, a kind of panic had begun to spread itself, not only throughout the rebel army, but through the very *Highlands* in general. The prospect of gathering like the snow-ball was now vanished. The duke was close upon their heels; and scarcely was there any one lord amongst the *Scotch* nobility, who had the misfortune and weakness to join in that unhappy business, but what now began to see his error, to think seriously of the affair, and of the dreadful catastrophe in which they were involved, and from which there was no hope of deliverance, but by some accidental or desperate blow, which might favour their cause, revive their expiring hopes, and open to them a new road of prosperity, after so many and great disappointments, dangers, and sufferings, as they had met with, and then surrounded them.

How fatal might it then have been, had those hopes been crowned with success, you may easily divine; since that rebellious war would have been again renewed, with more spirit and vigour than before; those, who had till then lain by, waiting only to see what turn affairs might take, perceiving a happy change in the adventurer's favour, would then with their clans have joined him; many of their chiefs at that time only watching the occasion, in case of his success, to throw off the mask immediately, and declare against their king; whilst

France, through shame, or interest and solicitations, might at least have acted with some sincerity, by sending succours to his assistance, and thereby laying open new scenes of expences, desolations, and miseries, which this nation had not before experienced; the consequence of which no reasonable man can think of without horror.

Providence, however, had long since withdrawn her aid from the family of the *Stuarts*. Had the adventurer but reflected on the dreadful curse and imprecations announced upwards of 150 years ago, by the first of his name, against himself and his posterity, and considered how severely and effectually that curse (which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter) has ever since, with the justice and vengeance of heaven, pursued the tyrant race, he might easily have concluded, that prosperity can never attend him, or any enterprize, how sagaciously and secretly, or how formidably soever, it may be concerted and supported, if it should be undertaken in his favour. *Evil shall hunt the wicked person to overthrow him*, is the declaration of one that knows the secrets of all hearts. But moral or serious reflections were never known to occupy one moment a place in his understanding. The sweets of *Edinburgh* were now faded, and the early hopes, which flattered and deluded him in the morning at *Preston-Pans*, were now become odious to his imagination at *Culloden*, where horror, dread, and gloomy darkness, covered every countenance, and every heart was filled with terror.

Under such a dilemma, and in this dreadful situation, a council was held to think of some eligible expedient for relief; when, after much debate and consideration, it was thought by many of this council, that coming to an open engagement in

the field could not fail of giving an entire victory to the duke, and ending in the total ruin and destruction of the rebel army (as it afterwards proved) unless to a few that might, and did escape to their friends and relations in the *Highlands*. It was also thought, that raising the camp, and marching forward into the country, would but augment their distresses, lessen the army by desertion, expose themselves to new and greater difficulties, and at best only protract their final destruction for a few days longer. These arguments and reasons at that time prevailing, it was therefore resolved, that, in such distracting circumstances, the best stratagem that could be fallen upon, was to break in upon the duke's camp in the dead of the night, and to put all to the sword; for the doing of which, they never could meet again with so favourable an opportunity; especially if they quitted the camp they then possessed, and retired into the hills, without putting this, or some such stratagem, in execution. What forwarded their hopes of an unfailing success in this project, was, that it was the night of the anniversary of his royal highness's birth-day; at which time they concluded the army, after having been employed in rejoicings for celebrating this day, many of them perhaps charged with liquor, that they might with greater facility, and less suspicion, than at any other time, surprise the outposts, by killing the guards before the alarm could be given; then entering the camp pell-mell, cut down all before them.

According to this determination, which was kept with the greatest secrecy, and which they looked upon as their forlorn hope and dernier resource, private orders were given for the troops destined for this bold attempt to march off in the evening from their respective quarters in the-camp, in two

columns, by two different roads; both of which united and terminated at a ground facing, at some inconsiderable distance, the out-posts, where the centinels of the duke's camp were on guard. One body of these troops was commanded by lord *George Murray*, and the other principally under the conduct and direction of *Sullivan*.

None of the subaltern officers or private men had the least notion of this design; the scheme being only confided to the commanding officers, whose orders were to conduct the march of the troops (as the distance or length of the two roads were near equal) in such manner, and with such silence and precaution, as to arrive at the same ground about one and the same time, unperceived by the *English*; and being there united, they were to listen and wait upon that ground, till they found that the better part of the *English* soldiers were retired to rest; and, at the critical minute of repose, when all should appear silent and wrapp'd in sleep, to lay hold of that opportunity to detach parties to seize the *English* centinels, and so fall on, and enter the camp; which they doubted not to fill with terror and confusion, and thereby gain a complete victory.

The two columns marched from distant parts of the camp, by the different roads assigned them; and with so great caution, that neither column did see or know any thing of the other's march.

The column under *Sullivan's* directions proceeded in its march, and arrived at the ground between eleven and twelve at night, where they quietly and secretly rested on their arms, waiting the arrival of the other column to come and join them, in order to begin the operations, and to execute their bloody execrable plan.

After waiting a much longer time for the other column's coming to join him, pursuant to orders, than what he thought abundantly more than sufficient for their arrival and junction, *Sullivan* began to be under some uneasiness: his apprehensions increasing, he thought it necessary to dispatch an express immediately to the adventurer, who was with some of his nearest and most trusty friends, about three or four miles distance, in the rear, to acquaint him of this delay and disappointment; supposing, for some time, that the former orders might be countermanded. The arrival of this news astonished the adventurer and his friends.

Whilst the courier was gone, *Sullivan* ordered a few of his advanced guards to march as far forward as they could venture, without being discovered, and to observe how things stood with respect to the *English* camp. This was done accordingly; and several of those men, lying down on the ground on their faces, could see very plainly the lights in the *English* camp, and hear the inarticulate voices of men speaking. This they did without being perceived by any of the *English* army.

On this occasion, time was so precious, that a moment was not to be lost, without manifest danger and hazard. After a short consultation, the courier was sent back with all expedition, with orders for *Sullivan* to wait about half an hour longer for the arrival of the other column; and, if in that time it should not arrive, then to return with those troops which accompanied him to their former camp, by the same road they went. The column under the command of lord *George* not appearing within the time limited by these last orders, *Sullivan's* column marched back. And thus finished this bold and desperate project, wherein the hand of

providence seems to have had a particular share, in dissipating their councils, confounding their measures, and rendering this bloody design abortive.

Lord *George* with his column met with several difficulties and delays, as well from the obstinacy of some of the *Highlanders*, who wanted to know their destination, or the cause of this extraordinary march, as by the failing of some carriages, which principally occasioned this disappointment. Notwithstanding those difficulties and obstructions, which his lordship unexpectedly met with, he nevertheless arrived with his men at the place of destination above mentioned (as it is affirmed by many who were in this expedition) soon after the departure of the other column; where he received intelligence of their return to the *Highland* camp (by some who had been left behind to advertise him thereof) occasioned by the fatality. of his delay, which they said had so unluckily frustrated their most sanguine hopes and expectations: whereupon he also marched directly back to the camp, with the troops under his command.

Nothing can equal the shock and trouble that this disappointment gave the adventurer. But what followed? He not only looked upon himself and his affairs, as lost beyond a possibility of retrieving, but that lord *George Murray* was the *sole* cause thereof, and of the miscarriage of this project in particular; on the success of which he had built his only hope and security. Every kind of suspicion and jealousy possessed his mind; he thought himself sold or betrayed by this nobleman: but such was his art and dissimulation, that nothing of all this at that time appeared: he treasured up and concealed his hatred for this nobleman with the strongest resentment and ingratitude against another opportunity,

which I shall hereafter mention in its proper place, with the manner in which he treated him. He very well knew that lord *George* was the life and foul of the *Scotch* at that time under his command; and that he was regarded by them, and all who knew him, as a person of distinguished courage, honour, and bravery, as well as generosity; by which he had gained a powerful ascendant and influence over the greatest part of the whole army: it was, therefore, very dangerous, and might in the end prove of the most fatal consequence to the adventurer, to shew the least dislike to his lordship's conduct: wherefore he thought it prudent to be silent with regard to complaints, and only communicated his suspicions to one or two persons of confidence of another nation. The time being short, and the hour approaching for putting an end to this unfortunate business, I shall relate it in my next letter.

LETTER THE NINTH.

EARLY next morning, his royal highness the duke of Cumberland having given orders for the army under his command to march, they put themselves in movement, with all the necessaries and appurtenances of war; conducted with the most exact discipline, as well as with the greatest order and decorum, and fired with a laudable spirit of vengeance in the cause of their religion, laws, liberties, and their king and country; where I shall leave them for a moment, advancing to the field of battle.

Intelligence having arrived, very early the same morning, in the rebel army, that the *English* forces were preparing to march, consultations were quickly held, in order to

determine what was fittest to be done at such a critical conjuncture; whether it was most expedient and advisable to make a stand, and to give battle to the *English* army, or to strike their tents, and march farther into the country; where, by the advantages of the hills, the many defiles and passages, and the narrowness. of the roads through many of the mountains, they might yet put off their evil day, and more embarrass the *English* army in their march, than they had theretofore been: by which delays and difficulties, so raised by this decision, they might yet gain time for the arrival of succours from *France*, on sending over with expedition to inform that court of their necessities and ruinous condition.

Most of the *Scotch* lords at this council were inclined to this last measure, as the most safe and salutary end, and the only one that could afford them breathing-time to repair their distressed affairs, or give them an opportunity to provide for their future safety.

There could be no difficulty or delay, one should think, in the choice on this decision, since self-preservation, according to the then appearance of things, would have informed the most ignorant of the necessity they were in to follow this last salutary resolution: but the adventurer, with his usual obstinacy and self-sufficiency, on persuading some into his opinion, persisted, that the best expedient for him and his followers was to stand and give battle; urging, that if the *Highlanders* once came in to engage the *English* army sword in hand, they would soon put them to the rout; and that he feared not but it would turn out another *Preston-Pans* affair to them: then he intimated, that declining to meet in battle would be looked upon as want of courage. The *Scotch*, who generally shew most courage in the most desperate

cases, being piqued at such insinuations, readily determined for a battle and orders were instantly given, in consequence thereof, for the troops to march and form in battalia. Another powerful motive for the adventurer's pushing on this engagement with such precipitancy, though he trembled for the event, and which he might have avoided, was the groundless apprehensions he entertained of lord *George*, who he could have wished in any skirmish or action to be taken off, that he himself might have acted more despotically; as. this nobleman was often a check upon many of his rash-.and, inordinate propositions.

Impatience for action appeared now on all sides; but much more so on the side of the *English* army, whose appearance alone was sufficient to intimidate and strike that of the rebels with fear and dread. The line of battle being formed by each army, the engagement began, and was fiercely and bloodily carried on by both parties; each shewing every proof and demonstration of that courage and fortitude truly natural to both nations; which made a great carnage amongst the *Highlanders*. Lord *George*, so much suspected as he was by the adventurer, and who had one of the principal commands in this desperate engagement, led on his men with that intrepidity and bravery, for which he had always been distinguished; and though repulsed by superior force, he rallied and attacked several times, and had his bonnet twice struck off whilst on horseback, in the heat of the action, which was each time gathered up and placed again on his head by one *Robinson*, his aid-de-camp, and with great difficulty and danger he escaped being taken prisoner twice during the battle.

Every effort that men could make under their

circumstances, was put in practice by the *Highlanders* and their commanders, to break in on the *English* army, to come to the broad-sword work: but their efforts were in vain; for the *English* troops, led by their brave commander, remained like an impregnable bulwark, tearing them to pieces with the fire of their artillery and musquetry; whilst the horse coming in upon them, broke them with terror and confusion, which, after a considerable slaughter, put them to the rout, and gave to the *English* army, with but an inconsiderable loss, a complete and entire victory. The pursuit continued for some time, in which many fell, and many more were taken prisoners.

During the battle, the adventurer was placed, with a few of his nearest friends, in a convenient situation, where he might without risk or danger observe every thing that pass'd: but seeing at length the fortune of the day, on which he had in the morning with such confidence counted, now turned against him, the *Highlanders* on all sides giving way, and, in a word, the whole rebel army, at one and the same time, put to the rout, and that all was lost, loaded with every species of trouble, chagrin, despair, and affliction, that such an irretrievable misfortune could bring upon a mind the least sensible to such distresses, and in which he had involved such numbers of innocent persons, sinking, I may say, under such a weight of sorrow and affliction at the dismal prospects at each moment accumulating and presenting themselves to his view, he nevertheless had sufficient presence of mind left to provide for his own safety, by riding off as fast as he could: he soon left those few friends behind him who had before accompanied him, and in his distraction committed himself to chance and his horse, to conduct him to some asylum,

where he might for some time continue in safety, till he could find means to get over to *France*.

In these anxieties and perplexities, wandering about, little money in his pocket, in a *Highland* dress without breeches, he comes up with one *Malcolm Macleod*, who had escaped from the battle. This man brought him home with him to his sister's house, in a remote part of the *Highlands*, where he continued some time; passing upon the sister for a young man, that had been in the battle, and who, as a fellow-sufferer, he had brought home for relief and protection, till he could get to his friends. The sister would not admit him to sit at table when at supper, though they were themselves but poor people. However, after *Macleod* and the sister had finished their poor repast of bread, butter, and eggs, she condescended to his taking her place, at her leaving it, and partaking of the like fare. There was a young child lying in a kind of cradle, belonging to this woman, which he took up and carried about with him, and the next morning very early amused himself in the same manner. The scene was now greatly changed; for he that had but a day or two before several persons of distinction devoted to please him, and several thousands of men at his orders and commands, saw himself at once reduced to the low and mean condition of amusing himself with an infant in his arms.

Whilst he continued with *Macleod*, they spent their time mostly in wandering about the hills, where they often lay in the * tether together, and frequently at a distance beheld parties of horse or dragoons marching to and fro, scouring

* *Tether* is the heath or long grassy weed growing in the mountains in the summer.

the country; and from whom he with great care, and no little danger, escaped being discovered or taken.

Through this man's assistance, some accounts were sent and received to and from some of the most faithful and principal friends of the party, in order to concert some new measures, if possible, to repair their loss: but all these propositions and weak schemes soon came to nothing; and most people thinking it high time to provide for their own security, by leaving the kingdom, numbers from time to time embarked at different ports and harbours, as they best could, for *France, Holland*, and other places; amongst whom lord *George Murray* was one; who having sacrificed his life to the laws of his country, his personal interests, and family connections, in fine, his all, by the rash and imprudent enterprise he was persuaded to embark in yet was he most unjustly and basely charged by the very person for whom he did and suffered all this, as a traitor and betrayer of his interests the conclusion of which with respect to this noble lord, we shall see in another letter.

LETTER THE TENTH.

THE adventurer, tired with this situation, and considering it too dangerous to remain long in one place, which might in the end give suspicion, or prevent his getting a convenient opportunity of embarking for *France*, he takes leave of *Macleod*, leaving him a silver clasp stock-buckle, which he usually wore, as a token of gratitude and remembrance; and with the best precautions and instructions he could take for to accomplish the above design,

we must leave him wandering and sculking, till we find him at *Flora Macdonald's*; where intelligence being received, that one Captain *Macdonald* was coming, with the party he commanded, to search for him, she dressed the adventurer in woman's apparel; and she had scarce placed him on a chair in her room, with a spinning-wheel before him, before the captain entered the chamber. His complaisance for his friend and namesake, and the chamber of a young gentlewoman appearing to him somewhat respectable, if not sacred, restrained that strict search and inquiry, which otherwise, and in another place, he would no doubt have made, in consequence of the information received, and orders given on that subject: wherefore, casting only his eyes carelessly about the room, and not seeing any thing that appeared to him as a man, he only asked, what woman that was who sat at the wheel? to which the other replied, it was one *Betty Burke*, an *Irish* woman, who she had caused to come over from the North of *Ireland*, to work for her, as being a remarkable good spinner. This satisfied the officer's curiosity and inquiry; who returning to his men, and reporting, that there was no appearance of the person's being in the house, who they were in search for; after taking a cup of refreshment, the captain and his party marched off with content, convinced that the information was groundless, and that the trouble which they were compelled to take on this occasion, was altogether unnecessary.

How like a dog look'd Hercules, when to a distaff chain'd!

DRYDEN.

Having, therefore, mentioned something of the money, said to be about £. 30,000, and to have been sent from *Spain*, though as probably from *France* or *Rome*, you must know,

that *Macdonald*, the supposed banker, under whose care it had for some time been, took also care of supplying himself with such part thereof as he thought proper, to answer his present and future necessities. He had also obtained from the adventurer his gold snuff-box, a valuable diamond ring, and other things of value. Scarcely did any man make a more pompous figure in the rebel army, or even in the *English* camp, at the time he surrendered himself prisoner, than this man. His ordinary expences were afterwards very considerable, till the time of his trial and condemnation, which was about *October 1747*. This money was, before the battle of *Culloden*, reserved to be laid aside to answer any pressing exigence; and accordingly it was sent and deposited in bulk, without examining what *Macdonald* had taken to embezzle. *Cameron of Lochiel*, chief of a large clan of that name, who died soon after in *France*, had given a receipt for this money, which was secretly buried or deposited in such manner, as not to be got or come at without orders from *Rome*, or from the adventurer; and his receipt fell for some time into the hands of *Cluny Macpherson*, it was thought, who was chief of another considerable clan of his name, &c. who was obliged to abscond on account of his rebellion.

Labouring under many wants and distresses, as the advenventurer was, whilst sculking and wandering in the hills and mountains, he nevertheless found means to send to his said banker for money, and advice what to do in this his great distress.

*A dismal banker must that banker be,
Who gives no bills but of mortality.*

SWIFT.

This, in effect, was the answer he received to his message that is to say, *Macdonald* sent him word, that money he had none to send him, and that, in such common danger, every body was to take care for himself, and to do the best he could.

Grief and resentment immediately followed the unexpected answer: but as the adventurer, after his arrival in *France*, and even whilst *Macdonald* was in *Newgate*, forgave this offence and neglect, it ought not to be brought in charge against him afterwards, nor considered as one of the causes for his prevailing on Marshal *Belleisle* to deprive him of his pension, as formerly related.

Amongst the many useful good qualities that money has, it is generally allowed to have one very bad one, in being the root of all evil. The avidity, which several of the rebels, who got over to *France*, had for laying hold of this money, or such part of it as they could discover and find out, put some of them on the most dangerous projects to obtain it.

Lochgarry, formerly in the *English* service, with some others, who, as well as he, were proscribed by act of parliament, and sure to suffer, if taken, had the boldness to venture over *incog.* in search of this prey; but returned without it. Some time just before, or soon after, Dr. *Cameron*, brother to the above *Lochiel*, sent his wife over, and another person, on the same errand. About six hundred or a thousand pounds, as others said, were got in this expedition; but the doctor, desirous of getting the whole into his hands, left *France*, and ventured over into *Scotland* himself, chiefly with that view and design; where, before he had brought his scheme to any degree of perfection, he was discovered, taken, brought prisoner to *London*, tried, condemned for his rebellion and treason, and finished this dismal voyage with

his body hang'd and quarter'd at *Tyburn*.

It is not my intention, and indeed I think it totally unnecessary, to give a detail or journal of all the doublings, windings, turnings, wanderings, and sculkings of the adventurer through the hills and mountains; or of his watchings and waitings, his wants and distresses, to avoid the pursuit that was made to intercept him, or take him by land or by sea, from the time of his defeat at *Culloden*. It is only worth remembrance, that the ministers of *France*, having sufficiently played their game with him, and thereby gained all they then wanted, they began to think a little seriously for his preservation. For which purpose, they dispatched some persons of trust and confidence to *Scotland*, to find him out, and to endeavour, by stratagem and disguise, to conduct him safe to *France*. But this had not the desired effect.

In the variety of projects then on foot for the accomplishment of this design, few had the appearance of more success than the following. The court of *France* had ordered one Captain *Dumont*, of *Dunkirk*, to sail upon this commission.

This man, a bold and enterprising sea-officer, who spoke *English* tolerably well, and was perfectly acquainted with the coast of *England*, was no stranger to that of *Scotland*, in the many cruises he had made, whilst captain and commander of several *French* privateers, prepared for this expedition. He fitted out a small vessel immediately, that was a prime sailor, of *English* trim, not drawing much water; and having got his provisions and all materials on board necessary for the execution of his commission, amongst which provisions he laid in *English* porter and *Cheshire* cheese, (which were at that time in great plenty at *Dunkirk*, from the captures made

by the privateers of that place on the *English* during that war) he ordered his crew on board, amongst whom he placed a *Scotchman* and an *Englishman*, who had been a long time before in that town prisoners at large, as ransomers, and in that time had given some little proofs of their good disposition to what they called the old cause (which seemed to be so very old, as to be then just worn out) pretending he would carry these persons home as passengers, to get the owners to pay the ransom-money, for which they had so long stood engaged, without any steps being taken by these people for the satisfaction of the demand. The ransomers having swallowed the bait with the greatest thanks to *Dumont*, for having procured them this liberty from the governor, cheerfully embraced the offer, and to sea they went.

Arriving on the coast of *Scotland*, *Dumont* goes on shore, at a creek in the *Highlands*, as near the place as he could judge he was to make inquiry for the adventurer, according to such instructions as he had received for that purpose. He had left the vessel at an anchor a little off shore, and landed in his small boat, taking the *Scotch* ransomer with him. They had not got above a mile into the country, when turning into a field near the road, he was struck with great surprise on seeing above fifty men in arms, with their officers, marching towards him, in order, as he apprehended, to surround him, and take him and his companion prisoners. These were part of the militia, scouring the country, and searching after rebels; few of whom spoke *English*.

He, who commanded, came up to *Dumont*, asking him who he was? where he was going? and the like questions. *Dumont* readily answered, he was an *Englishman*; that he was captain of a vessel loaded with wine for the fleet, and wanted a pilot,

who knew the coast better than himself (having never before been that way) that by his assistance he might get safe to the fleet, for which he would pay him what he could reasonably demand. The *Scotch* ransomer continuing in the same tale, the militia officer ordered an old man then with them, a fisherman by profession, and likewise another young fellow, who shewed a great desire to be of the party, to go and pilot the honest captain to the fleet, which they doubted not to fall in with in the evening. *Dumont*, in return for such kindness, invites the officer, and who he pleased to take with him, to come to the water-side, and taste his *English* porter and *Cheshire* cheese. On coming down, he invites them on board; but they refused to go: he therefore sends for porter and cheese, and makes a present of them to the militia captain and his friends; and taking his pilots and ransomer on board, bidding a kind farewell, weighed anchor, and got under sail directly, ordering the pilots to go under deck to eat and drink; but it was rather to keep them out of light, lest they should attempt to give any signal or alarm.

No sooner were the pilots seated, and served with something to drink, but the old man discovered his mistake, and tells his young companion, what he had reason to apprehend and believe, namely, that the captain and crew were *French*, and that they themselves were made prisoners; that this vessel was a privateer on a cruise, and that they should be carried into *France*: which gave the old man great affliction, and made him very melancholy, to be thus kidnapp'd in his old age, and taken into a strange country, leaving his poor family in distress.

Dumont soon perceiving the old man's sorrow and discontent, separated his pilots, by calling the young man

into his own cabin, who, after some discourse, did not fail to relate to *Dumont* all that the old man had said to him, and his extraordinary fears on this occasion. The captain threatened instantly to cause a large weight, that lay upon deck, to be fastened to the old pilot's neck, and to throw him overboard; alledging that he did not doubt but the old man would endeavour to betray him in the course they were to steer, and in his turn get him taken; but behaved with more kindness and freedom to the young man, desiring him not to be afraid, and to behave well and with fidelity, and that nothing should hurt him; but that, on the contrary, he would recompence his services. The young pilot promised faithfully to behave well and with fidelity, begging, at the same time, to spare the old man, with whom he had some relation or connection. The captain seemed not so determined, and became more mild and condescending, on the other's assurance of his engagements to answer with his own life for the other's conduct. To which the captain replied, all depended on his good behaviour. Then discoursing of the coast, and *Dumont's* asking some particular questions, the young man told him, he believed he knew what he wanted, and could guess at the business he was upon; and that if it was such as he imagined, he could be of great service to him. *Dumont* encouraged him to speak his mind, with promises of friendship and reward, if he did him any service; and insisted on his explaining himself, and telling him his suspicions and imaginations. The other at length told him plainly, he supposed he might be looking for *Charly*. What then, replies the captain; do you know any thing of him? if you do, tell me sincerely: speak, here is none but ourselves in the cabin: if you can give me any intelligence of him, your fortune is made. I will then bring you where he is, says the other, before twelve o'clock at night.

As it is now drawing to the hour of rest, I shall finish this relation, which will afford you more amusement, in my next.

LETTER THE ELEVENTH.

HOW great *Dumont's* secret satisfaction might be on the prospect of finding the person, whom he was in search for, by such an unexpected act of providence in his favour, in throwing this young pilot in his way, the success of which, he doubted not, would raise his own merit considerably, and procure him great honour and profit, is very easy to be imagined.

A promise so plainly and peremptorily made him, left him no room to doubt of the person's veracity and knowledge of what he was about to undertake, especially knowing, that, if he deceived the captain in the smallest article on so delicate an affair, he would meet with a severe punishment and resentment; of which the young man was but too sensible. *Dumont* therefore desires him to open his mind freely to him, and to tell him directly, and without mincing the matter, which way they ought to proceed, and where to find him.

The young man, whom we may now call his guide, told him he must stand farther out to sea, to prevent his being observed or suspected by those, who might be on the hills; and that as the weather was very fine and favourable, they would make a tack or two, and so come in with the land, at such a place, as he then named, at the going down of the sun; by which they might land when dark, unperceived, and that he would then conduct him to a little house in the hills, a few miles from the landing-place, where the adventurer and

another person, who accompanied him, then lay concealed.

This advice and instructions of the young guide was exactly followed, and duly executed. When coming in with the land, at a convenient distance from the coast, all precautions arranged, *Dumont* took his guide, and such others as he thought proper to assist him in the expedition; and being well armed, they marched up to the hills, by favour of the darkness, in quest of the lost sheep.

Arriving at the house, which stood like a centry-box, in this remote and unfrequented place, no habitation for man or beast near it, they knocked at the door; but no answer being made, they repeated the knocking with violence, but with as little effect. At length *Dumont*, roaring out with a loud and resolute voice, and in the *French* language, swore, if some one would not answer, and open the door, he would set fire to the miserable hovel, and find his way in by the light of the flames.

Menaces of this kind, repeated two or three times, at last produced a noise of some person's stirring in the house; and the threats being made in *French*, a man, who had thrust his head through a round hole in the wall above, which served as the only window of the upper room, asked with a weak and timid voice, who they were, and their business? *Dumont* answering in *French*, that they were friends, true and sincere friends; that he had nothing to fear; that he was come from *France*; desired him to order the door to be opened immediately, and to come down in haste, for there was no time to be lost.

Quickly then was the door opened. A light being got, they entered into a poor little place at the foot of the wretched

stairs, and this person, who appeared at the window, came down in his night-cap, with a kind of night-gown on his shoulders, his breeches in his hand, a pair of slippers on his feet, but no stockings on his legs. *Dumont* immediately informs him, that he was come by order of the court of *France* to search for the prince, and to carry him off in his vessel, which lay at hand for that purpose. The fears, which had till then prevailed over the other, began to cease; who telling *Dumont* that his name was *Sullivan*, and that the prince had left him early that morning, without letting him know where he was going, or when he would return, saying at his departure only, that he should soon hear from him, nothing with certainty could be said or expected with regard to his return, or being found in time, so as to get him on board, and to carry him off without suspicion, or perhaps being discovered and taken by the delay of waiting: wherefore *Dumont* desiring *Sullivan* to get ready immediately, and to come away, the other prepared with the utmost diligence; and setting out together from this miserable retreat, they arrived on the coast, embarked, and got under sail again, a little before day-light.

Sullivan was now on board settled, in a proper place in the ship; and so disguised, as to be thought unworthy of notice, in case of being visited or taken by an enemy: his fears, however, were far from being at an end.

Inconstancy of wind and weather is common at all times, and in all places, but more so on the watery element, than elsewhere: the wind being now not so favourable as they could wish, and, in truth, as the necessities of their case required, retarded their passage, and at the same time they perceived a man of war under sail upon a cruise, and seemed

disposed to speak to them, by the course she steered, and perhaps to examine them, and send her boat on board. *Dumont* concluded very judiciously, that it might raise suspicion, if he appeared to shun them, by endeavouring to run away; and therefore rather stood towards them: the gale freshened; it then began to blow hard. But it is an ill wind that blows no body good, as will appear in the present case; for coming within hail, the man of war's people hailed him, asking him from whence he came? and where bound? to which the answer given was, from *London*, and that they were bound for the *English* fleet with wine, and some other provisions, for the admiral. This being reported to the captain of the man of war, who was then in his cabin, he ordered that (*Dumont*) the captain of the vessel should bring to, and take a letter to the admiral, which he had to send. *Dumont's* people desired the captain of the man of war to send his boat on board with the letter, and it should be punctually delivered. The captain refused to put out his boat, because it blew too hard, and the sea ran high; and therefore called to *Dumont* to come under the quarter of the man of war, in order to come on board. You may easily judge of *Sullivan's* terrors and fears at this time.

Dumont for the same reasons refused, alledging his most plausible excuses, and the danger of the vessel's being damaged, in laying her on board the man of war. He therefore begged and desired they would send the letter on board him. But all this would not do; the captain's orders must be obeyed, and *Dumont* must come on board the great ship, notwithstanding his arts and finesse: which at last he said he would do; but for the doing of that with safety, he must make a tack; which he did immediately; and making a

long stretch away, on putting about, he took care to steer so as to miss the ship: it then became necessary to make another tack, in which he stretch'd away so far as to think himself out of the man of war's power to catch him, and then had the audaciousness to hawl down his *Englisb* colours, under which he had till then sailed, and to hoist a *French* pendant. Judge again, Sir, if you please, of the dread and panic of *Sullivan*, who was dying with the apprehension of being pursued and taken: and judge also of the provocation this gave the gentleman, who commanded the king's ship. He instantly gave orders to crowd all sail, and give chace, as fast as possible. *Dumont* knew his own ship's going, and took his measures accordingly.

Pursued that day and night, and next day, he at length got over on the coast of *Flanders* and the man of war, having gained upon him from time to time, fired several shot, some of *which* hurt his rigging: whereupon, to prevent his being taken, he was forced to run on shore at *Blackendwle*, near *Ostend*. *Roth's* regiment of the *Irish* brigade, then in that place, marched up to the middle in the sea, to cover the small vessel, till she landed her passengers. Which being done, *Sullivan* was carried directly away to the governor's house, and report was spread abroad directly, that the young pretender had landed with him at the same time, and was gone post *incog.* to *Paris*: and that report gaining credit, and industriously spread abroad, soon arrived at *London*, and, it was thought, cooled the search and pursuit of the pretender and his attendants in *Scotland*; it being taken for granted, that the adventurer had really escaped with *Sullivan*, and safely arrived in *France*.

On *Sullivan's* arrival, a detail of this-affair, and other

particulars, were immediately dispatched to court, whither he went himself soon after. *Dumont* received a handsome gratification from the king, with a present of a sword with this inscription, “for the faithful services he had rendered his majesty;” and he and his family were ennobled. My next letter will inform you of the farther consequence of this business.

LETTER THE TWELFTH.

THE court being informed by *Sullivan* of what had pass'd in the late affair of *Dumont*, it was judged highly necessary to make use of some better expedient, than what had been tried before, in order to get the adventurer away from *Scotland*, and to deliver him from the dangers and miseries, under which he was then hourly languishing.

Want, distress of every kind, with a continual apprehension of being at last betrayed, or at least: surprised, and taken, were the continual companions of his solitude.

Several of his secret and most: faithful friends were from time to time discovered, pursued, and apprehended, in their own habitations. This was hourly cutting off his resources for subsistence, or longer concealing himself; which increased the peril of his condition, and began to render it truly insupportable. One glimmering hope was yet however left; which was *Sullivan's* escaping, and landing safe in *France*; from which he thought some better fortune soon might follow.

One might imagine, that he, who had so long and so sensibly felt those sufferings, would ever after have retained

such a remembrance of them, as might prevent him from loading even an offender, much less an innocent person, with want, distress, oppression, and unjust imprisonment; or at least inspire him with a feeling and compassion for those, who, through misfortune, might fall under the like afflicting circumstances. But how hardened his humanity, how contrary his disposition, is to every thing of that nature, will be sufficiently seen in the sequel.

Letters were continually sent, and applications daily making, to the court of *France* from *Rome*, to press that court to take some efficacious measure to extricate him out of those dangers, and to release him from those distresses, which they themselves could not but feel for him.

The court of *France*, touched with such remonstrances, and other considerations, but fearing, most probably, that their own interest might be hurt or prejudiced in his loss, by not having him to play off against *England* on any future occasion, at last sent over two ships, to hover about that part of the coast of *Scotland*, which they supposed (from the information now received) he most frequented; and where they could not fail to be distinguished and known from the tops of the lofty mountains in the *Highlands*, whither he and his then trusty confidants (some fishermen) at times resorted.

Those ships at length arriving, were soon perceived and known to be *French*, and intelligence thereof was soon conveyed to him. The prospect of being redeemed from his miseries; the appearance and expectations of being delivered out of the jaws of the lion, which he had so unjustly provoked and enraged to destroy him, for self-defence; and seeing then that he had but one danger more to encounter, which he

thought not very hazardous, after those he had before escaped, and which was only that of the passage; his heart was filled with every transport of joy, which human nature was capable of, in a person under such circumstances, and in his doleful situation.

Taking leave therefore of his trusty friends the fishermen, called *Mackinnons*, he soon embarked on board one of these ships, without any kind of baggage, almost naked, and with a constitution greatly impaired; and with a body loaded with poverty and disease.

Many of the principal officers and chiefs of the *Highlanders*, and many of the commonalty, had got over into *France* before he landed, and several others arrived soon after: they were at first disposed of in hotels, till something should be arranged for their future support by the ministry.

The oddity of their dress (that is to say, the bonnet on the head, plaid, and kelt, without breeches, side pistol and dirk by the side, with broad-sword under the arm) being an equipment for men, that was not less new, than surprising, to the *French* gentlemen and ladies, who are generally allowed to be the best skilled and most elegant in fine, as well as decent dress, of any nation whatsoever, and who never had seen or heard of such wild and romantic dresses and figures before, excited great numbers of both sexes to go to see them; but particularly the fair sex, who on such occasions, notwithstanding their inimitable politeness and greatest delicacy, could not refrain from much mirth and laughter at beholding them, though many behaved with great kindness and generosity afterwards to several of those distressed fugitives. In short, the curiosity of seeing their dress, and wild, but warlike appearance, drew such numbers of the

Parisians to see the middling sort, which made a shocking figure in that splendid gay metropolis, that it may well be compared to the eagerness and avidity with which the *Londoners* hurried to see the *Cherokee* kings.

You will easily be convinced, that the news of the adventurer's safe landing and arrival at *Paris*, was well received by his friends at court, and that expresses were directly dispatched to *Rome*, to inform his friends there of this favourable event. All necessaries were immediately provided for him; but the greatest concern was about his health, which was so much injured and impaired, that it was a long time before it could be re-established.

His residence was now at the magnificent chateau, belonging to the duke *de Charters*, eldest son of the duke of *Orleans*, about three small miles from *Paris*; where he was surrounded with all the *Scotch* and *Irish*, who had fled from *Scotland* into *France*, after their defeat at *Culloden*. Here he received the news of his brother's being made a cardinal, which was about *July* or *August* 1747.

The pope's nuncio, sending that day compliments of congratulation on that occasion, intimated his intention of coming in the afternoon to make him a personal visit. Against the time of his coming, whatever priests were in and about the house and gardens, which were large and sumptuous, were ordered away; the gates were made fast, except that by which the servants entered; the *Swiss* porter was ordered to wait in the out-court facing the road, and, on the arrival of the nuncio, to acquaint his servants that his master was gone from home early in the morning, before his message was delivered. This was a pretence to shew his disapprobation of the brother's choice and conduct, in attaching himself to the

see of *Rome*, and openly declaring himself a Roman Catholic, and by consequence an enemy to the church of *England*.

The nuncio coming, in some short time after, received the answer, as above directed to be given; on which he returned to *Paris*, not at all satisfied with the disappointment he had met with, and persuaded that it was a mere excuse, concerted and advised by some of his evil counsellors. But to carry on the joke, an article was immediately drawn up, by way of news, setting forth the matter above related, or somewhat to that purpose; which, after being handed about, perused, and considered, was dispatched by post to *London*, and soon after it appeared, as an article of important news, in some of the *English* news-papers, to propagate a favourable opinion of the elder brother's zeal for the *English* church, and the protestant religion. *Quelle politic, quelle grimace, quelle hipocrisie.*

Some few days after lord *George Murray* arrived at *Paris*, where it may be presumed he expected to be well received, after the dangers, sufferings, losses, and fatigues, he had gone through and sustained, by his taking part in that unhappy cursed business; having then made his last voyage from *Switzerland*, where he had been concealed, to *Paris*, as it was then said, not doubting but to meet with or find at least as much protection, gratitude, and civility, as those had done, who had not half his pretention and merit.

The adventurer being soon made acquainted with lord *Georges* arrival, he, without much hesitation, sends one *Stafford*, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, as he was called (but who, for a long time, had his own bed-chamber in the cells of *Newgate*, at *London*, after the defeat at *Culloden*) to tell lord *George*, that he would not see him, nor hear from

him, and ordered him to leave *France* as soon as possible, and *Paris* in twenty-four hours; which if he did not comply with, the *Bastile* was annexed. Disputing or representations of past services were totally useless to an ungrateful mind; the camblote had taken its plie; and of two great evils, it being best to chuse the least, lord *George* thought fit to order his horses for next morning, and so decamped for *Holland* or *Germany*. All the *Scotch* at that time at *Paris* were highly exasperated at this base usage of lord *George* and as many of them had been eye-witnesses of his conduct and bravery, in the greatest perils, and in the most difficult affairs, they were not wanting in loudly vindicating him, and complaining of the injustice done his lordship: but those complaints were fruitless, and without remedy. Had he served under a *Caligula* or a *Nero*, he could not have been worse treated; those could only, by some inhuman act of cruelty and butchery, have deprived him of his life; but this tyrant, by falsehood, deceit, and treachery, endeavoured to deprive him of what was more dear to a man, and ought to be so to every noble mind, *viz.* his honour and his reputation.

My next letter will inform you of something not less interesting than what I have wrote in this letter, but which my time will not at present permit me to particularly relate.

LETTER THE THIRTEENTH.

THE different facts and transactions in the preceding letters are purely and simply related and set forth, as they were known, told, and often repeated, by the very persons themselves, whose employ and connections made

them principal actors therein; and I hope the simplicity, with which they are written, will in some measure vouch for their veracity, supported by a chain of circumstances and events, which render the whole clear and self-evident.

Negotiations were now on the tapis at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the right honourable the earl of *Sandwich*, at that time his late majesty's ambassador to the States-General of the *United Provinces*, was greatly employed, as minister of *England*, for settling the preliminaries of a peace. The dispositions of the contending powers towards an accommodation, so much wanted, and so much to be desired, were nevertheless actuated and governed by the hopes of success, or fears of loss and miscarriage in the projects and events of war, nearest at hand, and most ready to be displayed, according to which the terms, like the stocks, must rise and fall, amongst the political stockjobbers, or contending powers.

Bergen-op-zoom, until that time looked upon as impregnable, was besieged by the *French*, under the command of Marshal *Louendall*, and taken; and *Maestricht*, in a few months after, met with the same fate from a *French* army, under the command of Marshal *Saxe*.

Such was the situation of affairs in *Flanders* during this campaign, that the *French*, having by their successes in that country got the ball at their toe, they might have kick'd it as they pleased, and marched into *Holland*, and taken it with no great loss or difficulty. *Brussels*, *Bridges*, *Ostend*, *Louvain*, *Mecklin*, *Gent*, *Tongres*, *Tirlemont*, *Centron*, *Maestricht*, *Antwerp*, and several other places, being then under their dominion, there was but *Breda*, and a few other places of as little consequence, to oppose their arms. It is more than

probable, that their postponing the design of pushing their successes to the last extremity, was to render themselves more formidable, and to acquire more strength for carrying them into execution, at the time they should find it most convenient and consistent with their other views, in case the negotiation should come to nothing.

Dispatch was now absolutely necessary to bring the negotiations to a conclusion by a peace, and thereby ward off the blow, which the continuance of a bloody and expensive war, not very propitious to *England*, and her nearest allies, might render more fatal in another campaign, than any thing that had before happened. The *English* minister well foresaw those dangers, and went earnestly to work, in conjunction with those of the allies, to give the finishing stroke to this business. He carried his demands in as high a strain, as if on the victorious side of the question. As for the *French*, they had gained what they had at that time principally in view; to which the rebellion in *Scotland* did not a little contribute; and therefore they were the more disposed to pacific measures.

All differences and ceremonies being at length adjusted, a peace was concluded; for the performance of the articles of which, so far as related to *Great Britain*, two * hostages were by *France* demanded, and were actually sent to *Paris*; on this particular condition, That the adventurer should be ordered to depart out of his most Christian majesty's dominions.

His agents and emissaries attended at *Aix-la-Chapelle* during the conferences; and finding matters concluding contrary to their expectations and wishes, a formal protest

* Lord *Cathcart* and Lord *Moreton*.

was drawn up and presented by the pretender against this peace, and in support of his pretended rights and claim to the crown of *Great Britain*; in which he expected the *French* minister would have concurred: but the *French* court having then no further occasion for him, that minister gave himself no trouble on the subject; unless to flatter and cajole him, with new promises of doing something for his service at a more favourable opportunity.

Certain it is, that he never could be brought to believe, that *France*, carried on by such a current of prosperity in this war in *Flanders*, and having all *Holland* in a manner open at that time to her arms, or little capable to resist them, would have so readily made a peace, until he found that the peace was actually concluded. He rather hoped and expected to see *Holland* brought down by the war, in a campaign or two more; and that the *Dutch* or *Hollanders*, three parts of which are already frenchified, being reduced or brought under some degree of dominion or obedience to the crown of *France*, ships, men, and money, might have been always found there, with more facility than elsewhere; in which view he had entertained that *England* would have fallen a prey to his ambition and vengeance. The conclusion, therefore, of this peace, was to him the greatest mortification and disappointment that could possibly happen to such an adventurer.

Most people imagined, that, after this turn of ill fortune, he would have returned to *Rome*; which was the advice of his most sincere and intimate friends. There he might have contemplated, and at leisure have repented of his fruitless attempts and rash designs. But this was in no wise agreeable to his own inclinations; always on the wing in pursuit of what

might offer to kindle new troubles, and promote his designs. For this purpose he remained at *Paris*, frequently walking with his particular friends in the *Thuilleries*, frequently at mass at the Cordeliers, and often at the comedy and opera, contrary to promise, and treaty of friendship and peace.

Notice of this conduct and indulgence to the common disturber being communicated to the court of *England*, his *Britannic* majesty's displeasure at this nuisance and breach of faith, was intimated to the *French* ministers, who made no difficulty in finding excuses, and giving promises to apply a proper remedy, pretending that he had been ordered to withdraw, but was obstinate. A project was, therefore, formed between the ministers and the adventurer, that he should be publickly arrested by the proper officers of distinction, and a large body of troops, under the command of the marshal Duc *de Biron*, coming out of the opera-house on a certain evening fixed for that purpose, and that they should carry him prisoner to St. *Vincennes*, a royal prison, about two small miles from *Paris*; a most delightful walk, with pleasant avenues leading directly to it from the suburbs of that city and in which are most noble apartments. Here the young gentleman was lodged; and some of his partizans, in the secret, were conducted to the *Bastile*, having been previously advertised to hold themselves ready to be sent as prisoners to that place, as soon as the proper officers should come to their respective lodgings or habitations, to conduct them thither.

Had the ministers been in earnest in this business, and not determined to amuse the nation with a farce after the opera, he, and all those of his party, who could have been supposed obnoxious to the court, on account of their conduct or attachment to his person and interest, or on any other

account whatsoever, might have been with less noise and expence, more ease and readiness, taken at their respective places of abode, or in the public gardens, or in the streets, coffee-houses, or taverns, as is common in all such cases, and so carried to prison, without parade or bustle. But this was not to be the case: the *French*, in all their amusements, are fond of expence, shew, and parade: it was, therefore, on this extraordinary occasion, necessary to display solemnity and magnificence, to give an air of reality, and remove any suspicion of insincerity, which the *English* nation had reason to entertain of them, about that condition, which they never intended to fulfil.

Orders were, therefore, given early in the morning, for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march at a certain hour in the evening, and instructions were given to the respective officers, who were to act the principal parts in this political farce. Several of those, who were in the secret, and who were destined for the *Bastile*, were with the adventurer in the forenoon of the day: after dinner he walked in the *Thuilleries*, with a few particular friends, and fire-arms in his pockets; from thence he went to the opera; the troops, to the number of ten thousand, according to the *Paris* account, but which might have been about half the number, marched, according to orders, to their respective destinations; the streets and passages leading to the opera-house were immediately blocked up or stopt by parties of the guards: most of the avenues leading to that part of the city, and other places, particularly that leading to St. *Vincennes*, were likewise secured in the same manner, by several detachments from the main body. All *Paris* began to be filled with consternation; nor has any uproar been since equal to it,

unless that which happened on *Damiens* attempt to assassinate the king.

No sooner was the opera finished, but the adventurer (coming out from the lodge or box where he sat) was met in the passage, leading towards the street, by the officers and gentlemen, who were appointed to arrest him, and who waited for him there for that purpose.

They stopped him in this passage, and instantly acquainted him with their orders, and that he was then arrested by them *de la part du roy*. This he knew as well as themselves. However, he made a feint, as if he would make resistance, by first putting his hands to his pocket, to take out his pistols, then to lay hold of his sword; both which were prevented, and the arms were, by persuasion and politeness, surrendered. A silken cord was then made use of. He was conducted, in a coach with some officers of distinction, to St. *Vincennes*, followed by a large body of horse and foot, and attended by the Marshal Duc *de Biron* in person.

Kelly, Sir *Hector Maclean*, *Gillshenagh*, his maitre d'hôtel, formerly butler to lord *Clare*, and a few others, were sent to the *Bastile*; where they lived well, and in no sort of fear or pain of making any great stay; for, a little time after, they were all discharged. *Sullivan*, who was to be of the *Bastile* party, not much liking the expedition, wrote a letter a day or two before to the minister, signifying, that as he was an officer of rank in the *French* service, he desired to be excused, lest it might be a prejudice to him hereafter, amongst the *French* officers in the army, ignorant of the motive: which excuse was admitted by the *French* ministry; but this drew the adventurer's displeasure upon him for a long time: and *Kelly*, who hated him in his heart, improved this to his own

advantage. *Sullivan* having one day told *Kelly*, before the adventurer's face, and in his own apartments, that he was one of the greatest rogues living, was the cause of *Kelly's* aversion to *Sullivan*.

Two or three days after this arrest, the adventurer having given his parole (as reported) to retire out of *France*, he was nobly attended and conducted from St. *Vincennes*, for a few miles, by officers appointed for that purpose. He then took such course as he pleased supposed to have gone directly to his uncle's, the duke *de Bouillon*, at *Sedan*; from whence his correspondence and visits at court *incog*, were as frequent as he liked. It could not be for any complaisance towards the *English* nation that the *French* ministers entered into this affair; for certainly there is not a people on earth, whom they so much detest. The true motives of this droll policy, for it was nothing else, I could never clearly understand. Some were of opinion, that as the *French* (notwithstanding the adventurer's then late misfortunes and miscarriages in *Scotland*) had, and ever will have, designs of invasion on this kingdom, whenever they are in a condition to carry them into execution, they persuaded him into this method of a seeming compulsion on him to retire a while from *Paris*, to remove, as far as possible, every supposition of such intent.

Others believed it was a political scheme to favour his designs of visiting some foreign courts *incog*. to engage them, by such unkindness shewn him in *France*, privately to espouse and interest themselves in his affairs, in any future event, which the breaking out of a new war might, and always will, give birth to; and that in case such visits and applications should be discovered, the *French* might appear to have no hand or part therein, and excite some of those

powers to enter into his measures, and to serve him with more spirit.

Be it as it may, all reasonable people saw, that the whole of this affair was nothing but a piece of useless finesse; a refined piece of *French* policy, *sans quere sans tête*, and what we call in plain *English*, a *hum* upon our nation: for it neither lessened his interest, nor diminished his correspondence; or prevented his visit at that court, whenever he was pleased to make use of either.

His travels, as above mentioned, being long before determined, he, in pursuance thereof, set out some time after; in the prosecution of which, we shall leave him for some time, pursued through *Europe* by a person, who followed him some years, and, as he confessed, was hired to assassinate the adventurer, by a conspiracy entered into and carried on for that purpose, as that person has since informed me, between persons of great distinction in different parts of *Europe*, and the Jesuits: which brought on the late expulsion and dissolution of that society in *France*, with the confiscation of their effects, to the amount of above six millions Sterling, according to the computation made thereof; the particulars of which you may expect to find in some future letters; whilst in the interim I take notice, as I promised in a former letter, of the curse *James* I. imprecated upon himself and his posterity; after touching on some things relating to that family in general, which I hope you will find worthy your observation and attention, before I enter on the adventurer's true character, or the late intended invasion of this kingdom, with the motives of the late peace.

LETTER THE FOURTEENTH.

I N my last letter, I told you I should take some notice of the curse *James I. of England* imprecated upon himself and his posterity, with some particulars of that family, which are taken from the best authorities. This, in my opinion, is a proper interval for that business, until we find the adventurer returned from the journies he made, and again in action in *France*, though *incog.* forwarding the designs that were for some time hatching in his favour, and the greatest and most expensive ever entered into by that nation.

The design of such digression is chiefly to inform those, who have not, in the course of their reading, met with these particulars, with a knowledge of the wickedness and tyranny of the detestable race of *Stuarts*; and to revive and preserve in the minds and memory of those, who have perused them, the remembrance of their lawless and abominable actions, in violation of all justice, and the most sacred oaths: which cannot fail to inspire every subject with horror and detestation of such a family, who will give himself leave to reflect on the happiness and liberty he enjoys, under the mild and auspicious reign of his present majesty; and what he may promise to be enjoyed by his posterity, under the royal line in the house of *Hanover*.

Looking into a book, intituled, *The Secret History of Whitehall*, printed and published at *London* many years ago, you will find, that the first of that family, who mounted the throne of *Scotland*, obtained that sovereign authority by murder, robbery, and adultery. If the tree is known by its fruit, and that the leaves of each branch resemble each other,

what less could a nation expect from such a root, than what they have experienced? Scarcely has there been one of the wretched offspring who died a natural death, or without suspicion of poison or the poinard. Most of them supported themselves on the throne by the utmost violence and most atrocious assassinations, poisonings, and murders, even of their nearest relations, friends, and confidants; but this, instead of securing to them that safety and despotic power they sought after, placed them in a more dangerous situation, and at last brought on the exclusion of the *Stuarts* family from the crown. What brought on the hatred of the people, and the ruin of that family, was their avarice, tricking, lying, and perfidy; such as great and virtuous minds abhor. The thirst of wealth, for which the subjects were fleeced, to lavish on panders and favourites, contributed not a little to their downfall, personal misfortunes and punishments, which heaven inflicted upon them, for their deceit and falsehood. No promise could ever be relied on, which they made, if the smallest advantage resulted from their violation; as if they held by patent or inheritance the right of being perfidious. And as perfidy and falsehood are a manifest evidence of a mean and dishonest mind, so in a prince it brings on him contempt and impotence.

Hence it is next to an impossibility he should be long free from war at home, or war with his neighbours abroad. For instance, *James V. of Scotland*, who had a fair opportunity of establishing a lasting peace with *England*, lost by deceit and falsehood that blessing to himself and his people, together with his life; as you will find by the following account, given to us by a learned author on that subject; who relates, that *Henry VIII.* his uncle, then at variance with the pope, the

emperor, and *Spain*, willing to strengthen himself at home, even desirous to settle the succession upon his nephew, courted him to an alliance, nay to an interview and conference at *York*. Nothing could promise fairer for *Scotland*, for many ages harrassed and desolated by wars with *Englanti* nothing prove more honourable and beneficial to the *Scotch* king, than the entail of the *English* crown, and the support offered by his uncle.

Henry VIII. had then only one daughter, and she was declared illegitimate. King *James*, therefore, by the advice of his council, accepted the proposal. The *English* ambassadors returned highly satisfied; and their royal master was as highly pleased, who made great preparations at *York* for the reception of his nephew.

But the *Scotch* king had minions about him, whose influence was more powerful than his councils, or his honour, or his interest, if these two can be parted. To these minions the clergy apply, and with bribes engage them to dissuade the king from keeping his word. Some of the favourites too were clergymen, and in the name of all they laboured to debauch and deceive the king. They frightened and cheated him with the word *heresy* and whatever offended the clergy in those days, were it man, or thing, was sure to be declared an enemy to God and the king, and consequently to be very bad and terrible.

They said, heresy was growing up in *England*, and growing fast in *Scotland*; and pretended to shew him what notable profit would accrue to his majesty by suppressing it, and enriching himself with the estates of such as professed, and of such as favoured it. With this they gave him a list of their names, encouraging him to plunder and burn the best and

richest of his subjects.

The king listened to the proposal too greedily, and communicated it to the laird of *Grange*, his treasurer. This was an honest and bold man, who freely shewed his master the monstrous iniquity and mischief of such counsel; exposed the evil and rapacious hearts of the bishops, their corrupt practices, insufferable pride, ambitious designs, and ungodly lives, with their utter unfitness to be trusted in council, or with any civil concerns; represented how rashly and perniciously one of his predecessors, king *David*, had stript the crown of its patrimony to endow bishoprics and abbies; whence his majesty was now become so poor, the prelates so rich, so prodigal, and assuming, that they strove to be masters and directors in all things.

Thus he convinced the king, and recovered him to his first reasonable purpose, of closing with the king of *England*; in so much, that his majesty, the next time the prelates approached him, fell upon them with great bitterness, for having endeavoured to mislead him into such cruelties against so many noblemen and barons, to the danger of his own royal estate. "Wherefore," said he, "gave my predecessors so many lands and rents to the kirk? Was it to maintain hawks, dogs, and whores, to a number of idle priests? The king of *England* burns, the king of *Denmark* beheads you: I shall strike you with this winyard." Whereupon he drew his dagger, and they fled with great fear.

He now fully resolved to keep his promise with his uncle of *England*, as tending both to his advancement and honour; but his resolution held not. The bishops were not easily baulk'd nor afham'd, nor wont to relax, when interest or dominion, or revenge, was in view. Again they assail the

minions, particularly *Oliver Sinclair*, with store of gold, promised him high honour by their weight and procurement, especially the command of the army against *England*, could he bring his master to violate his faith, and break with his uncle.

The next step was to undo the treasurer, by defaming him to the king. "He was proud, he was a heretic, (an imputation always powerful, however stale and foolish) he carried an *English* New Testament in his pouch; nay, he was so arrogant, that he would not procure women for the king, nor prostitute his son's wife to his majesty's pleasure:" for this was one article of the charge against him, and urged by a venerable prelate. It was usual for these favourites to furnish the young king with women, married or unmarried, in order to maintain his favour.

When the king vindicated his minister, as a plain frank gentleman, whom he loved well, and to whom he begrudged no reward, the prior of *Pittenweem* replied, and said, "Sir, the heiress of *Kelly* is a lusty fair lass; and I dare pledge my life, that if your majesty will send for her presently, he shall refuse to send her to you:" (the lady was betrothed to the treasurer's son). A godly proposal, from a religious man! And it took.

The king signed an order for the lady to be brought to him; nay, the prelates and their faction contrived, that a brother prelate, the prior of *Pittenweem*, should carry it, and bring with him the fair prize. The treasurer refused to comply, for good reasons: amongst others, the reverend envoy was his known enemy, and a known debauchee. The prior, however, who had gained the main point, rejoiced in the denial, and by it enraged the king; in so much, that they obtained from him a warrant to seize the treasurer, and commit him to the castle

of *Edinburgh*.

He was aware of their mischievous devices, and hastened to court. The king lowered, and would not speak to him. He boldly asked his majesty, why such a change, so much displeasure, presently after so much favour, and for what offence? The king replied, "Why didst thou refuse to send me the maiden, whom I wrote for, and give a despiteful language to him I sent for her?" The treasurer said, he thought himself meetest to bring her; nor would he trust the prior, as he knew him to be one infamous for rapes, a man the most notorious in *Scotland* for debauching of women, whether wives or virgins. Such failings, it seems, the holy man had, but was zealous for the hierarchy, against heretics and his country.

"Hast thou then brought the gentlewoman with thee?" said the king. "Yes, Sir," said the treasurer. This softened him. "Alas!" faith the king, "they have set out so many leasings against thee, that they have obtained from me a warrant to put thee in ward: but; I shall mind it with a contrary order."

The treasurer answered with lamentation, "My life, Sir, or warding, is a small matter; but it breaks my heart, that the world should hear of your majesty's facility." For he had learnt, that in his absence they had made the king send to *England* to contradict his promise, and refuse to meet his uncle. His lamentations availed not: the worst councils had swayed him: the prelates, and other minions corrupted by them, and subservient to them, ruled the king.

Henry VIII. rages, vows to revenge so much contempt, and sends away an army, to lay *Scotland* desolate by fire and sword. The *Scotch* king too raises forces; but forces without heart, as in a cause undertaken for the pleasure of the

prelates against their country. This damped the spirits of the army; but what quite finished their dejection and despair, was to see *Oliver Sinclair*, a minion and hireling of the prelates, declared general in chief.

The lords and principal officers, through indignation that the court and country should be governed by such vile instruments, as the bishops and their creatures, refused to fight under such a worthless commander; nay, they suffered themselves to be all taken prisoners. The whole army was overthrown, the kingdom rendered defenceless, and exposed to the ravages of the enemy, and the poor king to anguish and disgrace.

Against the bishops all mouths were open; all men enraged to see the country perishing, to satiate their fury and ambition. The king heard the general outcry, his eyes were opened, and in the fulness of his heart he dropt some expressions of resentment against his ghostly and execrable advisers; for which expressions they soon after took severe vengeance.

Such men never retract, never forgive. The realm was under the spoiling hand of enemies and invaders, the army routed, the nobility provoked, the people miserable and murmuring, the king distressed, and his honour lost. Did all this soften the bishops? No: to accomplish their malice, and good services to the public, and their sovereign, they murder him by poison i for with their politics and wholesome severities derived from *Rome*, they had learnt the art of making an *Italian posset*; and with this, administered by some of their faithful villains about him, they shut up the days and reign of *James V*. They first: deprived him of his innocence, then; us his honest: .ccaihsdlorsv then of his

peace of mind and his honour, and lastly of his life.

Were not these notable directors of a monarch's power and conscience? Nay, even dying and dead, they abused him, as well as they had whilst alive. One of them attending him at his death, when the poor king was expiring, dictated a will for him, which he boldly declared to be the king's will afterwards. To such an amazing power in wickedness, and want of shame, had the clergy then grown, by their enormous increase of property!—But they were popish clergy.

Thus you see in a sovereign an example of avarice, falsehood, and folly, who might and ought to have lived, and died, an example of sincerity, honour, generosity, and virtue; by which his own life, and the happiness of his people, had been effectually preserved.

LETTER the FIFTEENTH.

WITH regard to the malediction of *James I. of England*, mentioned in the first part of my former letter, they who have read the histories of that reign, remember, I doubt not, that *Sir Thomas Overbury*, by the plots and infernal practices of the countess of *Essex*, *Sir Thomas Monson*, and others, and through the connivance of the earl of *Essex*, then one of the king's principal favourites, was first poisoned, and the poison not taking its desired effect so soon as the conspirators expected, then stifled, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower of *London*.

On this occasion, an author of great authority, an eye and ear witness to most of the secret transactions of that court, and who at times supped with the king, has transmitted the

following particulars of the king's imprecation on account of this execrable murder, which I will take the liberty to give at large.

"The king," says he, "went from *Whitehall* to *Theobalds*, and so to *Royston*. The king sent for all the judges (his lords and servants incircling him); where kneeling down in the midst of them, he used these words.

The King's Curse and Imprecation on himself and his posterity.

'My lords the judges, it is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in examination a business of poisoning. Lord! in what a most miserable condition shall this kingdom be (the only famous nation for hospitality in the world) if our tables should become such a snare, as none could eat without danger of life, and that *Italian* custom should be introduced amongst us. Therefore, my lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at that great and dreadful day of judgment, that you examine it strictly, without favour, affection, or partiality; and if you shall spare any person guilty of this crime, *God's curse* light upon you and your posterity; and if I spare any that are found guilty, GOD'S CURSE light on ME and MY POSTERITY *for ever.*'

"How king *James* failed in this business," says this same author, "as well by his own death, by the black powders and plaster, (thought to be given and applied to him by the duke of *Buckingham*, or by his direction, whom the king had raised from obscurity to be his greatest favourite, and loaded with honours and riches) is sufficiently known. That this fearful imprecation brought down the justice of God upon himself, by his death by poison, and the sufferings of his

posterity ever since, are so manifest, that it seems to have been the purpose of *God*, doubtless, to lay aside that family, and to make it an example to posterity, according to this imprecation, and others of the like nature, both of king *James* and king *Charles*.”

James, unfortunately for himself, as well as for his people, was full of every species of dissimulation, fraud, and oppression, he dared to practise; and though his reign was peace, and his motto, *Beati pacifici*, he was tyrannic, and in his nature cruel, even conniving at the oppressions exercised on his people by his favourites, and those in authority under him. Hence it may be truly said, that he who has power, and permits oppression and cruelty, is cruel and oppressive, though he knows it not; for he ought to know it, ought to inquire, and ought to prevent it, if he cannot punish it.

Charles I. having ascended the throne on the death of his father, instead of making that inquiry into the causes of his father's death, and of the death also of his elder brother, prince *Henry*, as it was his duty, as a son and brother, to do, gave himself no concern about either, though all the world declared, that both of them had foul play; and notwithstanding his first parliament seemed intent upon that inquiry, and to have been desirous to probe to the bottom of the wound, and that an examination had been taken, with regard to the death of the prince, to bring the paricide to justice, who was publicly said to have perpetrated these atrocious crimes; yet was this business stifled in its birth, by dissolving that parliament; and the person most suspected of the guilt, not only continued in royal favour and authority, but was again promoted to greater wealth and power than what he had before enjoyed (if greater he possibly could

enjoy) until the avenging hand of justice overtook him, and cut him off by the knife of a *Fenton*, in the zenith of his splendid, but abominable career.

Seeking to establish the unconstitutional maxim of government, imbibed from his father, to take from his subjects money without law, and contrary to all law, and ready to deprive the nation of its liberty, by laying upon it the yoke of despotism: and slavery, civil wars ensued, and extended themselves throughout *England, Ireland, and Scotland*. Massacres, desolations, battles, murders, executions, with all the horrors and calamities of a bloody and intestine war, were the dismal effects of those his unhappy and most ill judged politics, which closed the scene with his own fatal tragedy.

Most nations of *Europe* cried out against the violence and cruelty of the *English* and *Scotch*, after this tragedy was over; but none so loud in exaggerating all such charges and complaints as could be made on the subject, as the *French*. This was to take away all suspicion of the part they had acted therein. Mons. *Louvois*, minister of state to *Louis XIV.* loading the *English* with infamy and reproach on this occasion, writes to the king his master, how necessary and prudent it was in the queen, his mother, to have conveyed him out of *Paris*, when the differences between him and his parliaments were at their greatest height, lest his then rebel subjects should have followed the example set before them by the *English* nation.

When the *French* have done all the mischief they can, to serve their purpose, they turn all the ill, by which the mischief was accomplished, upon others, and are the first to blame them. *Louvois* could not but know, that cardinal *Richlieu* had

first laid the plan of this unhappy king's destruction; and had, by his ambassadors and emissaries, which he sent over for that purpose, fomented the troubles during his life, in which he saw the king and his kingdoms so dangerously involved; and that at his decease cardinal *Mazarin* finished the plan the other had begun, by contributing all in his skill and power to bring that monarch to the death he suffered, on the 30th of *January* 1648-9; which *Mazarin* brought about under the specious pretence of endeavouring to prevent it.

The same kind of perfidy had been practised against *Mary* queen of *Scots*: for *Henry* III. or his ministers, sent *Bellieure* to *England*, under pretence of getting her sentence of death revoked; but he had secret orders to solicit her execution.

The politics and maxims of *Richlieu* and *Mazarin* have been too much followed ever since in *France*, and their infection spread in other courts. Upon the death of *Charles*, the outcries and complaints raised against the *English* subsided, except as above, and those subsisted only through the press; nor was there one of those powers who shewed the least resentment, by any noble action, in favour of his son; on the contrary, those who were loudest in their clamours were the first to approve of the rebellious measures, by entering into treaties of peace and friendship with the protector, as soon as opportunity served, and reasonable pretences offered. In my next, I shall mention to you only a few passages and anecdotes of two of the successors of this unfortunate king; and then return to the principal subject, where we shall find the adventurer returned to *France*.

LETTER THE SIXTEENTH.

CHARLES II. being restored, betrayed the same passion for despotic power, the same desire of oppressing his subjects, and violating the constitution and its laws, as had appeared in any of his predecessors and progenitors, or ever had been practised by them. These facts are so notoriously known and confirmed, that I own I should not recite them here, but to perpetuate the remembrance of them, and to answer those purposes as may be necessary in the course of these letters.

Regal power was not long possessed by *Charles II.* but, with all his boasted generosity and affability, he discovered his extreme desire of ruling independent, and liberally to bestow on himself and his favourites the public wealth, without consent of parliament. He secretly thought and reflected on the power and authority of parliament, what *Cromwell* said he thought of regal power, when he trampled it under foot, *viz.* that it was useless, burthensome, and dangerous; and would have been in this sense (for taking the people's money, and in every other sense) a *Cromwell*, if he had thought he could have succeeded, without risk of his *crown* and his *head*. He thirsted after unlimited power, tho' he made a wretched use of what he had; and was used to say, "that a crown was not worth having, if he that wore it must be thus controuled by a parcel of *fellows*." He meant the parliament; who must have been *fellows* indeed, says an historian, and bad ones too, if the worst amongst them had been as bad as himself. However, being pressed, upon a certain occasion, by one of his parasites, on the subject of

money, to raise a sum by laying on a tax without consent of parliament, to answer an emergency, after pausing and hesitating for some time, *Charles* declined the proposal; saying, “he had travelled enough, and did not care to go abroad again fear alone restraining at that time this measure. In Bishop *Burnet’s* history, we find a strange and shocking declaration of *Charles II.* concerning the duke of *Lauderdale*; that the duke had indeed done many damn’d things in *Scotland* “but; cannot see,” says his majesty, “that he has done any thing against my interest:” a speech, upon which I make no reflection; nor can any imagination furnish one, that can possibly heighten its horror. His word or promise was little to be relied on, the breach of which he excused by wit and pleasantry; and he was, in his heart, more attached to *France*, than was consistent with his honour, or his interest, as a *British* king. He professed himself a protestant during his life, but died a papist, according to the best accounts. His death happened much sooner than could be reasonably supposed or expected from so healthy and vigorous a constitution, as that which he was possessed of; which, with other more powerful circumstances, convince that his life was dispatched by *poison*. He detested parliaments, and was not beloved by them; consequently he stood but slightly in the affection of the people, and the city of *London* had as few obligations to him, as to any sovereign that reigned before him, if not many less.

James II. ascending the throne on the demise of his brother *Charles*, possessed his family’s talents for establishing tyranny and oppression in the most eminent degree: and as he openly professed himself a papist, it is not to be wondered at, that he was governed by popish priests;

and that the tyranny and cruelties of his short, but remarkable reign, are so incredible. The executions of the duke of *Monmouth* and of the earl of *Argyle* at *Edinburgh*, were examples of his tyranny; and the barbarities, which he permitted judge *Jeffries* and colonel *Kirk* to exercise against: his subjects in the *West*, are bloody specimens of his cruelty and persecuting spirit. These are but a few. Having more courage than his brother, and supported by the promises and assurances of success by the popish clergy, who daily surrounded him, he undertook two things equally difficult and dangerous; the first, to set himself *above* the *laws*; and the second, to *change the established religion*. He had violated the laws, and would rule by mere will; which is violence, and violence is war. He had no confidence in his people, whom he had drained and oppressed: he had taken an oath to govern by the laws, but kept it not: the people, therefore, opposed not their prince, but their enemy and tyrant: he wanted to do what he pleased with his kingdoms, and to bring his subjects into a state of slavery; but his people, to save his kingdoms and themselves from the galling yoke of his bondage, drove both him and his family from the government and succession to the *British* dominions.

Thus the nation was delivered from a tyrant and oppressor, and king *James II.* was obliged to fly his country, to seek an asylum in a foreign state, and to depend on the benevolence of another monarch for support, protection, and subsistence. But this was not all the evil this king had done his country. He left behind him at his death a pretended successor to the crown. A perfidious prince is one of the heaviest curses God can send upon a people; for when he finds his perfidy and pernicious schemes discovered, his unjust designs on the

liberties, wealth, and properties of the people, disappointed or resisted, his resource is generally to tyranny and bloodshed.

Who then can reflect on the reigns of the family of the *Stuarts*, without dread and horror, seeing that a succession of eight crowned heads of that unhappy race, in a direct line, by their own ill conduct, and the tyranny and oppression of their subjects, should finish their days by violent deaths, by murder, poison, and the ax; except the last, who, to avoid the fate of those who went before him, abandoned his crown, his kingdoms, and his people, forced to take arms in their own defence, and to save themselves from his oppression, tyranny, and cruelties. Therefore you will not doubt, but that the *curse* of the father has fallen upon the children to the third and fourth generation, and that in this family that malediction has been exemplified in the most strict and literal sense.

LETTER THE SEVENTEENTH.

MY private affairs having brought me, in 1755, to *Dunkirk*, I was obliged to stay there a considerable time; and the business not answering expectation, I returned to *London*, and after some time I prepared to go back to *Dunkirk*, to finish this affair: in which voyage our ship was by contrary winds forced into *Sheerness*.

The very next day, going ashore to dine in the fortification. I was apprehended, and closely confined in an apartment in the tavern where I was found, and a guard was ordered to lie in my bed-chamber. This proceeding was founded on a false

and malicious information given against me to the governor (a worthy man), setting forth, that I was employed by, or in the service of the court of *France*; that I had some connections with the ministers of that court, and that I was upon some dangerous enterprise; or to that purpose (as I was then informed): which information was given by a man, who saw me in that tavern, and whom I had some years before saved almost from starving at *Chester*; where I so far interested myself for him in his distress, as to recommend him into good business. But this abandoned wretch, having at this time got employment under the crown, vainly imagined, no doubt, that he could not recommend himself better to his employers, than by some officious step of this nature, how injurious soever it might, in its consequences, prove to his benefactor.

About five or six days after, I was brought to town, in custody of a messenger of state, upon a warrant from the right honourable *Henry Fox*, Esq; (now lord *Holland*) at that time one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and closely confined at the messenger's house. About one month after, I went through a long and strict examination at the secretary of state's office; when it fully and clearly appeared, that there was not the least colour or foundation for my being thus arrested and detained. On which that minister, convinced of the iniquity of the charge against me, was pleased to order my enlargement forthwith: and indeed it would have been the highest act of injustice if he had not; for in truth, at that time, directly or indirectly, I had no more connection with the affairs of *France*, or the ministers of that court, or with any politics whatsoever, than you have with the Grand Mogul, or his ministers and their politics: nor did I at

that time understand a word of the *French* language, and, by consequence, I was a very unfit person to be employed in their schemes or service.

Thus enlarged by the minister, but without any satisfaction for the injustice and damages I sustained, I returned to *Dunkirk*, where (after many disappointments) I was still obliged to wait, on account of my particular affairs, which I could not get settled.

During the time I resided at *Dunkirk*, an intimacy of acquaintance arose between the earl of *Clancarty* and myself, which, by the honour he did me, in admitting me frequently to dine and sup with him, so increased, and from time to time improved, that at last he openly professed the greatest friendship for me, in all companies, and on all occasions: in short, he honoured me with more of his company and conversation, than he did any other person whomsoever; and would always shew an uneasiness, and sort of jealousy, if any other engagement prevented my passing the evenings with him, though there were ever so many other persons of his party. We frequently went abroad together to take the air: sometimes we walked over the *Downs*, observing the ships passing the *Channel*, some coming into port, others going out to sea; at other times we rambled along the port, viewing the works, or along the canals; enjoying that kind of exercise that contributes to health. On all which occasions, as well as at home in private, our conversation generally turned on politics, and public affairs. The reason for mentioning this will soon be obvious.

The late earl of *Clare*, in *France* called *Le Marechal Comte de Thomond*, having come to *Dunkirk* at this time, in quality of inspector-general of the armies of *France*, in order not

only to review and inspect the several regiments of horse, foot, and dragoons, then in garrison there, but also all the other troops of that country, all along the coast; I had the honour to be made known to his lordship, to share in his esteem, and to be invited by him to *Paris*; but I had no thoughts at that time of such a journey.

Lord *Clancarty*, who was born at *Altena*, near *Hamburgh*, never liked the marshal, who was born in *France*; nor would he ever visit him, but on some public or particular occasions, and when it was not to be avoided. His reason for this dislike, as he himself often said, was, that the marshal was too great a courtier, and too much a *Frenchman*; for, says he, as he was only dropt in *France* of *Irish* parents, he ought not so much to affect the *French* customs. It is not (continued he) a reason, because a man is born in a stable, that he should become a horse. These little, but bitter invectives, were not unknown to, or kept secret from the marshal, as the other made no scruple to speak them in public company, and frequently even before some of the officers of the marshal's own regiment, which oftentimes created warm disputes and ill blood; where nothing but lord *Clancarty's* rank could have prevented them from being attended with fatal consequences, though the marshal himself only smiled at them.

The marshal was in his person of a fine shape and figure, very handsome, and in his conversation obliging, polite, and of great affability. He was much esteemed by the *French* king, beloved by the ministers, nobility, and army. All this gave some jealousy to the other lord; which, together with seeing the marshal, on the several journies he made to *Dunkirk*, so highly honoured and esteemed, as he usually was (though

there was nothing more in this, than what was due to his rank as a marshal of *France*) were the causes of his dislike to that nobleman, more than any thing else.

Hostilities were now, and had for some time before, commenced, by the military operations and transactions carrying on in *North America*. This gave a secret joy to the adventurer's party, in what place soever they were. The *English* men of war having taken, and continued, from time to time, to seize all such *French* ships or vessels as they fell in with, either going to, or coming from that part of the western world, I might, I think, have said, or almost elsewhere, and the affair of general *Braddock* (who had some years before unfortunately deprived lord *Clancarty* of the sight of one of his eyes, by the unlucky throwing a glass bottle, whilst they were at supper together at the King's Arms in *Pall-Mall*) began to awake the hopes of that party, and to kindle those spirits, which had been for eight preceding years smothered in their own ashes: these hostilities, I therefore say, occasioned many complaints from the merchants, and created great murmurings amongst the trading people in *France* of all sorts, and did not fail to give a good deal of umbrage and uneasiness to the *French* ministry. From all which, and from the heavy losses those merchants daily sustained, and were still continually exposed to, without any redress, notwithstanding their reiterated representations to the court on that subject, a rupture between the two powers seemed absolutely unavoidable.

France, on her part, though silent to the complaints of her people on their losses, foreseeing that the storm raised in the western world was still increasing, and likely to spread itself all over *Europe*, as well as in the eastern world, neglected

nothing that she thought might be necessary to avert from herself the ill effects thereof, and secure herself from the dangers to be imparted by its influence. Considering then, that, according to the old phrase, it is an ill wind that blows no body good, she feared not to make her advantages in the hurry and confusion, which it might spread in its progress. It was now, therefore, time to strengthen herself in all events, according to her usual politics and intrigues. For which purpose, a secret negotiation and treaty were set on foot, and concluded, between her and the house of *Austria*, before the other powers of *Europe* could get any intelligence or certain knowledge of the matter; by which *Austria* abandoned her engagements with *England*, her best friend, and most faithful ally; who had for a long series of time, I may say an age before, lavished her most valuable blood and treasures in her support and defence.

What part the adventurer had in getting this treaty against *England* advanced and concluded, whilst on his secret journies, is more suspected than ascertained, as it was conducted with the greatest secrecy. I have been told by a gentleman very intimate with the duke of *Nivernois*, and often in secret with him, whilst at *Berlin* as ambassador from *France* to that court, during the secret negotiation of this treaty, that his majesty of *Prussia*, who had at the same time executed a private treaty with his late majesty the king of *Great Britain*, speaking a day or two after the courier arrived at *Berlin*, with the news of the ratification of this treaty with his relation and ally the king of *England*, he asked *Nivernois*, if he had heard any news? to which the other answered in the negative: whereupon the king said, I will then tell you some news, and then told him, he had concluded a treaty with his

cousin the king of *England*; to which the other answered, Sire, that is no news to me; I knew it before: but, continues he, I will tell your majesty a greater piece of news, which I believe you have not as yet heard. The king asking what it was, the ambassador told him, that the king of *France*, his master, had a few days before concluded a secret treaty with the empress queen; which did not fail to surprise and much astonish the king, according to what was judged, from his majesty's countenance, and from the whole of his behaviour; though few princes in *Europe* know better how to guard against any surprise, or to conceal its disagreeable effects, than the king of *Prussia*.

LETTER THE EIGHTEENTH.

WHILST *France* was negotiating in *Germany*, she was . not less attentive to her interests elsewhere, and particularly to those at home; and though she received fresh accounts every day of new losses and insults by sea, she yet remained quiet in all appearance; nor would she be provoked to be the first to declare war, she was determined. The reasons for this policy, it seems, were, that as *England* had begun hostilities in *North America* (without any just cause, as the ministers of *France* pretended) and was daily making captures of her ships and seamen, without the formality of any declaration of war, she would throw the blame of the war upon *England*, as she thought, with a better face; seduce thereby other powers to her interest, or at least into neutralities, and gain more time to make those preparations and armaments, which were necessary for carrying her schemes into execution, both at home and abroad.

The ministers of *England* were not to be deceived or gulled, however, with those delusions and salacious politics. They very well saw into the designs of the *French* ministers, and they very well knew, that *France*, under the sham pretexts of sending troops to recruit those in her own colonies, and provisions for their support, had sent, and was continually sending, such forces, ammunition, and stores thither, as indicated the most formidable designs upon that country, and threatened the absolute and entire reduction of it under the *French* dominion: which was the principal object in reality of her political views; imagining also, that by provoking and carrying on a war abroad, at such a great distance, she might be the better able to do what she pleased at home, or in places not so far remote.

War not being declared by *France* after so many provocations, as she pretended to have received, was a matter of much speculation to most of the courts of *Europe*; but more especially amongst those of her allies, or those she thought to make such. This policy likewise was to raise the merit of her desiring, in appearance, the conservation of the peace, though she sincerely wished the contrary.

Dunkirk now began to appear in her natural colours; every thing seemed there to put on and carry a warlike air. Many regiments both of horse, foot, and dragoons, were newly arrived. Numbers of those troops, to the amount of six or seven thousand men, were constantly employed (*Sundays* not excepted) in erecting new batteries along the sea-side, and repairing the old fort and battery called the *Risebank*. This is that battery that gave *Lewis XIV.* so much uneasiness and affliction, when he was obliged to consent to have it demolished by the peace of *Utrecht*, that he was heard to say,

that when he died, and was opened, they would find RISEBANK wrote upon his heart.

Great numbers of the army were also employed in the works of the grand sluice, for deepening the harbour, which empties itself into the sea; the force and rapidity of which was incredible. Others were destined for cleansing and repairing the bason for the reception of men of war: a most grand and curious piece of work!

As the several regiments were employed to work by turns, on the days that such regiments were not in the works, they were every morning in the field under arms by six o'clock, and there exercised and reviewed by the general officers. Camps were formed, and sham battles frequently fought on the *Downs* between *Dunkirk* and *Graveline*, where the prince *de Soubise*, and the count *St. Germain*, generally appeared and commanded in chief.

Cannon were brought to the other *Downs* on the east side of the town, and the engineers and officers of the train and artillery exercised in their department, by firing at marks erected for that purpose by the sea-side. The marine was not in the least neglected: privateers were fitting out with all diligence, and numbers of vessels repairing; an infinite number of carriages of six and four horses scarcely ceased going and coming through the town day and night, carrying cannon, timber, fascines, gabions, and all sorts of military stores and impliments of war, from one place to another.

In a word, from the hurry that continually appeared, and the various movements of every thing in the military way, you would have concluded, that *France* was going to fall upon all her neighbours at one and the same time, or that she

suddenly expected to be attacked by all of them together; and that she was providing for her safety, as far as she could, as if to prevent her last day.

Those military preparations were not limited to *Dunkirk* alone; for all the towns and sea-ports along the coast, and throughout *France*, were not less occupied and employed in those military works and operations, in proportion to their grandeur, and according to their situation, in order to prepare for war, which was expected to be declared by *France* every day. But amongst all the evolutions and movements, in which the *French* army had ever before been trained or practised, there was one of a new species to them at this critical time introduced, as a necessary exercise and discipline, in which they were to be instructed, and which they never had seen or learned before.

This was to learn a readiness and facility to embark and disembark themselves on or from on board ships, in order to familiarize the troops to this kind of marine science. Several ships lay at *Calais*, *Boulogne*, and other sea-ports, where several regiments, in the course of their other exercises, were for a long time daily obliged to practise that of embarking and disembarking. It frequently happened, that many of the troops remained some nights and days on board; so that when it blew somewhat hard, by which the ships were tossed or put in motion by the surges and agitations of the sea, most of those fresh water soldiers became so sick, as to make them curse the element as soon as they got on shore, and the service also; declaring they would rather die in the field of battle, than bear the sickness of a voyage by sea.

Most of them, however, began at length by degrees to get the better of this kind of sea-sickness, as also of the

prejudices, which they had conceived against this new marine discipline; which, with the hope of seeing in a little time the land of wealth and plenty, for which that nation ever thirsts, and which now began strongly to possess their minds, extenuated their fatigue, and every inconvenience they had met with in this duty. But with all this, no war was, as yet, proclaimed; which still continued to heighten the impatience even of the common soldiers; a specimen of which you will see in the following relation.

One day I was walking on the sands, near the harbour's mouth, towards the place where the new batteries were erected; when looking a little to the right, I perceived prince *Soubise*, attended by a great number of officers, who had accompanied him from his levee, walking towards those batteries, in a direct line with me. The prince, who had often before seen and met me, walking with other company, sent a person to me, who touching me on the shoulder, unperceived, and on turning myself about, finding him to be an officer of some distinction, who in very broken *English* told me the prince wanted to speak to me, I was not a little surprised, being unable to conceive what he could have to say to me, who spoke no *French* at that time, and knowing the prince spoke no *English*, as I had learned from many. I knew indeed, that I had conducted myself in such a manner whilst I had remained at *Dunkirk*, as never to have given offence to any person whatsoever, and that I was well esteemed and beloved by all my acquaintance there, and that I had not meddled directly or indirectly in any public affairs. These short and sudden reflections dissipated my surprise in some measure, and I walked with the colonel, for such I afterwards found he was, and a *German*.

On coming to the prince, he did me the honour to salute me in a very obliging manner, and desired me to look at a little vessel, then off at sea, but which was crowding to get into the harbour, and to tell him what vessel I thought it was. The weather was very fine, but it blew fresh. I know not what he said; but the colonel, who stood interpreter between us, with difficulty made me understand him. Upon which I told him, I thought it was an *English* cutter; which the colonel explained to him in *French*. The prince smiled, and nodded his head a little at some of the officers that stood round us (the number of which might have been about eighty) by way of a mark of his approbation of my opinion and then desiring me to walk on with him, we advanced, the cavalcade along with us.

The little vessel, that was under great way, at the rate of, I believe, nine or ten knots an hour, about half an hour after, she got within the piers, and was running up the channel towards the town, which is but very narrow; at which time we walked over the bank, which confines the channel on that side, in order to speak to the captain of the cutter as he passed; for such the little vessel proved to be. We had just got near enough to call to the captain, when the colonel told me, the prince desired I would be so good as to hail him to bring to; which I did: but as it blew very fresh, and the vessel going very fast, the captain did not at first comprehend what I said or meant.

With loud repetitions and signals, however, from hands and hats, he soon became sensible of what we wanted, and brought to. He got forthwith into his little boat, and came on shore at the bank where we stood. The poor man, whose name was *Gilbie*, as I heard afterwards, looked frightened

and terrified, as if he was going to be put to death. He thought war had been declared in *France*, that his all (his *cutter*) was lost, and that a prison was to be his habitation. He spoke a little *French*; and the prince asking him, if war was declared in *England*, he told him it was not; but that when he came away from thence, they were preparing for it, and that it was certainly to be declared in a few days.

Being then asked by the prince, is he was not afraid to venture to *Dunkirk*, as the war was so soon to be declared against *France*? he answered, he hoped to be away in a day or two; and that as he came frequently there, he did not doubt but that his friends would make interest for him, in case of accident, and procure him some protection, as he had but a short time to stay, had used that trade a long time, and always behaved well.

His fright, however, was still very great, and the man continued pale and trembling; which the prince, as well as every body else, observing, he told him not to be afraid, for that no harm should be done to him or his vessel; that he should be safe and free; adding, We do not do like the *English*. And thereupon he put his hand in his pocket, and gave him a six livre piece.

The prince seemed very inquisitive and uneasy to know what delayed the *English* from declaring war; but this man, unable to satisfy him in that respect, returned to his cutter, very happy, and free from any apprehension of danger; the interpreting colonel saying, *Damn English dogs, de dar not declar de war*. I then walked some little way with this company, and saluting the prince, took leave and decamped.

On my arriving at home to dine, I could not avoid telling

lord *Glancarty* this adventure. The extravagant generosity of the six livre piece afforded matter of mirth and conversation. *Gilbie*, having added as much more to it, as I heard some few days after, entertained that night his crew, and some of his acquaintance, for joy of his good reception; whereby, though the present in specie was but very small, from a person of his high rank and excessive fortune, the poor man found what was more valuable to him, freedom and safety.

About a week or ten days after this incident, news arrived, that war against *France* was proclaimed at *London*, to the great joy of the military and marine of *Dunkirk*; except of those poor people, whose husbands, sons, and relations, had been taken at sea, and were then prisoners in *England*: of which there was no inconsiderable number.

The adventurer's affairs now began to have a more favourable aspect, than they had wore for some years before: and it began to be whispered, and secretly hinted, that the *French* were determined to act now with sincerity in his cause, and that a descent would be made in his favour; but that it would be some time before the project could be carried into execution. I saw the party spirit rising, and that nothing but the greatest expectations flowed from that joyous event, as they termed it.

Determined, for my own part, to pursue the same kind of behaviour that I had all along observed, in not communicating my secret thoughts to any man, I doubted not but, by a political and prudent conduct, sooner or later to be able to render the most essential services to my king and country, (which I hope you will think I have effectually done) as you will soon find in the sequel of my letters.

LETTER THE NINETEENTH.

WAR being now declared by *England*, the ministers of *France* delayed not to answer this challenge, and to improve upon an event, which they both secretly and ardently desired.

War against *England* was, therefore, immediately declared by *France*, who redoubled her preparations and her diligence, in her military and marine departments, to carry it on with all imaginable success both by sea and land; not doubting, in case they should meet with some few miscarriages in their operations on the watery element (notwithstanding their precautions and endeavours to avoid as much as possible all naval engagements, for a purpose to be hereafter mentioned) but that the advantages, which she might gain by land, would in the end abundantly more than compensate for such losses, as they might in such unwish'd-for rencounters unfortunately sustain.

Already the *French* looked upon themselves victorious, before the sword was drawn. For, such is the vanity and folly of that people (among many others) that they imagine their prowess, their art of besieging and defending towns, the bravery of their troops, with the profound knowledge of their generals and officers in every branch of military science, surpass by far those of all other nations. But this is not all; for, with this they infatuatedly are brought up to think, that the politics of their ministers are not to be equalled; (which last opinion, in one sense, may well be said to be accounted for as true, since none have been much worse, it is evident) concluding, that all mankind are made to be the dupes of

their politics, whilst, it is most evident, they have been on many occasions the greatest dupes thereof themselves.

Full of these romantic, or rather *Don Quixote* prepossessions, what people like them can ever be supposed to doubt of conquest, where, for the ceremony only of securing to them this trifling bagatelle, already in idea their own, every thing was set in motion, however, and every thing in hurry to receive it, as the sure and certain fruits, ripe and ready to fall, for the trouble of gathering. The determined scheme of the ministers themselves was to commence their operations, and carry on this war, as far from home as they could, even in the most distant and remote parts of the world, in order to divide and draw the *British* troops out of *England*, and render their return, in case of any sudden necessity or emergency, more tedious and difficult. Which in effect they did, and for which they dearly paid, in the progression of their designs, as they themselves, and all the world, know.

An event, however, now happened, which might have given a very great change to the face of all the affairs in *Europe*. The king getting into his coach to go to *Triannon* (which is a beautiful palace, only about one mile from *Versailles*) and in those celebrated gardens to see the dames of *France*, his daughters, who then were there, was, before the doors of his palace, in the midst of his guards, and attended by the noblemen and others of his retinue, stabbed by a paricide, one *Damiens* whose punishment, great and unheard of as it was, exceeded not the wickedness of his crime, but yet exceeded all law and justice, if he was such, as on his trial he was pretended to be found; that is to say, a madman. Be that as it may, it is not to be doubted, but that, in the long course of his confinement, examinations, and trial, the court got to

the bottom of the business, discovered every step taken, and every person's name and condition, who had in any respect been concerned in that astonishing attempt; the secrets of which (for political reasons, I suppose) are still with the greatest care concealed.

About this period it was, that lord *Clancarty* began, at different times and occasions, to break out against the *old chevalier de St. George* and his two sons, whenever we were in private together, and often, even before some particulars, to say such things, as surprised me to come from him. I even began to apprehend and fear, that he had a design to lead me into some misfortune, by opening himself in such a manner to me, contrary to what might be expected from one of his reputed attachment to a family, for whose interest and support his lordship's father had lost one of the most considerable estates of any subject in *Europe*, and died an exile, after his taking unknown leave of the Tower. I therefore thought it prudent and safe, in such a dangerous critical situation, for my own preservation, in case I should be questioned by any person upon the subject, as well as for other just and powerful reasons, to keep a kind of journal of what he said and communicated to me, relative to that family; by which you will see the character he gives of them, and the opinion he secretly entertained of them (who was best acquainted with their practices, sentiments, and principles) in a fuller view, and clearer light, than by any thing that has ever been made known or communicated to the public on that head before; and which I never should or could have known, otherwise than from himself.

It was to bring in this piece in this place, which I thought the most proper place, in which it ought to be introduced,

that I omitted and declined in my former letters continuing the subject, after the death of *James II.* of saying any thing touching the particular characters of the late chevalier *St. George*, or his sons. But here you will now find them in the following detail together, with a few anecdotes, as they were delivered from the mouth of that nobleman; some of which are not less surprising, than interesting and amusing.

DISCOURSE of Lord Clancarty with Mr.
Mac'A----- at *Dunkirk*, in several Meetings and
Conferences between them.

Tuesday, January 11, 1757.

SITTING with him in his room in the morning, he began to talk of the young pretender with great indifference, as he did two or three times before. When we had drank hard after supper, he broke out, saying, By G-d, dear *Mac*, I'll tell you a secret you don't know; there is not a greater scoundrel on the face of the earth than that same prince: he is in his heart a coward and a poltroon; would rather live in a garret with some *Scotch* thieves to drink and smoak, than serve me, or any of those who have lost our estates for his family or himself. Ingratitude has ever been, and ever will be, the favourite passion of the *Stuarts*. He is so great a scoundrel and rascal, that he will lie, even when drunk; a time when all other mens hearts are most open, and will speak the truth, or what they think; and, said he, lord *Marshal* knows and has said all this and more of him, and general *Keith* also: and they know him so well at the court of *France* for a poltroon and a rascal, that they secretly despised him.

He proceeded, and said, that the old man the father was no better than the two sons. I know no right, says he, that they have to be kings of *Ireland*; and that, if they would give him his estate upon a restoration, he would sell it for five years purchase, rather than live under them. Then he wished there was another *Cromwell*; adding, that king *James II.* was as great a villain as lived in that age, and that the king of *France* was a fool and an idiot for entertaining, aiding, and assisting him; with other bitter invectives.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13.

Being together over a bottle, captain *F.* of *Rooth's* regiment, came in, when lord *Clancarty* began the same discourse; adding, that lord *Thomond* (whom he could not endure) or others of the ancient nobility of *Ireland*, had a better right to be kings of that nation, than any of that ungrateful family of the *Stuarts*: damn'd himself, if he did not love an *Irish* drummer better than any of the breed.

MONDAY, JANUARY 17.

Sitting at the fire after dinner, he began the same discourse: said, he hoped *England* would soon be formed into a commonwealth, and governed by a protector; for the people would never be happy under any of the family: prayed to God that they might never be restored. As for the old man, says he, he is a bigot in his mind, and in his nature a tyrant. The prince has no more religion, than one of my coach horses; and the cardinal is as bad as either. There is no living for any one that does not implicitly submit to them; nor is there a man of common sense about them. Let them imagine what they will, they never will succeed: and, by G-d, it is a pity they should, since the nation must be enslaved under

them, till they are served like, their ancestors. I would serve them as they do bailiffs if they were to write to me, burn their letters, as soon as I cast one look thereon, and despise them. The old man, says he, and his sons, act in their pursuit of the crown, as some lawyers do to obtain a cause; lie and swear false, till they get all they can out of the client, and then leave him or them, that supported the cause, to starve. And as for the duke of *York*, he behaved at *Boulogne* like a petit maître; took upon him to command and give directions in what he was ignorant of: and that both he, his father, and brother, had disobliged lord *Marshal* and general *Keith*, who knew them now too well to trust them, or do them service; that lord *Marshal* would rather want his title and estate, than see them restored, as he knew his country must be ruined, and the subject enslaved, if ever they succeeded. He asked me, if I knew *Jemmy Dawkins*? I answered, I did not. He could give you an account of them, says he; but lord *Marshal* has given the true character of the prince, and certified under his hand to the people of *England* what a scoundrel and rascal he is. He said his father behaved with the greatest ingratitude to the late duke of *Ormond*, and that he parted with his friends for two infamous villains and scoundrels, lords *Inverness* and *Dunbar*; that the prince had the canaille of *Scotland* to assist him, thieves, robbers, and the like; that he was in one sense like *Henry V.* with *Bardolph*, *Nyme*, and *Pistol*; but had not his sense or courage. Mr. *Blake* coming in, he continued the same discourse; adding, he would live out of the protection of all kings, if possible: and thus continued before lord *R---c---n*, and his brother Mr. *A---D---n*, who likewise came in, and staid with us till dinner-time.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

Renewing his resentments, and the like discourse, against the young pretender, he swore the k--- of *F----* was a beast; that he had for a long time lain with three sisters; that his ministers kept him intoxicated with the pleasures of hunting, drinking, and whoring, by which they did what they pleased; and that these pleasures were his only employment, and the people were left to ruin by the management of avaritious ministers, who were no better than pick-pockets; and that it was no matter if such a fellow was out of the world: damn'd hereditary right; said it was at first established as a scheme between kings and priests: then damn'd himself, if he would not be better satisfied that king *George* should reign, than the old doating bastard at *Rome*, provided he would restore him to his paternal estate. But as things now are, says he, I wish *Ireland* were in the hands of the *French*; that *England* might be given to the old fellow, because the *English* know how to keep him in order; and that it would be best to give *Scotland* to the devil.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2.

The same discourse and expressions; adding, that father and son were tyrants, and that he would sell his estate, if he had it, the day after he might be possessed of it, for even a year's purchase, rather than live under them. I asked him, if his grandfather, lord *S-----d*, did not die a *Roman Catholic*? He damn'd himself if he did; saying, he knew better things than to give himself any trouble about religion; and that the prince would never gain much by his turning *Protestant*, and leaving his recantation and declaration in the hands of Dr. *King of Oxford*; because people would not be gull'd by that artifice. Then, says he, do you know what he lately told me, that his friends, on the other side, solicit him to turn away

Miss *Walkingshaw*, and that they would allow her a good pension. The prince swearing, said, I would not turn away a cat to please the scoundrels, and damn'd himself but he would be master of the *English* dogs, in spite of them, and would make them pay dear for their insolence.

THURSDAY, MARCH 3.

The same discourse continued: said he would go to Mr. *De Bertine*, to get him to write to court to furnish a sufficient force to enable him to conquer *Ireland*; that, as he had a family, he would make it a point; and that he would put him upon such things, as to solicit it *de bon cœur*; as he could shew great honour and profit would result to him, in its being taken for *France*; to which it would turn out a *Mexico* and *Peru*, and that *Scotland* was good enough for the prince, or any of the family: for such is their ingratitude, says he, that they would, when their turn should be served, leave them to starve, who had done most for their service; or, like *Charles II.* give the national treasure to rogues and whores, and leave those to perish, who had served him. And, by G-d, added his lordship, the schemes of k---s and ministers will never succeed, that are not founded on gratitude and generosity, think what you will; which are virtues they never had, and the hidden rocks on which their affairs have been ever shipwrecked, and ever will be. You know the rascal's ingratitude to lord *George Murray*, lord *Elcho*, and others. It is true, though he went to *Scotland* with *Bardolph*, *Nyme*, and *Pistol*, and that his present company are of the same stamp, those men did not deserve half the ill usage they have met with from him. Yet *Scotland*, I believe, will be effectually cured of any zeal for him hereafter, except that little may remain amongst a few of the canaille.

SUNDAY, MARCH 6.

Sitting down together to supper, he ordered a footman to carry a dog, that had been given him that day, as a present to one Mrs. *Story*. I asked him, if it was a lap-dog? He answered, No; it was king *Charles's* breed, the only good breed he left, and damn'd the rest of his breed.

TUESDAY, MARCH 8.

At dinner, I said *Lochgarry*, as I was told, was come to *Berge* (this person is lieutenant-colonel of *Ogilvie's*). Lord *Clancarty* thereupon says; Then there is a thief and a cowstealer arrived; and calls to the footman, and says, Lock up my plate, for fear he should come to this house. At *Graveline* he stole lord *R----*'s gorget, says he, and sent it back from *St. Omer's*, when he found it was not silver: notwithstanding which, on

THURSDAY, MARCH 10.

This same *Lochgarry* came to dine with him. There was a great company, and lord *Clancarty* was very angry that a servant maid had opened the street-door; by which he walked into the parlour very unexpectedly. After dinner, talking of lord *Clare*, he said, he was a true *Frenchman*, and never wrote truth: then changing the subject, said, king *Charles II.* had robbed his family of £. 40,000 *per annum*, and given it to the duke of *York*: then cries out to me, Dear *Mac*, what do you think of such an action? how would you like such a king? I not thinking it prudent to give him a direct answer in such a large company, called for some wine, and said, My good lord, let losses of so ancient date be forgot, and buried in a bumper. By G-d, replies he, I cannot forget them so easily.

SATURDAY, APRIL 16.

We walked to *Rosindall*. Returning over the *Downs*, to go to the port to see the transport ships then fitting out, he damn'd the prince, and all that belonged to him; wished the k--- of *S-----a* would put in for *England*; that *Scotland* was too good for the *Stuarts*; that they were a pack of villains; that their hearts and souls were void of justice or gratitude, but full of tyranny and oppression; that it was not to be wondered at, that so many of that cursed family had been murdered by their own perfidious countrymen, and that they had been the ruin of the three kingdoms.

Then said, By G-d, I hope *G----* and his tribe would keep the throne, rather than any of them should ever mount thereon. Why, continues he, the damn'd villain lord *Clare*, rascal as he is, he despises the prince in his heart, and used him with contempt in my own presence; and he is equally despised by every man in *England*, who knows him; and there is not a man of the nation, of five hundred pounds *per* year, would rise for him; for they know him to be a sot, a drunkard, and in his nature ungrateful, and a tyrant; and that his companions are thieves, robbers, and scoundrels. At parting, his lordship made me promise next day to come early to breakfast with him, and not to engage to dine any where else.

THURSDAY, MAY 5.

After dinner, he began talking of lord *Clare*; cursed him, and said, he was a villain, a liar, and a deceiver; and that the only thing that made him in any degree tolerable to him, was, that he knew he despised in his heart the prince.

TUESDAY, MAY 17.

He came after me to *T-----*, obliged me to go and walk with him. In going on the works, he began as usual, and added,

You know *Warren*? Yes, replied I. Then you know a bankrupt, says he; one of your scoundrels to help a restoration. By G-d, continues he, if such as he and *Lally* are in such affairs, and a restoration should be brought about, it will be by bankrupts, shoe-blacks, and beggars; but it will be impossible, whilst *England* can raise an army against tyranny; unless *France* should take the resolution to act with sincerity, which is what they never did yet, nor, I believe, ever will do, for any of the family; for they know them all too well. For my part, continues he, if I go to *Paris*, as I suppose I may be sent for on the prince's appearing in public, I shall wear gloves for the time (I am resolved) I shall stay there; otherwise it will be impossible for me to escape the itch, from the number of *Scotch* thieves and beggars, who will be swarming about him, forcing on me their compliments and false professions. But I once did, and will again, make them keep their distance, whenever I go to join him; which, by G-d, is not for his own sake. Wished that the *French* would send him to *Ireland*, to take it for themselves, that he might get his estate; and that they would send the prince with a few troops to *England*, in order that he might be sacrificed.

LETTER THE TWENTIETH.

WHILST I remained at *Dunkirk*, I accidentally became acquainted with captain *Dumont*, with whom at times I frequently walked and discoursed; in which meetings he related to me his adventures with *Sullivan*, as before mentioned. I had at the same time contracted likewise a strict intimacy and friendship with one Mr. *Lewis*, an *English* gentleman, who had lived in the neighbourhood long before,

in order to retrieve his fortune, which had been injured. He spoke *French* tolerably well, had been well educated, was an agreeable acquaintance, and in private life was possessed of as many good qualities as most men. A reciprocal esteem and affection increased between us to such a degree, that we were united like brothers; and as there was some resemblance between us, both in figure and countenance, we were often taken for such. He often told me in the sallies, which accompany professions of real and disinterested friendship, that whilst he had life, he never would quit me, and that he would even lose it for my sake, or if our friendship was to cease.

Little did I dream of or imagine, at the time he said those things, the great sincerity of his heart, that he should prove so true a prophet, or that the unhappy death, which soon after befel him on my account, should ever have been his fatal lot; the remembrance of which will ever fill my heart with the most afflicting sorrow. The particulars of his tragical fate I shall soon relate to you in its proper place.

Walking one evening together, about *July 1757*, by the side of the canal leading to the bason of *Dunkirk*, he told me he had never been at *Paris* that he had a longing desire to see that famous city, and proposed to make a journey thither, to stay for a few months, and so return to *Dunkirk*, if I would consent to the proposal. The matter was then totally indifferent to me but at two or three times after, he renewing the same discourse with an eager and uncommon passion, as if there was a fate over him, and pressing me to agree to this journey, we determined thereon, and in the latter end of the month set out and arrived at *Paris*. On arriving in the evening at the *hôtel d'Entrague*, where we were to lodge, we did not

stir out that night; but after supper, at the usual hour of rest, each retired to his chamber of repose, being pretty much fatigued.

Next morning, on going out after breakfast to take a walk together, we saw a gentleman in the court speaking to the *Swiss*. *Lewis* hearing and understanding what he said, told me, he believed it was a gentleman asking for me; and being directed by the *Swiss* to ask of us, he advanced, and asked for me in *English* by my name; to which I answered, that I was the person he sought for. He then told me, he was the chevalier *Mackillicote*; that he was my countryman, though born in *France* (the usual manner of speaking by the *French* of *Irish* parents), and that he had just then come from marshal *Thomond*, who had desired him to call upon me to make his compliments, and invite me to his house. I returned my best thanks for the honour he did me, begging him to let the marshal know, I would have the honour to wait on him in a day or two, to pay him my respects; which I did accordingly. I was not at all surprised at the marshal's kindness and politeness; but what most strangely astonished, and in a manner confounded my imagination, was to think, that as I had never wrote a line to *Paris* to any one, or so much as intimated my design of going there, and had not gone out of doors from the instant of arriving till the time I received the message, how it could happen that the marshal should know of my being in *Paris*; and it was above two months before the mystery was discovered to me, which often gave me uneasiness, and which was thus. A physician, who had known me a little at *London* some years before, but who then lived at *Paris*, was passing the gate of the *hôtel d'Entrague*, at the time *Lewis* and I were getting out of the coach, and our

luggage taken to be carried in. The doctor going to pay a visit at the marshal's, told him he had seen me, as above related.

Our stay in this house was not very long; my friend and I went to lodge at another hôtel, where we continued to live in a brotherly manner. The marshal was always fond of seeing me, and professed great friendship for me. Necessity obliged me at last to apply myself to learn the *French* language; in which, by a close application, I soon made an extraordinary progress. Our leisure hours were employed in walking in the public gardens, seeing all public places, and other innocent amusements. We lived quiet and retired. Our domestic affairs were directed by one of the female sex, who lived in the house, and was of service to us in our œconomy: and as we were sober and regular, as well in our conduct as in all our actions, we had gained the respect and esteem of all our neighbours, and in truth of all who knew us; and in that estate we lived.

December following, I was saluted with a new surprise by a gentleman, who came into our lodgings whilst we were at dinner; who told me, that he happened to be that morning at lord *W----s's*; and that lord *Clancarty*, who had arrived a night or two before from *Dunkirk*, came in; that his lordship was like a madman to find me out, and begged this gentleman to hunt *Paris* for me, till he found me, and to conduct or send me to him immediately, in case he should meet with me: which the other promised to do. I went next morning to the hôtel where he lived, *a la rue Richlieu*, and where I found him. His lordship was in bed, where he kindly received me, and appeared very glad to see me. He soon got up, and just as we had done breakfast, a person came in, whom I had never seen before (this was *Gilshenagh*, the

adventurer's maître d'hôtel). His lordship took me aside, and said to me, that the person who came in was come to him on private business; and therefore begged I would come to him early next morning: upon which I went away.

It had happened, that a gentleman, who was intimate with lord *Clancarty* at *Dunkirk*, before I had set out from thence for *Paris*, talking with me one day of his lordship's open and unguarded manner of speaking, and admiring what could be the reason thereof, said to me, it was dangerous to be with him when he talked in such a manner: to which I answered, I was under no uneasiness on that head, for that I had taken care to write down most of what he had said to me, in order to justify myself, in case of being called upon. This was the only method that occurred to me for safety, and which this gentleman greatly approved of. In some time after, by way of applauding my conduct to some of his acquaintance, it came to lord *Clancarty's* ears, which gave him an alert, and was the chief reason of his coming after me to *Paris*; from an apprehension, I believe, that I might make an use of those things to his disadvantage. His fears, however, were groundless; for I never communicated those discourses to any man living (though he did not in the end deserve so much friendship from me) till I came to *England*, and sent them to l--- B-----e.

Having returned early next morning to lord *Clancarty's*, he began after breakfast to talk of indifferent things, relating to *Paris* and his journey; then asked me, when I had seen lord *Clare* (marshal *Thomond*)? I told him, some little time before. To-morrow I am to be with him, says he: pray come every morning to breakfast; for all the day I am hurried about, and seldom at home. Have you a mind, continues he,

for a good employment? If you have, I'll get you a very good one in the finances: therefore I would have you go home, and write me a letter this day, to beg of me to speak to the ministers for you, and I'll get it done, I warrant you.

Thanking his lordship, I told him I had no such thought; for that *Lewis* and I intended to return to *Dunkirk* when the winter was over, or at furthest by the end of *April*; by which time I hoped my affairs would be settled: that I expected £. 2000, due to me from *Ireland*, and should then return to *England*. He then importuned me to stay in *France*, on promises that he would get great things done for me, and procure me a much better fortune, than I could lose by staying, or get by going; and at length prevailed on me to promise to go home, and write the letter he desired. I took leave, fully determined to write no such letter, and strongly suspecting his secret and political designs in this proposal, which I thought very inconsistent with a man of honour: but I was resolved to see the end of all this.

Unable to go next day, I went the morning following. His lordship appeared much out of humour, and looked exasperated: said, in a day or two he should go into the country, for a week or ten days (this, I think, was *Christmas* Eve, and I was told after, that he went to keep his *Christmas* with the adventurer). You have, however, I find, says he, shewn all the letters I wrote you to lord *Clare*. Not I, my lord, said I; be assured I never shewed him any of your letters; as the truth really was. He replied, I don't believe you. At this I trembled, I own, to be at him but I thought it best at that juncture to bear it. He then continued, That he was well informed: I had shewn his letters and other papers, that had concerned him, to that nobleman. From which I concluded,

that all this proceeded from his own suspicions and fears, and was his weak scheme to discover, whether I had done so, or not. I nevertheless again assured him, I had never shewn any man living any of his letters. He then was enraged that I did not write the letter he desired. I told him, I had been very busy, and otherwise engaged. Upon which he said so many ill-natured disobliging things, as forced me to tell him, that I should bear but little respect to any man, who departed from the principles of honour and truth, and desired he would take care of what he said to me. He then swore he would have me sent to the *Bastile* before twenty-four hours expired. I told him, I defied him and all *France*; for as I had never offended any one person, or done the smallest thing to deserve any man's displeasure, since I came into that kingdom, the *Bastile* could not be made for me and that he had best take care he did not go there himself. It then occurred to me how well I had done to keep an entry of what had passed (for I well knew my man) in case he should proceed to extremities with me.

An old gentleman of some distinction coming in, I got up in anger to go away, and observed lord *Clancarty* trembling and pale. He desired this gentleman to go into another room, begging me to stay, but I would not; then rushing out abruptly, I passed the gentleman. My lord followed me, prevailed on me to go into another room with him, told me I must not mind his passions, that he was very sorry for what had then passed, that we should be better friends for the future than ever we were, and made me promise to come to breakfast with him early next morning, before he went out of town, otherwise he would not let me go. The same evening I wrote an excuse, that I could not wait upon him next day, and

never wrote to him or saw him since. This quarrel was known at court, I was afterwards told; but the cause thereof was never known or inquired into. I have had the pleasure, however, to let his lordship see, by what he must since have experienced, that his fears and apprehensions were only groundless imaginations of his own uneasy mind; that I had never either exposed his letters, or repeated his discourse to his prejudice; and that I was above taking that vengeance or advantage of him, which I believed he would have taken of me, had he been at that time in my place, and I in his place.

His lordship, I am well informed, is now secretly and fully advertised, that this matter is going to the press, to be communicated to the public; to the end that he may take such measures for quitting the *French* dominions, as he may judge proper, in case he should apprehend any thing injurious from the publication. I shall now proceed to the former subject, as you will find by my next.

LETTER THE TWENTY-FIRST.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extraordinary attempt made upon the king's person, as heretofore mentioned, which did not fail to alarm not only all *France*, but, I believe, all *Europe* likewise, the war, and all things necessary for prosecuting it with effect, were more vigorously carried on from that time, and so continued to be, than they had been at any time before. The roads were every where covered with infinite numbers of horses, and carriages of every kind, drawing to the ports and towns, at or near the sea coasts; immense quantities of timber, and all other kinds of

materials for building the flat-bottomed boats and preaums, some of which were to be, and actually were, bullet proof. These vessels, which were of incredible strength, length, and bigness, were planned for the grand design of invasion, and were to carry from four to five, six, and seven hundred men each, drawing little water, heavy cannon at their heads and sterns, and so contrived, as that the horse and dragoons might march out on horseback, a rank abreast, into the shallows, on coming on the coast. In the construction of which vessels, several thousands were employed; and the expence amounted in the conclusion to many millions.

French troops were continually seen marching and countermarching from all quarters of the kingdom; some towards the coasts, others for *Germany*; where the assembled armies of *France* in that country, during the war, were headed by the greatest and most experienced generals of that nation, as well as other officers, of the most distinguished families and merit; many of whom were with incredible expence and magnificence continually repairing to the armies, or coming from thence on ministerial affairs, relative to the operations of the campaigns.

Amongst those great men, who had the principal command in all the operations, battles, sieges, and engagements, were the marshal duke *de Richlieu*, marshal *d'Etrée*, marshal prince *Soubise* (most unlucky of all in his expeditions) marshal duke *de Broglio* (an indefatigable officer of the highest reputation, and not less renowned for the cabinet than the camp) the prince *de Conde*, prince of the blood, and son-in-law to prince *Soubise* (this young, but gallant prince, is most promising in military science, and one in whom *France* places her most flattering hopes in that respect) the

marquis *de Conflans*, the *Mars of France*, who, they say, will prove another marshal *Saxe*, and who is only of the same name with the victorious admiral *Hawke's Conflans*. These, I say, with others of no less rank and merit, lead the *French* armies to battle, and to *slaughter*.

Under such heroes, such experienced captains, what *Frenchman* could doubt of conquest and success? The events, however, proved the contrary; and not only shew the weakness of human understanding, in judging by appearances, but that the most vigorous and best concerted efforts of the most wise and strong, are like dust before a storm, with regard to the hidden decrees of the all-seeing eye of providence.

Those great and mighty captains, puffed with the honour, pomp, and glory of their country, and their own boasted knowledge, were yet however ignorant, that propitious heaven, foreknowing their designs, had created, and under her own careful hand raised a *Pitt*, a *Brunswick*, and a *Granby*, superior in knowledge, superior in military talents, and superior in conduct and fortune, to chastise their bold and rash attempts, defeat their most formidable projects or enterprizes, and to penetrate and baffle the most studied politics of their best and ablest ministers: all which were most effectually done by the administration of one great *British* minister, who then was, and at this day still (to my own knowledge) remains, the dread and terror of *French* ministers, and their councils. I am not, you know, writing a history of the late war, to point out the glories of his labours: that work has been already accurately and faithfully done by a reverend author, and received with universal approbation; what I mention here being only particular circumstances,

which have some relation thereunto: which induces me to touch on them (*en passant*) thinking you will look upon them as useful and necessary to be recited.

The pretender's cause began to regain new life. Expresses and cabinet couriers going and coming to and from *Vienna, Spain, Portugal*, and other courts (where, it was privately whispered amongst his friends, he had already been) gave some people great reason to believe, that some project in reality was by the court of *France* sincerely determined in his favour. The *French* marine was at nurse, and improving with the utmost industry. The *French* men of war were not to run any hazards, if possible, but to be preserved with care for their grand destination of a visit to *England*; nor was a ship of force to stir out, unless on some extraordinary occasion (for in truth the risk was great, and the precaution absolutely necessary) as few could escape the vigilance of *England's* minister. The ministers of *France* were late and early incessantly at work in their several departments to bring their great and secret projects to perfection; and the war by land went on in its own train, but not much to their honour or satisfaction; where I shall leave it, to acquaint you, that on the 31st of *March* 1758, on my coming home in the evening, I found a billet directed for me from one *Buhot*, an inspector of the police, acquainting me, that he had something particular to say to me, and desiring the favour of me to call on him early next morning at his apartments, according to the direction given in his billet. This billet gave Mr. *Lewis* and me some surprise. We concluded it was to receive an order for us to leave *Paris*, as was often the case with other foreigners, in twenty-four hours; a time too short for us to prepare for our journey. We had learned in the house where we lived, that

this man, who dresses and makes an appearance like a man of the first distinction, was the person whose office it was to execute the orders of the court, to oblige all strangers to leave *Paris* in time of war, who had not a special permission for staying from some one of the ministers; which confirmed us in this opinion.

Pursuant to this billet, I went before eight next morning, being the 1st of *April*, to wait on this pretended gentleman, as I afterwards found him to be, who received me in his apartment, which was very handsome and elegantly furnished, in a rich silk night-gown, with as great an air of grandeur, as if he was himself prime minister. He told me, he was very glad to see me, and to find I had received the billet, which he had left for me the day before, at my lodgings. After some few compliments (in which the meanest of that nation without a grain of sincerity abound) he asked me, if I could keep a secret? I answered in the affirmative. He then told me, he really did not himself know what the secret was; but that he was persuaded that it was of consequence, and not to be divulged. I replied, I imagined in myself, that I was as capable of keeping any thing secret, that was confided to me, as any man; and that if such secret should be disclosed, it would not be by me. He then said, I think you are not dressed; I should be glad if you would return home and dress, so as to call upon me between ten and eleven o'clock; for I shall take you to a person of great consequence, who is desirous to see you, and to speak to you. Accordingly I went home to dress; and here I must own my weakness and ignorance; for I looked upon this man, and considered him at that time, as a person of weight and consequence in the state, whom I afterwards found to be no other or better than a ministerial catchpole. At my return,

I found my gentleman dressed in a handsome suit of scarlet cloth, richly laced with a broad gold lace, well powdered and frized, &c. We set out directly, and arrived at the hôtel of Mr. *Bertin*, then lieutenant-general of the police, whom I had never seen or heard of before; nor indeed had I ever been till then at that part of the town. It happened to be *Bertin's* levee day, and a great number of persons attending on public and their own different affairs.

Following my conductor, we passed through the first great parlour, which is large, and was very full of people; such as merchants, officers, abbés, priests, and people of middling rank: then entering another large chamber full of persons of distinction of both sexes, *Bertin* in a little time came out, dressed in his magisterial wig and short robe or gown, from his study or cabinet, a chamber joining this parlour, where I staid with my conductor; and having given audience to the company, by receiving memorials, petitions, and letters from some, and hearing the requests and in making promises to others, he soon dismissed this company; and without going to those in the first great room, through which we entered, he came directly forward to me, and saluted me. My conductor had been before in his study with him, to let him know I was come: he then retired into the other parlour, and soon went away, leaving us together.

Bertin began with great politeness (*a la mode de Paris*) to tell me, he believed I was chosen to be employed in an affair of consequence, and asked me, if I could be depended upon to keep the secret? I told him, he might be assured that I should never mention it to any one; and that if it was not exposed or related by some body else, it would not be by me; but that if, by some unforeseen event, the matter, whatever it

might be, should come to be made public, or transpire, I should be sorry to be responsible or blamed in such a case. He then told me, no such thing would or could happen; he would take care; that I had nothing to fear on that head, for that the matter would only be communicated to me: and therefore desired me again to consider with myself, whether I had resolution and conduct enough to keep the secret; or if not, it would be best to say so, before things went any further.

Such discourse, and such precaution, raised in me, I own, a great desire and curiosity to know what all this could mean or tend to, and induced me to renew my assurances to him of a punctual and inviolable secrecy. He then added, he did not doubt me: but, continues he, you are, I believe, to go into the country, where you may meet persons you do not know: if you should let any thing transpire, you may be murdered by persons * you little suspect, and whom I shall never be able to find out; so that you will have no body to blame for your misfortune, but yourself and your own conduct. But if I should conduct myself well, it would be of the greatest honour and advantage to me. I told him, as to my conduct, I would ever answer for it with my life; and therefore I had nothing to fear in that respect. He then desired I would meet him at *Versailles*, the *Sunday* morning following, at count *St. Florentin's*. Which I promised to do: the particulars of which I shall mention to you in my next.

* The author afterwards found that he meant the Jesuits.

LETTER THE TWENTY-SECOND.

EVERY *Sunday* morning throughout the year, unless something extraordinary happens to prevent it, the lieutenant general of the police (who is the last of the class of ministers) is obliged to go to *Versailles*, to confer on public affairs, and receive the orders of the court from the other ministers; particularly from M. *St. Florentin*, who is first minister of that department.

Between ten and eleven o'clock on *Sunday* morning, I arrived at this minister's, pursuant to *Bertin's* direction, mentioned in my former letter; and in half an hour after, he came in, and gave me a nod of kindness as he passed me, to go into a room adjoining, where the minister was dressing. I was at this time in the anti or audience chamber, with the company, which was very brilliant, waiting to pay their compliments to the minister at his levee; amongst whom was an eminent cardinal, very short, but very fat. His figure, begging his Eminence's pardon, if the comparison should offend him (and your's for the digression, if it should displease, which I hope it will not) resembled that of the ancient knight, Sir *John Falstaff*, as exactly as one guinea does another. The folding doors between the two chambers were at length thrown open, *et voila Monseigneur qui entre*, star and garter on, with *Bertin* at his heels. I shall not at this time make any remark on the person of this great little man; for I have such respect for men in power, that I am unwilling to speak, lest truth should offend, though it was to be their eulogy: and you know that dogs in office will bark to be obeyed. Salutes and compliments being paid, I observed the

minister and *Bertin* to fix their eyes on me; and they seeming to move a little towards me, I advanced with a respectful salute, which neither betrayed forwardness or meanness. For, to tell you the truth, and free from every species of vanity, I often dined and supped, even spent much of my time, with some persons at home, superior in birth, rank, and fortune, to any man I saw there, the rank of cardinal excepted. And as to the antiquity of family, I could say as much as any. They seemed a little affected and pleased with my manner; and the minister, at one piercing look, surveyed me from top to toe (for this was the first time he had ever seen me) then, answering the modest salute I had made him, he said something I did not entirely understand; but, as I apprehended in part, was to bid me wait. The other turns a little aside; who, by a flower manner of speaking, and more intelligible, told me I must stay, and that a gentleman would come and talk with me. I was passionately expecting the secret to be communicated to me at this time, and greatly mortified at the disappointment, when I saw the minister quit his apartment with the other, leaving me there. They went directly to the king, who was going to high mass, and from thence to council.

Before the minister had shewed himself at his levee, I had observed, whilst *Bertin* was with him, a gentleman with, I think, the cross of St. *Louis* at his breast, go out and return to them twice, as if with messages. This person was first valet de chambre to the minister, as I was afterwards told. I remained about a quarter of an hour very uneasy, sometimes walking, and sometimes sitting. At last I saw this same person coming in with another gentleman, who came directly to me, and saluting me with much complaisance, and an air of friendship

and freedom, told me the minister had sent him to me, to talk with me: that we must take a turn in the gardens: and accordingly we went directly. This was one Mr. *Trefrville*, as he soon told me, grand prévôt of *Poitû*; a very polite genteel man, and of a soft agreeable manner and behaviour in his conversation. I now expected the secret from this gentleman, whose office, I found, is of great profit and consequence. Walking in the gardens, he began by asking me, how long I had been at *Paris*? how long I had learned *French*? and was surprised at my speaking it so well, which I took for compliment, for I spoke it but very badly at that time. I shewed him a little paper book, which I had in my pocket, wherein I had wrote some passages out of *Rollin*, *Titus Livius*, and other authors; and in which I had composed, for my own use and amusement, a short little dictionary of some particular chosen words. He was, or seemed, much pleased with my performance; and then told me, that he did not come often to *Versailles*; that he lived in the country, where he would be glad to see me, and should soon leave *Versailles*; that he believed I should be sent into the country upon a secret affair of consequence, in which it would be necessary to act with great prudence and circumspection; and that, if I should talk of any thing that might be communicated to me, it would be my ruin; but that, if I acted well, no harm could happen to me; and that if any one person was to misbehave to me, he would be always near me to prevent ill consequences, and to assist me, and chastise or punish them: that I should have nothing to fear; and believed it might happen so, that we might go out of town together: then telling me he was obliged to dine at the chateau (the king's palace) he desired to meet me at Comte St. *Florentin's* again about four o'clock, and so went away.

I was now alone, and again much mortified not to find out what was this extraordinary secret. At length concluding, that I should find it out at our next meeting, I consoled myself with the expectation, and continued for some time walking, reflecting on the folly and ridicule of what I had just before seen. Thus moralizing, the first idea that occurred to me was from *Rochester's* poems; where, in his satyr on man, he says,

*Was he a spirit free to chuse what flesh to wear,
He'd be a dog, a monkey, or a bear:
Or any thing but that vain animal,
Who is so proud of being rational.*

Lord! thinks I to myself, I love and respect good and worthy men; but to see men possessed of wealth and temporalities more than abundantly sufficient for all the comforts of this life, paying homage, and almost adoration, to another man, perhaps one of the most worthless of the whole race, if stripped of that borrowed power and authority, with which he is by chance or interest decked, is surely unbecoming the state of man!

I reflected, that subordination was necessary amongst men, for their mutual happiness, and for the support and preservation of government; without which, all order must sink, and be confounded: and surely, thinks I, all this may be without cringing, flattery, deceit, and oppression. Men only excel men in proportion to the noble, virtuous, and generous actions they exert; and providence has placed them all upon such a level, that in the other world, we are told, there is no respect to persons, unless through what I mention. As a confirmation of her impartiality, has she not, said I, placed them all under the same fate of infirmities and death? and when this last has put an end to our career, are we not

indiscriminately devoured by the worst insects and vermin of the earth, without distinction? These and the like reflections, whilst I walked alone in these beautiful gardens for about three hours, employed my thoughts. I would not go to dinner, for appetite I had none. I wondered how I was brought into this affair, and began to think, that there was no way of getting out of it now, unless by getting out of the frying-pan into the fire. I was still, however, in expectation of shortly knowing the secret.

Four o'clock had now struck, which brought me to the minister's apartment. I had not waited above a quarter of an hour, before Mr. *Trefrville* came to me who told me, that Mr. *Bertin* had promised to meet us there about seven o'clock, and that in the interim we would go up into the grand gallery to talk: which we did accordingly. On coming into the gallery, we soon sat down in one of the windows, and drew the curtains behind us; so that we sat as retired, as if in a private chamber. He began to talk of the beauty and magnificence of *Versailles*, the palace and gardens, and the like. He then renewed the other subject, in the same manner as I have before related, and as was before intimated by himself and *Berth*, touching secrecy, conduct, and precaution: but nothing else transpired; which did not a little surprise me.

Between seven and eight, we went to the minister's to meet *Bertin*, where we staid above half an hour, waiting his coming: but he not coming to his time, Mr. *Trefrville* carried me to his apartments. *Bertin* soon came in from some of the other ministers, and sat down to eat, saying, he had not eat a bit all day. He was not long at table; and as soon as he had finished, they both retired to another room, where they

talked a long time together in private. I was, at length, conducted into this room, and *Bertin* began to speak, by telling me, I must come to his house to speak to him in two or three days; that I was appointed to go into the country, upon an affair of the greatest secrecy and importance that I did not depend upon him, nor on any of the ministers; but that the *king himself would take care of me*: and so encouraging me with the greatest promises and assurances, and repeating the advice he had before given me, touching my conduct and safety, and desiring me to get bled, and take some physic, as I was going into another air, I took leave, promising to wait upon him as he desired. I then took a coach and four at the *burreau des carrosses*, and got to town about twelve at night.

You cannot conceive what doubts and uneasiness I had upon me, not to be able to find out the cause of this mysterious conduct. Reflecting as I went home; I saw, or I thought I saw, a great deal of superfluous ceremony, and a great deal of artifice, craft, subtilty, and cunning, in the whole of this proceeding: and where there was so much in the beginning, I did not doubt but I should find more in the end. However, as I was now in for the plate, I could not, without manifest danger of ruin, get off: wherefore I resolved to dispense with every thing, till I should know the bottom of all, and come to the knowledge of this most extraordinary business, which I then supposed was to be related to me in a day or two, at the interview appointed as above by *Bertin*; the particulars of which, and their effects, you will find in my following letter.

LETTER THE TWENTY-THIRD.

IN consequence of *Bertin's* desire, that I should come to him in two or three days, I went accordingly, and found him at home. He desired me to step to *Duval*, his first secretary, who was then in his office. This old man has been fifty years secretary in this department, visits the *Bastile* generally once a-week, to inspect the prisoners, and give orders about them, and who, under the appearance of meekness, moderation, and humanity, is hardened in cruelty and oppression. The number of unhappy objects in the *Bastile* and other royal prisons, who in such a series of years have fallen, and daily fall, under his direction, have rendered misery and distress so familiar to him, that compassion and pity never enter into his obdurate heart; nor are the torments, sufferings, and deaths of men, any more to him than sports and plays. Such are the shocking effects of habit, in some hardened wretches!

This was the first time I had seen this old *Cerberus*; who, on being informed of my person, appeared to me the quintessence of good-nature and complaisance. He told me, he expected Mr. *Trefravilie* in a little time: who soon after came in. They talked a little together, and then *Duval* filled up a printed paper, which had blanks, and sent it down to be signed and sealed by *Bertin*. Which being returned, he said, Sir, you are to go out of town in a few days with this gentleman; you must not write to any person, or let any one know, where you are going. It was an unnecessary precaution, for I knew it not myself. The other said, that I must meet him next evening at the *Louvre*; and then *Duval*

gave me the paper above mentioned, which was in the words following, desiring me to take care of it, and carry it always with me.

Henry Leona D. Jean Baptisle Bertin, chevalier conseiller du roy en ses conseilles, maître des requêtes ordinaires dans son hôtel, lieutenant general de police, prevoté et vicomte de *Paris*, commissaire du conseil en cette partie.

Certisyons a tous qu'il appartiendra, que le Sieur *MacAllester, Irlandois*, sur la representation qu'il a faite au roy, pour obtenir la permission de rester en *France*, sa majesté a bien voulu l'excepter de la loy generale, qui ordonne aux sujets de la *Grand Bretagne* de sortir de ses etats. En foy de quoi nous lui avons délivré le present certificat, signe de notre main et sur icely fait oppose le sceau et cachet de nos armes, pour servir et valoir ce que de raison fait, a *Paris*, en notre hôtel, le 6 *Avril*,. 1758,

BERTTN (L. S.)

The above being translated into English, is as follows.

Henry Leona John Baptist Bertin, one of the council of the king in his councils, master to receive common petitions at his house, lieutenant-general of the police, provost: and viscount of *Paris*, commissary of the council in this respect.

We certify to all whom it may concern, That on the representation that Mr. *MacAllester, of Ireland*, has made to the king, to obtain permission to stay in *France*, his majesty has been pleased to except him out of the general law, which requires the subjects of *Great Britain* to leave his dominions. In testimony of which, we have delivered him this present certificate, to make use of as occasion shall require. Given under our hand and seal, at *Paris*, this 6th of *April*, 1758.

BERTIN. (L. S.)

Next evening I met *Trefrville*, according to appointment; who told me, he had affairs that required him to go into the country before me, and that he believed he should meet me on the road; but desired me to meet him again next morning at *Bertin's*: which I did. At which time he paid me 300 livres, and took a receipt, saying, Make use of this; you may be at expence on the road till we meet. This secretly vexed me, unable to penetrate any thing, or to discover what was intended by all this, and to think I saw myself as far from finding out the secret as ever. On which I returned home, and went no more near any of them, expecting they would send for me. in a day or two. But this not coming to pass, I began to conclude something particular had happened, and that the affair was dropt, or that they would not trust me with the secret. However, on a *Sunday* morning about twelve days after, before I rose from bed, a person came to my lodgings, and desired to speak to me. It was then, I think, almost seven. As I had been long awake, and ready to get up, I desired him to be brought in. He prayed me to rise, for he was sent by *Buhot*, to let me know I must go out of town immediately; and that horses and every thing were ready, waiting my coming; and that I must order my cloaths, linen, &c. to be put up. I asked him where I was to go; he told me, he could not tell; that I need not ask any questions; that there was one waiting for me, who would tell me. I got out of bed and dressed, ordered coffee for breakfast, whilst my cloaths were putting into the portmanteau, and set out about nine o'clock. My servant carried the portmanteau; but he had not gone the length of the street, when the person who accompanied me called a *Savoyard*, and gave it to him, and sent the other

away, that the place might not be known where we were going. *Lewis*, who had breakfasted with us, shed some tears at my departure, little imagining, any more than myself, that I was innocently laying the foundation of his unhappy death. My conductor brought me to a street called *La Rue de Countrescarp*. At an inn in this street, called the *Bureau des Carrqffes pour la Rochelle*, I found a horse ready prepared for me, about sixteen gentlemen ready equipped for mounting on horseback, and an orderly well-looking man, who was to be conductor or guide to the company, and to whom orders, I found, had been previously given about me.

I was then told, I was to go with this man and his company (this is what is called the *messagerie*) to *Rochelle*, where I should meet Mr. *Trefrville* (the baggage of the company, amongst which mine was placed, went by a carriage and six horses). The saddle-horses being drawn out into a large court, those gentlemen, who were all officers in the *French* army, except one or two, according to the vivacity peculiar to the nation, began on a sudden to crack their whips on all sides, in such a manner as surprised me at the ridiculous practice. You would have thought they were so many pistols firing off in your ears, and this is their custom on entering and leaving every town on the road.

We immediately set out, our guide (who made a very good figured leading the van, and the company, resembling a little squadron of light horse, following in the rear. The journey was pleasant, but nothing remarkable, unless for the number of poor, with which we were surrounded in every town and city on the road, at our arrival and departure. Our table, however, and entertainment, was very good and elegant. But the cracking of whips continuing to torment me, lead me to

reflect on the peril travellers would be in, was this stupid custom in use in *England*, where men, and the beasts they ride, would run great risk of being attacked and bit by the dogs on such alarming occasions.

The *Sunday* following I arrived at *Rochelle*, with an officer of the same company, about five in the evening (the rest of the company did not get in till next day) and went to lodge at the best auberge or inn in town, known by the sign of *La tête du duc de Bourgogne* (the duke of *Burgundy's*, head). In a strange country, without friend or acquaintance, speaking the language imperfectly, the first thing I did was to inquire of the people of the house, if they knew one Mr. *Trefrville*; They told me, they did very well; but that they believed he was not in town; and that the best way to know, was to send to his house, or to marshal *Senectere's*. This made me a little easy, for I did not know till then that his place of abode was in this town. I desired they would send to his house, to know if he was in town; which they did. Word being soon brought me, that there was no body at home to give an answer, I went to the marshal's, taking a man with me to conduct me. Arrived at the marshal's, I asked the centinels, who stood at the street door, for the person I wanted; but they knew him not. I then entered the hall. At the foot of a great stair-case, I met a footman, and inquiring of him, if the marshal was at home, he answered in the affirmative. I then asked, if the other person was with him? He replied, he could not tell; that there was at that time a great deal of company with the marshal, who was himself engaged at play; but that, if I pleased, I might go up. I asked, in what room I was to find him? The great room facing the stairs, says the servant. Having ascended the stairs, I opened the folding doors, and

walked in. I was surprised to see between twenty and thirty ladies and gentlemen in the room (which was spacious, and nobly furnished) most of whom were engaged at different tables at cards. It was that evening public card assembly at the marshal's. The servant, who had spoke to me, took me for an officer by my dress, which was blue and silver, with a laced hat; and so did all the company, I am sure, on entering the room; though not for a *French* officer. The eyes of the whole assembly were instantly upon me, on my making them a respectful salute; and for my own part, I believe, I looked not a little confused and bewildered, to find myself so suddenly in such a company, where I only, at most, expected to have found two or three grave elderly gentlemen together. I had not advanced far into the room; and as they perceived that I stared likewise, as if sensible that I had made some mistake, I thereby attracted their attention more and more. Besides, I was in boots, a whip in my hand, and my cloaths (having none then to change them, being in the portmanteau) dripping wet from a heavy rain, which had suddenly fallen. before I came within three miles of the town, and still continued without ceasing.

The marshal, who then commanded all the troops in that country, which formed a very considerable body, stopped from playing; and looking very stedfastly at me, whilst two gentlemen, who, crossing the room, came to me, and asked me very politely, what were my commands? I told them, I was sorry, and begged pardon for my mistake and intrusion; that I wanted Mr. *Trefrville*, and had been told I might have found him here. They told me, I had done nothing wrong; that the gentleman I wanted was not then there; and knowing by my manner of speaking that I waa not a *Frenchman*, asked

me, what service I was in? I replied, None. They begged I would stay a moment, and then went over to the marshal, to acquaint him with what I had said; when instantly an elderly gentleman, who had been standing at the marshal's elbow, carrying his head from a shot he had received in some engagement, as was the custom of admiral *Boscawen* in his lifetime, came to me, and with great politeness, and an air of friendship and freedom, saluted me and told me, that Mr. *Trefrville* was not in town, but was expected in a day or two; for that he was only at *Rochfort*, about a league off. He asked me where I lodged; I told him the house. He seemed pleased, and as if he knew of my coming beforehand. On my saluting the company at leaving the room, he accompanied me down part of the stairs, and would have continued to the bottom, if I had not with difficulty prevented him. Such was the complaisance and politeness of this gentleman, who I soon after found Was commandant or governor of *Rochelle*; a respectable officer, distinguished for his merit, and whose name was *Bonaventure*.

Rochelle is a pleasant plentiful sea-port, well fortified, celebrated in history, and particularly in the reign of *Charles I.* The chevalier *Bonaventure* came to my lodgings in a day or two to speak to me. I happened to be abroad: upon which he left word for me to come to him. The next morning early, I dressed handsomely, and went to wait on him; who, asking me if I had not a passport, I shewed him the paper signed by *Bertin*, before recited. He read it, and said, it was very well; and desired that I would meet him at the great place (the parade) before the troops marched off. I was surprised what this could mean. About ten I went there, and found Monsieur *Bonaventure* attended by a concourse of officers. There was a

large body of troops under arms to pass in review before him. He soon perceived me and making me a sign to come to him, he intimated to some of the officers of the crowd, who formed a little circle round him, to make way for me. They soon opened to the right and left; on which I approached the commandant. He asked me, how long since I had left *Paris*? how long I intended to stay in that country? and if I had any passport? After telling him the day I left *Paris*, I told him I could not exactly say how long I should stay at *Rochelle*, but believed it would not be very long; and then delivered him the same paper, which he had before read over. He took it, and looking over it in a slight manner, said, Sir, this is very well. You may stay here as long as you please, for you are well recommended. Then returning me the paper, and saluting me, I retired from the crowd that surrounded us, bowing to him and all the officers, who were not in any respect wanting in their complaisance. The design of this, I soon discovered, was to make me known to the officers, as a person not to be molested or affronted: and it had a very good effect: for, during the time I staid, I was much caressed by the officers and gentlemen of the town.

The very next evening, as I was walking, I saw Mr. *Trefrville* coming into town, in his coach and six, attended by some horse-guards. I went to him next morning, who received me with open arms, and embraced me. I then expected, as a certainty, to know the secret, or at least the cause of my being brought there: but not a word was mentioned of it by him, and I thought it was not my business to ask; for I did not doubt, but that he would of himself communicate it to me in a few days: the sequel of which you will find in my next letter.

LETTER THE TWENTY-FOURTH.

PRIVATE lodgings being most suitable to my inclinations, I soon quitted the *Duke of Burgundy's Head*, and went to lodge at a house next door to the *Peres d'Oratoire*, a species of religious, who in some measure resemble the Jesuits, and had a large church and convent in the same street, where marshal *Senectere* dwelt. My amusements at home were reading and music. My walks abroad were at the great place, where most of the company assembled in the evenings, or on the walls and fortifications of the town. I frequented the fortifications so much, that I was at last given to understand, that my being seen there so frequently was not agreeable. This did not deter me from going there; but I did not go so often. I usually went to the comedy, and was at times invited to dine and sup with the officers of the army, and gentlemen of the town; so that I passed my time agreeably. As often as I saw Mr. *Trefrville*, he never intimated or hinted any thing of business to me; which wrecked my patience: and though I sent to him one day for money, which he paid me next morning, there was not, according to the old saying, "one word of the pudding."

In the latter end of *May*, Mr. *Trefrville* one evening told me, he would be glad to see me next morning. I then concluded I should learn something extraordinary: and so I did: for on going to him pretty early, instead of entering on any thing particular, he told me he had received orders from court to send me back to *Paris*, and then paid me 300 livres more, taking a receipt as formerly. A change so sudden, and so contrary to my expectations, filled my mind with a

thousand different ideas. Full of various conjectures, I went directly and paid off my bills, took leave of my acquaintance, and in two days set off with the coach, which contained an agreeable company of both sexes.

Innumerable imaginations, whilst on my journey, crowded into my head. The more I thought and reflected, the more my perplexities increased; unable to discover from what motive this change of order so suddenly proceeded, without communicating any thing to me, or without my having committed so much as the least act of indiscretion, to give it birth. I knew the ministers, who had put themselves to this extraordinary expence, did it not without some view or design. I knew likewise that my own conduct was irrefragable. From whence I concluded, that their scheme, whatever it might be, was by some unforeseen accident overturned, or as yet not brought to maturity; and that to one or other of these causes I ought to ascribe the reason of my being thus kept in ignorance and darkness; or if not to these, to some other political reasons, far beyond my skill or comprehension. I had often heard, that the ministers of *France*, among many other weaknesses in their infallible politics, had one in a superlative degree, which is that of often making a great secret of that which is no secret; and of exposing or boasting of things which ought to be concealed, and with the greatest care kept secret. In the first of which, we see an useless wisdom; as in the last, a most pernicious vanity.

It was towards the middle of *June* when I arrived in *Paris*. The next morning I wrote to *Bertin*, to give him an account of my arrival in good health, and went directly to *Versailles*, to give *St. Florentin* ocular demonstration thereof, and pay my

respects to his star and blue ribbon. He said not a word to me; but on my saluting him, looked pleased, and returned my compliment with a pleasant aspect, which was food enough that day for any *Frenchman* about the court. I staid a few days at *Versailles* to divert myself, and then returned to *Paris*. Not doubting but some notice would be taken of my journey, I went several times to *Bertin's* on audience days, to pay my compliments. He never once asked me about this journey, or took the least notice of what had passed between us at *Versailles*, or of the promises and assurances he there made me. I flattered myself, that, on one or other of those occasions, he would at least have made me a compliment of a bill for one or two hundred pounds, as a present from the king, who was *to take such care os me* (according to *Bertin's* assurances given me at *Versailles*, before my departure) as some little gratification for such a fatiguing journey, in that warm season of the year. But not the least appearance of any mark of acknowledgment arising, I soon concluded, that *French* ministerial generosity was as the cement of *French* ministerial promises that the one dissolved as fast as the others evaporated: and from that instant I quickly determined to give a blow to the affairs of *France*, whenever I was able, or could get the arms or materials in my hands; of which I did not yet entirely despair.

I had heard so much of *French* faith and *French* promises, that I was resolved to fight them at their own weapons: and I well remembered an old maxim, that *fallere fallentem non est fraus*, would be just and useful to me, and what I ought to follow with such as I had to deal with. My friend *Lewis* had fallen ill, and I had repented my journey, being disappointed in my expectation of discovering some extraordinary secrets,

that might be of consequence to my king and country. Still I did not lose all expectation, but that, by friends and interest, I might receive some present from the king or his minister, before I left *Paris*, by getting this journey mentioned at court.

I continued to live retired as usual, divested of every thought of ever hearing farther from the minister: and as soon as my friend *Lewis* was recovered from his indisposition, we took our walks in the public gardens together, without having any connections with any person. But walking one evening in *Luxemburg* gardens, *Buhot*, before mentioned, came to me, and begged of me to call upon him next day; which I did. At this interview, after talking of indifferent things, he asked me, if I had ever heard of, or known at *London* a person, who went by the name of *Hamilton*? I told him, there were many of that name in *London*, of whom I knew two or three. He then said, this person, he meant, was a priest. To which I answered, I knew no such person, unless one, who had been chaplain to the *Venetian* ambassador. Upon this *Buhot* went away, without saying any thing more on the subject.

About two months after this interview, *Buhot* meeting me again in *Luxemburg* gardens with some company, where, I believe, he then came on purpose to find me, he took me aside, and told me, that he believed I must go out of town in a day or two with him, by the minister's order, for a few days, and begged I would call upon him next day. I began to think, that this might be another journey like that of *Rochelle*, in so much that I was very unwilling in my own mind to go. Yet I feared the consequence, of being shut up, if I absolutely refused the request, which, in my own thoughts, I looked upon as a command not to be disobeyed without danger. As I

had neglected going in the morning, he called at my lodgings, and left a line in writing, begging me to call upon him to go out of town, as before mentioned. Whilst I was at dinner, I received another billet from him, in the following words.

“Je vous prie, Monsieur, de vous rendre chez moi aussi tôt que vous aurez diné pour l'affaire dont je vous ai parlé ainsi que je vous l'ai marqué par le billet que j'ay laissé chez vous. Comme vous serez quelque jours absent, il faut prendre un couple de chemises et un bonnet de nuit. Je suis bien sincerement, Monsieur, votre serviteur,

“*Samedi, 18 Novcmbre, 1758.*

BUHOT.”

Translated as follows:

“I pray you, Sir, to come to my house,. as soon as you have dined, about the affair I mentioned to you, and in the note I left for you at your lodgings. As you will be absent some days, it will be necessary to take a couple of shirts and a night-cap. I am most sincerely, Sir, your servant,

“*Saturday, November 18, 1758.*

BUHOT.”

Dinner being over, I ordered some shirts, night-caps, &c. to be put up in a small trunk, and carried to *Buhot's*; to which place I soon after followed: and whilst we were drinking coffee, which had been prepared against I came, he ordered his footman to go for a coach. I asked him, where we were going? He told me, not far, and that it would be only a little tour of pleasure. The coach being come, and the trunk put therein, we set off. I wondered not to see something of the same kind put into the coach for him. He had given private orders to the coachman where to go, who drove out at one side of the suburbs, where I had never been before, and which seemed to me not to be so much frequented, by a great

deal, as any of the other roads, and where I thought we were going to take postchaise.

After driving about two small miles, we stopped at a most large noble building, which looked to me like an old stately palace (as I afterwards learned it had been): the buildings in front, which seemed to me to run in one angle, in a kind of semicircle, were very grand, clean, and handsome. The court before the building was large and spacious; so that several coaches might stand or drive round, without incumbering each other. There was before the court, which was separated from the great road, or rather avenue, a long range of iron palisades, and iron gates, such as are generally before the most superb country-houses of the first noblemen; and at the corner of this range in front was a handsome lodge, in which a *Swiss* porter resided.

Casting my eyes about, as soon as the coach stopt, and not seeing any person in the great court, nor at the doors or windows of any of those buildings, but every thing with an appearance of retirement and tranquillity, I instantly concluded it to be a convent, or the palace of some archbishop, or other person of distinguished rank in the church. Getting out of the coach, the *Swiss* came directly to us. *Buhot*, to whom he was well known, ordered him to take in the little trunk, and then desired me to leave my sword with him till our return; which the more confirmed me in my first idea, of its being a kind of convent, monastery, or religious house. Walking across this large court, I asked *Buhot*, what place this was? He answered, This is *Bicêtre*. I was not in the least the wiser for the information, as I had never heard of the place before, nor the word *Bicêtre* mentioned, to my knowledge, in all my life. Having stopped a

little, to take a view of the buildings, I observed a piazza or arcades under part of the buildings, and a large pair of handsome iron gates like the former, which opened into another large spacious court. The horrors and horrid situation, and consequences of which, you will find in my next.

LETTER THE TWENTY-FIFTH.

ASKING *Buhot*, what place that was where the last-mentioned iron gates stood? he told me there were disordered people, who boarded and lodged in a house within the inside court of those gates; that there were many gentlemen of fortune in pension there; and that people might live there genteelly at what rate or price they pleased, according to their fortunes and estates: and, continues he, you may go in there perhaps for a little time to talk with one of them on an affair, which I shall mention to you. If you should stay a few days, so much the better; for, it will be the making of your fortune. You are the only man in *France* to whom the business would be confided, and it is for the king himself that you are entrusted.

We were at this time arrived to the foot of the great stairs, which faced the great court under the piazzas; and as he was conducting me up these stairs to an apartment, Take this paper, says he, and put it in your pocket; but don't read it till we come down stairs; it will tell you what to say to the person you are to speak to, in case you should go where he is. You must not tell your name, but say it is the same you will hear me mention, if it should happen that any person should ask

to know it.

We then entered into a large apartment, and a gentleman immediately came to us, whose name I afterwards found to be *Honnette*, and that he and my conductor *Buhot* were intimate friends. No sooner were the usual compliments of civility passed, than *Buhot* presented him a paper, which he took out of his pocket; and as soon as the other had cast his eye over it, he says to *Buhot*, casting at the same time an oblique look on me, This, Sir, I suppose, is the gentleman, whose name is *Philip Grandville*, mentioned in this paper. To which *Buhot* replied in the affirmative, whilst I remained silent. Mr. *Honnette*, who is a man of fortune (at least by his office) and keeps his equipage, as does several other officers of this house, as I learned soon after, rung his bell, at which a lusty man came in, dressed like a country farmer; to whom *Honnette* said, Take this gentleman with you, and shew him the place; and desiring me at the same time to go along with him, I went accordingly, not suspecting any thing, but that I should return in a little time to *Buhot*, whom I had left waiting with *Honnette* in his apartment.

Passing along the piazzas at the iron gates, the man took out of his pocket two large keys, unlocked the gates, and as soon as we were entered, he immediately locked the doors. I then instantly observed grenadiers, as centinels under arms, and bayonets screwed at the top of their firelocks. I saw at some little distance many soldiers walking about, as if before their guard-room, and several men, who made a meagre miserable figure, who looked as if half starved. Those wretches were all in the uniform of the house, which is a coarse brown jacket, large brown breeches, half leg down like trowsers, coarse stockings of the same colour, an high cap

sugar-loaf form of the same coarse cloth with the jackets and breeches, and wooden shoes.

I was instantly struck with terror at the objects, though I then had only a cursory view, as I passed along after my guide, who led me in at a large door of another building; and going up large spacious stone stairs, like church stairs, where I observed long galleries, I thought I should have dropped down dead, with a most overcoming, uncommon, and extraordinary smell, such as I had never perceived in all my life before, notwithstanding the house, stairs, and galleries, appeared perfectly clean.

Being on the first floor, my good guide conducted me through his kitchen, near which he had a little room by way of office, and a bed-chamber decently furnished. He begged I would take a chair and sit down; which I did, whilst he went in and out, two or three times, upon his own private affairs; but which, I thought, was to bring somebody to me. At length coming, as I apprehended, to stay, Pray, Sir, said I to him, what place is this? The hospital and prison of *Bicêtre*, Sir, said he. At which I was not a little shocked. What is your office? continues I. He replied, I am captain of the prison (gaoler). You have a good many prisoners then, I presume? said I. Yes, Sir, in all about six thousand. We generally have from five to six thousand of both sexes in this prison, said he, and eighty men and officers constantly under arms, besides the servants and officers of the house, to take care of them; and that neither officer nor soldier, nor any person whatsoever, could go out without his permission, after they have once entered within the gates. You may judge, from this, of the extent of their buildings, to which large gardens are annexed; and how my heart began to flutter, from an

imagination that I was kidnapped, on hearing what he said. But in the sudden starts of reflection, I had the consolation to think, I had neither said or done any thing to give offence. I was now impatient to look at the paper given to me by *Buhot*, which I had as yet found no opportunity to do in private. In the same breath, I was desirous to have farther discourse with the noble captain, and asked him, who those people were that I had seen, at coming in, dressed in so particular a manner? He told me, they were a few of the prisoners, who behaved well, who had been a long time confined, and were employed in doing some few trifling offices in the house: that they were all dressed in the same manner: for, said he, if the best man in *France* was sent a prisoner here, we strip him of cloaths, money, linen, even shoe-buckles (which are returned to him when discharged) to put on him the habit of the house: he is not permitted to have the use of a knife, or of any thing made of metal, not so much as a needle or pin. I asked him the reason: he told me, the dress was to discover them, in case they should make their escape, to facilitate their being retaken by their description: and that their being deprived of every thing composed of metal, was to prevent their making away with themselves. I asked him, how they did to cut their victuals? With wooden knives, said he; and shewed me some of them made of a hard wood: but they seldom have occasion for any, being in no wise incumbered with meat, unless the unhappy rich; and what they have of that commodity is so well boiled or roasted, as to fall to pieces of itself, when brought to table. Uneasy to sound him, I told him, I supposed I should be going in a short time. He said, Not so soon, Sir; you can't go without an order. You are to be here for some time, but not to be used like other prisoners: besides, there is a person, I believe, to be brought here to you in a day or two. I

then found I stood committed prisoner, by the paper which *Buhot* gave Mr, *Honnette*, under the name of *Philip Grandville*, which was *Bertin's* committimus, and that this must or would be productive of something extraordinary.

Night approaching, the captain of these thousands desired to know if I would have any thing ordered for supper, telling me there was a good table allowed and constantly kept for the gentlemen officers of the house, who all have apartments in the handsome buildings in the first court: that there were two cooks, and other under-servants; and that whatever I pleased to order for dinner or supper, according to my taste or liking, would be got for me, I thanked him, and told him, I should eat no supper: in truth, my appetite was fled, but my fears and apprehensions remained; which so alarmed me, that I did not know whether the event might not cost me my life, or my liberty for ever; seeing such tricks, artifice, and deceit, in all those proceedings. When I inquired where I was to lie, he told me, in a very good room in the uppermost floor, which had been lately occupied by a marquis or count, a person of great distinction, who had been there a long while, and who had but a short time before obtained his liberty. He then told me, he would order a good fire in the room and wood, desiring me to let him know when I wanted any thing. Going to the room, where I was to lie, conducted by this captain, I found a candle and a good fire burning, a table, two chairs, and a tolerable bed for such a place. An elderly man, an under-officer of the house, came in and put on a pair of sheets. On their going away, the captain locked me up with as much care, as if I had been prisoner for some heinous crime against the state: which gave me new uneasiness, as I did not doubt but my room door would have been left to my own

care. The precaution, however, was better for me, as I was afterwards informed: and the captain, on locking the door, told me, he should bring me in the morning some paper, pens, ink, and wax, as he had been ordered.

Being now alone, I instantly took out the paper, which *Buhot* had desired me to put in my pocket, in order to peruse it. This paper is all of his own hand-writing, though dictated or originally wrote by the minister, and copied by him, as I believe, and is in the words following.

Instructions pour M. MacAllester.

“La personne qui sera observe parle souvent des Jesuites, et notamment du pere *Fleuriau*, de qui il dit avoir recu des bien faits: il faudra scavoit adroitement où il demeure, et dans quel couvent il est.

“En agissant avec circonspection, suivant que les cas l'exgigeront il faudra avoir la plus grande attention de ne point oublier les noms païs et demeures des personnes avec lesquelles il dira être en relation.”

Thus translated:

Instructionsfor Mr. MacAllester.

“The person to be observed speaks often of the Jesuits, and particularly of father *Fleuriau*, who, he says, has done him many good offices: it will be necessary ingenuously to know where he lives, and in what convent he is.

“In acting with circumspection, as the cases shall require, it will be proper to have the greatest attention not to forget the names, countries, and places of abode, of the persons with whom he shall say he has any connection.”

On reading over the above, and considering it, I was at a

loss what to think of the business; when recollecting all that had passed, from the 1st of *April* before to that juncture, I imagined I was now upon the verge of having, by the examination of the person, who was to be brought to me, the secret disclosed or communicated to me, which had been so often and so pathetically recommended to me to preserve, for fear I should be murdered by persons I little suspected, and whom it would not be in the minister's power to discover. From whence I concluded, that the business I was now to enter upon was a branch of *Damien's* affair; that the persons so dangerous were the *Jesuits* and that I should; apparently run the same risk as the king had done, but not escape so well, in case the business should come to light. The course of which subject I must pursue in my next.

LETTER THE TWENTY-SIXTH.

ANOTHER consideration, which most sensibly touched me, was, that being now at the mercy of the ministers, and, by the most deceitful scheme, thus shut up in one of the most dreadful prisons, I believe, in all the world; into which I was artfully, but innocently, betrayed and deluded; where remorse, humanity, or pity, have never shewn their faces, nor justice nor liberty been obtained, but thro' interest or money where no person, friend or acquaintance, knew I was decoyed: where no letter is received; and from whence no letter is permitted to go, but through the hands of an officer of the house, who first peruses it (for thus much with respect to letters I had learned from the honourable captain, in my discourse with him in his own apartment) considering, I say, the critical situation I was in, I began to be apprehensive, that

when the secret should be communicated to the ministers, which I supposed was to pass by my hands, it might then fall out, that to prevent its transpiring, I might be kept myself in prison, by those very ministers who sent me there, for the remainder of my life, the more effectually to secure the concealment.

Distracted with these kind of reflections, I passed a tedious night, without sleep. The guard or watchmen, who are very numerous, ceased not from one quarter of an hour to another, and one after another, to knock at all those doors, throughout the prison, in a regular manner, within which the most wretched of mankind are inclosed, successively crying, in a hideous tone of voice, *All is well*: which, together with my other apprehensions, banished from my eyes every symptom of repose: for no sooner had this dreadful crying and knocking finished at one end of the prison, and the several long galleries, which almost surround the buildings, than it began at the other, and so continued all the night.

Impatient, when day-light appeared, for the captain's opening the door; he, about seven o'clock, with the horrid noise of keys, bolts, and bars, entered the room, wishing me a good morning, and asking me if I slept well. I asked him, is any body slept well within those melancholy dreadful walls? He replied, As well as if in a ship, where they were rocked as in a cradle. He then asked, what I would order for dinner? and having given directions about it, I asked him, where was the person that was to be brought to me? He said, he did not know: which augmented my uneasiness and surprise. He told me, if I had a mind to take a walk, there was a long room on the right hand at the stair-head, where I might walk as long as I pleased and so went away.

He was not long gone, when a person knocked at my door. On his coming in, I perceived he was an officer, being dressed in his uniform. He told me, he was come to see me, by Mr. *Hornnette's* direction, and to make me both their compliments. I thankfully acknowledged his politeness. He then told me, he commanded the corps of troops on duty at this place, and asked me, if I had a night-gown with me? I told him, I had not; for that I knew not where I was coming, nor upon what business: that I was told, it was only for a tour of pleasure, and had brought only a few shirts, handkerchiefs, and night-caps. He smiled, and begged I would accept of one from him, to make use of whilst I staid. I made my excuse, but in vain; for, immediately after his departure, the night-gown was sent to me.

I then went to walk in the room mentioned by the captain of the prison, called in *French, Capitaine a la force*. It was about a hundred yards long, proportionably broad, somewhat like a great gallery, with bedsteads and matrasses for about two hundred and fifty or three hundred persons; the bedsteads being turned up on each side against the walls, those, who had the misfortune to be obliged to lie there, being gone to prepare for mass, or other business. The windows were also open, those in the front looking into the court, and those on the opposite side into the gardens; which rendered the room agreeable enough, for such a dismal shocking place as it was, and much better than was to be expected. There was also a large wood closet at one end, which had been cleared out and properly prepared for me, in case I wanted to go that way: those precautions being taken, that I might not be known or seen, by any person whose misfortune was to be there confined.

Taking a view from one of the windows of this room into the inside court, I observed two large buildings, one of which was directly opposite to me, and the other at the angle of a high wall, towards the left hand, which incloses the buildings from a private road leading to *Paris*; the back part of which house having no windows, made part of this wall. Meeting the man, who had brought the sheets for my bed, I took him to the window, to inform me what buildings they were: he told me, the large white building, which was directly facing, was another strong prison, belonging to the house called *Galbanon*, more dreadful again than the *Bastile*; because few that were sent there were ever discharged or set at liberty: for, they were generally executed privately, or suffered to languish out their lives miserably in their cells, or places of confinement: that the rooms were so contrived, that only a small place, for a little bedstead, a little table, and one chair, could be contained therein; and about four or five feet of space for the prisoner to stand or walk in to the window for air, which was strongly secured with iron bars: that there were dungeons one or two and twenty feet under ground, where some miserable objects were kept chained to the ground; and that one man, who had survived several years, in one of those dungeons, was grown over entirely with white hairs, resembling an old monster: that his features could not be distinguished, but by combing or putting back his white hairs: that when the other prisoners of the upper part of these prisons were to be shaved, to prevent the vermin from preying upon them, they were led out from those little rooms, and brought into a passage by way of gallery; where placed on a chair. a party of grenadiers or soldiers, with their arms loaded, and screwed bayonets pointed towards them, almost surrounded the chair, whilst shaving by the man, whose

office it is to perform that operation. This is to intimidate or terrify the unhappy mortal, lest the insupportable severity of his distress should animate him in despair to attempt his deliverance by some desperate action.

Struck with the horror of his relation, I said, I hoped there were not many there at that time. Alas! Sir, says he, it is very full at present. I replied, For God's sake, what sort of persons are they, who languish under such misfortune, and for what crimes are they sent there? There are, says he, marquisses, counts, Jesuits and other clergymen, some lawyers, and many gentlemen, amongst them; some brought from the provinces, some from their houses and families, who know not where they are: and yet they are maintained at their expence, and their pensions for their maintenance regularly paid by the management of the ministers; and most of them with irons on their legs or wrists. There are many, continues he, suffering there, for abusing the marchioness *de Pompadour*, or for writings against her, or the ministers, or other state affairs,. perhaps of little consequence. He gave her a hearty curse, concluding, it would be better for a man to be out of the world, than to be in such a prison, where neither friend, relation, or acquaintance, can have admission to come to see or speak to a prisoner, without a special order from the ministry; adding, that men were here confined by their wives, who had interest with the ministers, or money to procure it, and so *vice versa*. I dismissed my intelligencer at this time, afflicted with the horrors of what I had seen and heard; saying to myself, Oh! happy *England!* happy, happy *England!* happy its monarch! happy its people! where justice, blended with clemency and mercy, abound; where humanity is every where found amongst the brotherhood, and whose

gentle salutary laws may well make tyrants and despotic ministers ashamed, and raise, with a conscious blush of guilt, *Great Britain's* admiration. The remaining part of this day I spent in reflection, and reading a book or two lent me by the captain.

Next morning, soon after breakfast, the *capitaine a la force* came to me, and desired I would walk down, for a gentleman wanted to speak to me, desiring at the same time I would put on the night-gown; which I did. He brought me through the iron gates by the centinels, which he unlocked, into the piazzas in the out-court, where I found *Bvhot* waiting for me. The *capitaine* retired, though there was not a person to be seen in the court or buildings, where silence and gloomy melancholy seemed to reign.

We walked a little while together: he told me not to be uneasy, for I would soon see the person I was to talk to: that I must examine him very narrowly write every thing down, then seal my letters, and send them by the captain's own hand to Mr. *Honnette*, who had orders to send them, as soon as received, by a courier to the minister; which I promised to do. Then desiring me to take chocolate for breakfast, and to smook tobacco, he gave money to send for those articles by some of the captain's emissaries, and went away, whilst I returned to my *mala pardus*, with my guardian, by the same way I came.

About eight o'clock the same evening, sitting by the fire, and reading, the book in one hand, and candlestick in the other, I suddenly heard a noise of people coming to the door, who instantly knocked and entered. I was somewhat surprised at seeing a man, about six feet high, dressed in the formidable habit of the house, and the high sugar-loaf cap,

which augmented his height, with wooden shoes, enter the room first, and advance a little towards me: but instantly seeing the *capitaine a la force* at his back, and another man after him, my fears diminished. There was a door in my room with strong bolts and locks, which opened into another large chamber. Whilst the others were opening the door, the tall man, who was well made and strongly proportioned, with a good, but resolute, or rather formidable countenance, and who I knew by his garb to be a prisoner, came a little towards me, and boldly asked, what countryman I was? I thought it very impertinent, and looking upon him as some rogue going to be locked up, I told him what I then thought; adding, it was no business of his what countryman I was; and then said to the captain, that I thought he would not bring any such person there, and hoped he would put him somewhere else. The captain replied, Make yourself easy, Sir; I'll do for him by and by, and make" him quiet. The prisoner sooner breaks out, saying, D—n you, I value you not, nor do I fear your racks and torments: I despise them all: however, as the king allows good surgeons to the house, and a good table for them, I hope you will let some of them come in the morning to dress my wounds, for I am very much hurt, and very bad. He shewed it by his movement and grimace. He was then drove and hurried into the room like a dog, where there was no fire-place, and without any light, locked up to find his bed, which was a bad matress on a wretched old bedstead, with a coarse old rug or coverlid to throw over him; and the other retired without saying a word more to him or me. About half an hour after, this man, who; thought was sinking under pain, dread, and oppression, began to sing *Latin* anthems with a loud clear voice; and the next morning, about six o'clock, he began and continued the same practice, crying out

at each verse, *Eli! Eli! Eli!* Whose melancholy history I shall continue in my next.

LETTER THE TWENTY-SEVENTH.

BETWEEN eight and nine o'clock next morning, the *capitaine a la force*, followed by another man, carrying in his hand a little earthen pot, in which was a kind of soup with some bread, entered my room, and went to the prisoner, after unlocking his door. This unfortunate man made great complaints of the excruciating pains he felt from several bruises, hurts, and wounds, which he said he had on different parts of his body, and which had been carefully dressed every day before, at the place from whence he had been brought; and which, he said, would have soon been cured, in case he had been left where he was. Then asking for the money which was in his breeches pocket, when undressed last night, to put on the habit of the house, after being brought in prisoner to the *Bicêtre*, he again begged they would send for one of the surgeons. The captain told him, the money, which was only about eighteen livres, should be laid out for him in food and wine, as he pleased to direct, as his allowance otherwise would be only bread and water: and then sending the other man for one of the surgeons, I walked a little way into the room to look at him. He lay extended at full length on his back upon his most wretched bed, and appeared strong and hearty, wishing me the *bon jour*. As I immediately returned into my room, the captain followed me, and told me, that the unhappy person, who had spoke to me, was a clergyman of great learning; that he had been confined, as a prisoner, a long time before in this same prison, but had some few days

ago made his escape; and that being retaken, and brought back, he was ordered to place him in that room, being the person who was to be brought to me. He then told me, if he does not of himself desire the door between the two rooms to be left open, you may desire it for him, and I shall comply. He calls himself *Hamilton*, but that is not his right name, says he.

I was greatly affected with this relation; for, until that moment, I did not know but he might have been a highwayman, or one charged with some other heinous crime. I soon returned into the room, and on my going nearer the bed, he asked me, how I did? I answered, Pretty well; and desired he would give me leave in my turn to ask him a question. With all my heart, replied he. Pray, said I, are you a clergyman? He replied, Yes, and a very unfortunate one, to be in this miserable place and situation. I told him, I was sorry to see it. Ah! says he, there is no help for these things; we know not what is before us. Can you speak *English*? continued he. I know by your pronunciation you are not a *Frenchman*. I told him, I could speak *English*, and that I was born in *Ireland*, and had lived long in *London*. I speak *English*, said he, you see (for he now began to speak to me in good *English*; as well as if I had been born there, and I speak several other languages besides, without reckoning *Greek* and *Hebrew*. I found he spoke *English* better than *French*. Let me beg one favour of you, said he which is, to speak to that dog the gaoler to let me go into your room, where I see you have a good fire, to have my wounds dressed, for I am almost perished here with cold (the weather then being extreme sharp). I promised that I would; and called to the gaoler immediately, who was waiting all this time in my room

for the coming of the surgeons, and made the desired request: to which, after some pretended difficulties, he consented.

Hamilton, having with great pain got off the bed, came and sat down in my room by the fire. His looks were dreadful to behold: the surgeons soon came, and began to dress his wounds; his arm, side, and other parts, were torn, bruised, and wounded to such a degree, that the affected parts looked as if mangled and torn by dogs, or other voracious animals. He endured much in the dressings, as hot liquors were applied: the anguish of those pains in a little time, however, began to abate. The surgeons and gaoler being gone, I asked him, how he came by the misfortune of being so hurt and wounded? He told me, it was no secret: that he had been a long time a prisoner in that house, and that a person called *Pere Fleuriau* and himself being confined prisoners together in the white house almost opposite, which is inhabited by a widow called the *gouvernante*, and who has a very profitable office by being so, and which house is almost joining *Galbanon*, they had contrived and entered upon a scheme to make their escape. I asked him, of what order *was Fleuriau*? A Jesuit, said he; a most learned profound scholar, a perfect honest man, wise and judicious, and one of the most considerable and deserving men of the society of *Jesus*; adding, that he had done him many friendships, and loved him as if he were his brother. *Fleuriau* and I, continued he, were a long time consulting how to make our escape, and to get clear off. There were no windows to the house, as you may perceive, but what are in front towards the court, where the guards are day and night: no back-door, garden or yard, no back windows to the house, it being the wall, or part of it, that

joins a bye road: all which rendered every scheme impracticable for our deliverance. At last we observed a few steps or stairs, which lead into a low small cock-loft, at the top of the house, wherein they might throw old shoes, or small trifling useless things. A large dog, said he, could scarcely find room to lie in it; but there was a little blind window at the top, to let in the light. When the gouvernante went into other apartments in the buildings, to give orders about the womens affairs, which she did three or four times a-week, though never to stay long, one of us crept up to the cock-loft, first to reconnoitre, whilst the other employed himself. in talking on pious or other subjects to those that were in the house, if they offered to move or come in the way to interrupt, pretending the one absent was reading, or at his devotion; by which scheme, I at last widened the hole, which was the window-light, so as to be large enough for me to creep through it. We then determined to make an effort to pass that way, if possible, or die in the attempt. The night in which we intended to put the project in execution, *Fleuriau* feigned to be sick, which prevented us from being locked up.

Whilst the people within doors were asleep, dreaming of nothing, we tore up *Fleuriau's* sheets, and tied them together, in such slips as we conceived would be long enough to reach near the ground, and fastened one end of them to a timber in the cock-loft. I determined to go first, and *Fleuriau* was to follow, as soon as I got down safe from the top of the house. In consequence of this resolution, about three o'clock in the morning, before it was quite light, I committed myself to fate and the da—d rotten sheets, to slide down by them; but before I got half way from the top of the house, which is three stories high, they tore or gave way; so that I fell by the back of

the house-wall to the ground senseless, and in all appearance dead with my fall. It was more than an hour, I believe, said he, before I recovered, or recollected what had happened; it being fair day-light when my senses reassumed their feeble functions: and it was the noise of some carriage, which, I thought, I had heard at a distance, that first awakened me from the stupidity and insensibility, under which I groaned by this misfortune; my own weight having been sufficient to have killed me (we had not the habit of the house at this time, being clergymen under the gouvernante's orders).

After some struggles to rise, danger giving strength and courage to my efforts, I raised myself, and crept along, holding by the wall, till I got a good way, but with suffering the greatest pain that ever man endured, I think. At length having got safe into *Paris*, before any pursuit was made after me, or the escape known, I crept to the *hôtel Dieu* (a public hospital) where I demanded the clergyman's room: to which I was conducted, and all imaginable care taken of me. I was nevertheless soon discovered and guarded there, not being in a condition to be moved till last night; at which time I was brought here, stripped below stairs, on coming in, of all my cloaths, and then equipped in this frightful dress as you now see. I should, said he, have been much better pleased, if I had died by the fall, rather than to have lived and be brought back here: but we are not our own masters; nor can we dispose of ourselves as we please. I asked him, if he knew what became of *Pere Fleuriau*? Ah! said he, the poor man, the honestest man living! No, Sir, I know nothing about him since the misfortune of my fall; it is impossible I should: there is no hearing from any body, once within these cursed walls; the villains here have hearts more hardened than their iron bars;

they have neither friendship, humanity, or common civility, but what is produced by money; and when that is gone, they are like cannibals, who live on human carnage. If poor *Fleuriau* be alive, to be sure he is now at *Galbanon*, which is as bad as to be in hell: but I rather suppose he has been executed, and sent into the other world, as they would not chuse to trust him longer in this, since our late attempt.

After relating some other particulars, as to his birth, his having had for several years a beneficial parish at *Dixmude*, near *Ostend*, and the like, he complained of his pains, and was desirous to lie down for repose. I persuaded him, however, to dine and drink a little wine; which he did, and was very thankful for it, as it was of great comfort and, relief to him. After relating the above particulars, he retired to his bed, and, by the constant attendance and care of the surgeons, in about ten days he was pretty well cured, I suppose to suffer more; as cordials are given to those on the rack, to enable them to endure more pain.

I now sat down, and wrote to the minister a detail of what had passed, according to the precise orders, which had been given me for that purpose, and could not help making one reflection on the instructions given me by *Buhot*; where he says, it will be necessary to know where *Fleuriau* lives, and in what convent he is. *Fleuriau*, said I to myself, could not, it is plain, make his escape; he certainly remained, and care was, no doubt, immediately taken of him; consequently they know best where he is, and where or how he has been disposed of by their own order. Why this inquiry then by me, if he has been executed privately, without process or trial (which is murder) as *Hamilton* intimated to be his opinion, or sent to *Galbanon*, which he thought worse? The inquiry is totally

useless, unless it be to cover the crime of injustice, and deceive the world, in case any legal inquiry should hereafter be made about him. Again, I considered, that *Hamilton*, who had been several days at the *hôtel Dieu*, might have been there examined by some other person; and that the present inquiry touching *Fleuriau* by me, was a ministerial experiment, to discover whether I wrote with candour what he should confess, or to find out what correspondence or difference there might be between what *Hamilton* had said on such examination, if such there had been, and what he might say on this. Another idea suggested to me, that the whole might be a state trick, to answer some political view or project of the minister, which my weak capacity could not surmise, suspect, or penetrate; and therefore, in such a perplexed menacing situation, which concerned my life and liberty, I had nothing more to do, than to write impartially what he thought fit to communicate, and transmit those matters to the minister, without ceremony or disguise, according to his order.

Full of those reflections and ideas, I sealed my letter, and sent it to Mr. *Honnette*, to be by him directly forwarded to the minister; which he failed not to do, as soon as he received it. An extract of which you will find in the following sheets, together with an extract of all the other letters, which were day by day regularly wrote by me, and sent to the minister, by the same channel as is above mentioned. These extracts contain a detail of the substance or journal of the material part of *Hamilton's* adventures, voyages, journies, proceedings, and designs a list of the sums advanced for his expences, and of the names, or pretended names, of many Jesuits then residing at *London*, as they were related and

dictated from his own mouth, and at last wrote, signed, and sealed by him, and with his confession under his own hand. I have likewise added an *English* translation of them, for the better information of such persons as may not understand the *French* language. When you have read those extracts, I shall add a very few words more to you relative to this unfortunate man, which will close his subject, and make way for another not less interesting.

EXTRAITS des LETTRES écrites à
Morts. *Bertin*, au sujet de *Hamilton*, à
Bicêtre, autrement *Vlieghe*.

21 Novembre, 1758.

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'AI l'honneur à vous écrire, qui hier au soir mon voisin fut renfermé dans la chambre que est au dedans la mienne; en entrant ja n'ai pas voulu lui parler. Au bout de quelques momens, il me demanda de quel país j'étois. Je lui fis des reponses qu'il a merité la dessus on le renferma une heure après il commença à chanter.

Sur la six heure ce matin, il commença encore à chanter le capitaine de la prison étant monté m'a dit que mon voisin étoit un prêtre, alors; je lui fis quelques politesses, et nous commencions d'être bons amis. Il m'a compté qu'il étoit né à *Ostend*, qu'il avoit 51 ans, qu'il fut élevé au College Major à *Louvain*; ainsi qu'il étoit dans un collège à *Ostend*, et à *Bruges* pendant sa jeunesse. Il me fit le recit de la manière par laquelle il se sauvait par des draps, que lui ont été fourni

par le pere *Fleuriau* le plus honnête homme du monde, le malheur de sa chute: et qu'il avoit fait plusieurs voyages, et qu'il avoit une paroisse à *Dixmude*, près d'*Ostend*.

22 NOVEMBRE, 1758.

Aujourd'hui aiant causé beaucoup avec *Hamilton*, il me compta qu'il avoit sorti de sa paroisse, et commencé son premier voyage pour *Paris*, le 8 Avril 1747, dans son carrosse, deux beaux chevaux à lui, et son cocher.

Il eut pour son voyage 500 louis, ainsi des lettres de credit pour des sommes considerables, une sur un banquier nommé *Turton*, demurant sur la place *Victoire*, les autres sur des différentes personnes et endroits. Il resta à *Lille* quelques jours, et dans le mois de *Mai*, étant arrivé à *Paris*, il se logea à l'hôtel *d'Espagne*, après à l'hôtel de la *Grande Bretagne*, et depensoit 18 livres par jour au moins: que pendant son séjour à *Paris* de trois ou quatre mois il avoit fait connoissance avec plusieurs personnes de distinction; de *Paris* il voyagoit à *Orleans*, à *Tours*, à *Bourdeaux*, à *Marseilles*, et à d'autres villes: étant de retour à *Paris*, il tomba malade; à son rétablissement il s'en allâ au *Païs Bas*, où il vendit son carrosse: de là il se rendit à la *Haye*, où il se trouva souvent avec le secretaire de l'ambassadeur de l'A-----, qui fut alors à *Aix la Chapelle* ainsi avec le secretaire de M. le D---- de C-----. Il falloit aller à *Amstredam*, où un nommé *Peter Imma* lui fournit la somme de 80 guineas sur des lettres de credit, ou billets déchange. De là il s'embarqua pour *Hambourg*, il y resta cinq semaines, après il s'est en aller dans la *Suéde*, de là à *Revel*, à *Petersbourg*, où il resta cinq jours; il s'embarqua pour *Seville*, il y resta une semaine; de là, il s'en vas à *Madrid*, il y resta huit jours; la reine lui donna de l'argent deux fois. De *Madrid* il se rendit à *Lisbon*, où il à

demuré tres mois. Le pere *Carboni*, Jesuite *Neapolitène*, lui donna dix crusadoes. Le pere *Joseph Riter*, Jesuite *Allemagne*, confesseur de la reine, lui donna six crusadoes: il voyagoit à bien d'autres villes pour aller à *Rome*: il a fait à *Rome* un s'ejour de neuf mois, en l'année mille sept cent quarante neuf, il partit de *Rome* pour *Brussels*. Il a reste dans le *Pais Bas* et dans la *Flandres* jusqu' à l'année mille sept cent cinquante.

23 NOVEMBRE, 1758.

Le mois *d'Avril* mille sept cent cinquante se trouvant à *Bruges*, il y rencontra un nommé *Dumont*, Jesuite *François* venu *d'Allemagne*: ils ont signé un contract en semble pour aller en *Angleterre*. J'étois attrapé par les Jesuites dit-il, qui sont des diables pour l'artifice; nonobstant, je les aime à l'égard de leur esprit et de leurs ruses, et parceque ils ne me laissoient jamais manquer de l'argent: j'en ai eu plus qu'il m'en a fallut. *Dumont* continue t-il dans ce tems là me donna 200 guineas. Aiant fait des preparatifs pour notre voyage, j'étois habillé en negocian, et *Dumont* pareillement. *Dumont* s'embarqua à *Ostend*, et mois à *Calais*: peu de jours après, c'est à dire dans le mois de *Maï* mille sept cent cinquante, nous nous trouvames à *Londre*. Je me suis logé à l'enseigne de la *Tête du Grand Turque*, près de *Soho*, où je demeurois neuf mois: après les premiers trois mois, *Dumont* s'en alla en *Allemagne*: à son départ de *Londres*, il afficha son nom sur la grand porte de la chapelle de l'ambassadeur de l'empreur, qu'il étoit mort, de faire priér le monde pour son ame il étoit un homme très habille, plein d'esprit, la vivacité, la vie et l'ame de touts les Jesuites. Quelquefois il amenoit une femelle en compagnie, qu'il a fait passé pour sa femme: plusieurs Jesuites y firent la même chose: on se servit d'elles

pour deguiser leurs affaires et rendez-vous, car il y eut alors à *Londre* plus de cinq cent Jésuites. Il n'y a rien au monde, continua-t-il en riant: si jolie, que de voir, et savoir les artifices de ces messieurs; quand on a quelque chose à faire avec eux. Quelquefois, ils passent pour des négocians des marchands, maîtres d'hôtels, aubergeists, fermiers, et de chaque métier: ils affectent l'ignorance pour masquer leur desseins. Je ne puis pas m'empêcher de dire que j'ai beaucoup souffert par rapport à eux, mais j'eus beaucoup de plaisir avec eux. Un jour, dit-il je présentais un poème au roi en entrant la grande chambre du parlement, mais il refusa de l'accepter: en suite je l'ai présenté au comte de *H--- G--- C---*, qui la mit en sa poche. J'étois avec le d--- de *C----*, l'archevêque de, et Ma. la--- c---- esse de *Y---*. Elle me donna de l'argent. J'ai publié quelques livres imprimés à *Londre*: il y en avoit de brûlés à la *Bourse Royal*. On donna promesse de récompense de me faire arrêter; après quoi, je me suis embarqué à *Dover*, aiant d'abord reçu environ cent louis pour mon voyage, du secrétaire du provincial.

Février mille sept cent cinquante et une, j'arrivois à *Calais*, et delà à *Brusselles*, où je fis ma cour au nonce du pape, il avoit avec lui un Jésuite déguisé, et qui m'a dit-il beaucoup de politesse, le nonce, commença, la troisième fois que je fus chez lui de me reprocher mon voyage. Peu de jours après, l'évêque de *Bruges* m'ordonna de faire pénitence dans l'église des Capucins à *Ostend* pour quinze jours: on donna ma paroisse à un autre prêtre; mais je n'ai jamais passé quinze jours avec plus d'agrémens, ni plus de plaisirs. Après avoir quitté *Ostend*, je demurai dans le *Pais Bas*, quelquefois à *Brusselles*, quelquefois à *Bruges*, près de quatre mois.

Dans le mois de *Juin* ou *Juillet* mille sept cent cinquante et

une, je me suis embarqué à *Ostend*, habillé en matelot *Ecossois*: j'eus alors deux cent louis. Arrivé à *Londres*, je fus logé à *Whitechapel*, où j'achetois toutes sortes d'habits, des plus magnifiques, avec une épée. Après y avoir resté quelque semaines, je pris un appartement à *Towerhill*, où je demurai jusqu'au mois de *Juillet*, pendant ce tems là je passois mon tems avec les Jesuites, et leurs amis en toute sorte d'agrément avec une variété de plaisirs de toute espèce.

Habillé en bleu, épée à côte, je fis un discours publiquement aux négocians et autres personnes, à la *Bourse Royal*, par rapport à leur loix, et de les exhorter à une religion universelle: on m'avertit de quitter le royaume. Un *Juif*, qui demuroit alors avec Mons. le duc de *Mirepoix*, vint me conseiller de sortir du royaume. Je lui repondis que je ne me souciois point de personne, même des ministres; parceque je connoissois bien les loix *d'Angleterre*, et que je n'avois rein à craindre.

Dans le mois de *Juillet* mille sept cent cinquante trois, je me suis embarqué avec deux Jesuites, nommes pere *Le Grand*, et pere *Finion* (ou qui s'appellerent de la sorte) nous arrivames au *Havre de Grace*. Nous y restames environ trois semaines. *Le Grand* et moi nous primes des chevaux de poste pour *Roan*. *Finion* me dit qu'il vouloit écrire à sa majesté à *Versailles*, à la reine, et à Mons. le dauphin. Nous fumes caressés partout par les Jesuites, qui nous faisoient toujours compagnie; m'étant arrivé à *Roan* je me suis embarqué sur un vaisseaux *Hollandois* pour *Amsterdame*.

24 NOVEMBRE, 1758.

Je fis un séjour à *Amsterdame* jusqu'au mois de *Septembre* mille sept cent cinquante trois: alors j'enai partis par le canal

dans un scoot à *Diventre*; delà à *Bentham*, à *Lingen*, à *Berlin*, delà à *Potzdam*, où j'eus l'honneur de parler deux ou trois fois au roi. Je passois pour un négociant *Italien*, et pendant la course de tous-mes voyages je passois sous des différens caractères, quelquefois gros négociant, quelquefois gentilhomme qui eut le malheur de perdre son bien, quelquefois prêtre, quelquefois marchand de plusieurs sorts de marchandizée selon le cas.

De *Potzdam* je voyagois par *Tallagh* et d'autres villages à *Munster*, où je me reposois jusqu'au vingt neuf d'*Août* mille sept cent cinquante quatre. J'en ai parti alors, et je voyagois par *Dusseldorp*, *Cologn*, *Bonn*, *Treves*, *Mayence*, *Frankjort*, *Hanno*, et à *Lunenbourg*. J'y restois quelque tems et causois souvent avec le ministre du roi de *Prusse*. Delà je voyagois à *Nurembourg*, alors je m'appellai *Aaron Hamilton*.

Janvier mille sept cent cinquante cinq, j'arrivai à *Gansenhause*n, j'y rencontrais le margrave de *Brandebourg Anspack*. J'étois avec ce prince tout le jour trois fois à la comedie: à mon départ il me donna de l'argent. Après j'étois avec le margrave de *Brandebourg Bareith*, qui m'a aussi donné de l'argent. Après je voyagois à *Vienne*: pendant mon séjour dans cette ville, j'étois souvent chez les ambassadeurs du roi de *Prusse*, d'*Angleterre*, et d'*Hollande*. En fin, on m'a amis en prison, et on se saisit de tous mes papier. Quoi qu'il en soit, j'eus ma délivrance le second du mois de *Juillet* mille sept cent cinquante cinq, et on me conduisit par une garde hors des domaines *Autrichiennes*.

Septembre mille sept cent cinquante cinq, j'arrivai à *Jenna*, où j'ai passé l'hiver; et dans le mois d'*Avril* mille sept cent cinquante six, je me suis trouvé auprès le duc de *Weimar* en *Saxe*, qui m'a aussi donné de l'argent; et qu'après l'avoir

quitté, je voyagai par bien d'autres villes et villages jusqu'à la fin du mois *d'AOût* mille sept cent cinquante six, que l'on me fit sortir de la ville de *Strasbourg*, dans laquelle j'avois resté quelques jours. Après cet malheur inopiné, je voyagai par la *Burgogne*, la *Lorraine*, *l'Alsace*, et autres villes de sorte, qu'étant arrivé à *Paris* sur le treize *d'Octobre* mille sept cent cinquante six, je me suis logé dans la rue *Saint Honoré*, en chambre garnie; d'où je fis un voyage à *Fontainebleau* le dix neuf *d'Octobre*, où j'étois fait prisonnier.

26 NOVEMBRE, 1758.

Hamilton écrivit une liste de plusieurs noms empruntés, que les *Jesuites* à *Londre* se donnent pour masquer leurs desseins: la liste des sommes qu'il à reçu pour la depense de ses voyages. Il montre une envie d'écrire à Mons. *St. Florentin*, et au pere superieur des *Jesuites*. Il a dit qu'il n'y a point de *Jesuite* en *Europe*, qui ne sache son sort: que tous ces messieurs qui se trouvent en *Angleterre* sont devoués au ministre; qu'il y en à parmi eux des *Allemandes*, des *François*, des *Flamands*, des *Hollandois*; et des qu'il écrira au superieur, il niéra peut être de le connoitre.

27 NOVEMBRE, 1758.

Aujourd'hui il envoya une lettre au superieur dont la suivante est copie, mot a mot.

“Très Reverend Pere,

“J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire trois fois depuis mon malheur d'être icy, fans avoir aucune réponse de votre Réverence. Je mande humblement la grace de vouloir bien travailler à ma délivrance, et d'avoir la bonté d'écrire au reverend pere *Joseph Dumont*, où il se trouve soit en *Allemagne*, *Pologne*, on ailleurs, de me faire tenir de l'argent, car je fuis dans un pauvre état. J'espère que la compagnie de *Jésus* si illustre aura quelque attention sur mon cas. En

attendant cette grace, je demeure avec un très profond respect,

“Très Reverend Pere,
“Votre très humble, et
“Très obeissant serviteur,
“LAURENT HAMILTON.”

On envoya cette lettre comme les autres au ministre, de 12 pages. *Bertin* a la direction de tout.

28 NOVEMBRE, 1758.

Dans la lettre écrite au minister, il parle beaucoup d'une nommée *Lucie Vivens*, qui se servit quelquefois du nom d'*Eliz. Gray*; qu'elle étoit une autre espionne envoyée par les Jesuites à ma rencontre; elle a bien gagné par rapport à moi dit-il; elle étoit belle comme l'amour, mais je ne la touchai pas; elle étoit toujours avec *Dumont*; il en a ris beaucoup en disant les diables de politiques: à la *Haye* elle étoit avec le d--- de C---- et son secretaire. En lisant la liste, il rit beaucoup au nom de gouverneur de *Syracuse*, Mons. *Baltasar*: tout le *Lundi*, il est Protestant; *Mardi*, Lutherein; *Mecredi*, Presbeterien; *Juedi*, Juif; *Vendredi*, Calviniste; *Semedi*, Trembleur: qu'aussi tot arrivé à *Londres*, il se rendroit chez l--- *H----* de lui counter son cas.

30 NOVEMBRE, 1758.

Il dit qu'il avoit travaillé à *Londrés*, et en *Allemagne*, pour la religion universelle, et à la cause commune; qu'il eut été avec Mons. *Keith* à *Vienne*; que la *France* étoit une notion, indigne d'être servie; que la reine étoit bien à plaindre: le r--- une bête amené par une putain: nos Jesuites continnat-il sont comme une grande chaine bien firmée, et étendue dans chaque royaume de *l'Europe*.

Il dit bien de choses du vieux p----- et de le jeune; que le

dernier eut rependu qu'il fut venu en *France* pour l'assassiner, par l'intelligence qu'il en avoit recû de *Londres*; et que l'on lui avoit refusé le sacrement, avant que de se sauver, par son ordre: mais dit-il je me fous de lui et de toute sa fou tée race: que s'il eut sa liberté son premier voyage ce seroit au primat du *Païs Pas*, qui deteste les *François*, après à la princesse G----, après au comte de H----, d--- C----, &c. Que le martire *Damiens* s'il ent pousse son couteau un peu plus loin, il auroit fait son affaire, et que après avoir manqué son coup, s'il eut baissé son chapeau, il auroit pu échaper; mais il fut troublé et qu'il étoit bête d'avoir tant d'argent comme 50 louis dans sa poche lorsqu'il ne devoit en avoir plus que dix ou doze franes: cependant comme on scait tout à la cour moyennant l'intelligence en *Angleterre* j'écrirai ma confession avec franchise peût être le p---- me donnera une pardon; si non, j'aimerois mieux mourir que vivre icy en tout cas je m'en fous de lui et je meprise leurs tourmens.

2 DECEMBRE, 1758.

Il écrivit sa confession les larmes aux yeux il en écrivit deux.

4 DECEMBRE, 1758.

Il envoya une au ministre l'autre au pretendant dans lesquelles il raconte les noms des personnes; dans cette affaire (comme il pretends). Il fait un aveu du crime, et qu'il eut donné l'indulgence qu'il ent recûe du pape pour lui et plusieurs autres au c---- de H----, qui la garde.

La LISTE des NOMS EMPRUNTES Ou REELS JESUITES à *Londre*.

M. *Joseph Dumont*, general de Charles Sixième, empereur.

M. *Baltazer*, gouverneur de Syracuse pour le roi d'Espagne.

M. *Chantillon*, secretaire de general Dumont.

Son excellence le comte de *Turin*.

M. *Enfug*, maréchal de logis, joaillier rue Strand, à Londres.

M. *Bennet*, major du regiment Lossoriosse.

M. *Peneda*, Espagniole, capitaine du même regiment.

M. *Max*, courier.

M. *Menu*, venant d'Espagne.

M. *Madow*, labaretier.

M. *Cavenagh*, pilot.

M. *Roosemont*, avant courier.

M. *Gryspere*, baron en Allemagne.

M. *Knuyds*, fils d'un grand fils d'un des Etats Généraux de la Hollande.

M. *Beirnes*, maitre de langues.

M. *Lambert*, écrivain.

M. *Baroon*, marchand de vin.

M. *Softmanu*, banquier à Londres.

M. *Hamilton*, worthy bishop, digne évêque.

M. *Peterson*, medecin à Jêná en Saxe Weimar dans l'université.

M. *Smiets*, historien de la même université.

M. *Grose*, gazetier de Christianerlang en Brandebourg.

M. *Horseman*, pédégoe de différence gentishoments de Saxe Gotha à Jênâ.

- M. *Caldsmith*, medecin en Allemagne.
- M. *Jos. Riter*, margrave à Lisburn, confesseur à la reine.
- M. *Fredenrych*, mathematician à Copenhagen et à Leipsic.
- M. *De Grootte*, philosophe à la Haye.
- M. *Fashy*, apothecaire à Jêná, maria sept fois.
- M. *Gamba Courta*, oculiste à Nurembourg.
- M. *Gordelleti*, grand Lutherien à Jêná.
- M. *Angman*, recteur magnifique à Alsdorff.
- M. *Tobis*, portier à Augsbourg.
- M. *Anche*, pasteur à Ratisbon.

Fait à *Bicêtre*, 30 Novembre, 1758.

LISTE des SOMMES pour des VOYAGES

	Louis.		
En arrivant à Paris	550	0	0
Recû chez Turton le banquier, place Victoire	12	10	6
A Nantes	80	0	0
A Gand	25	0	0
A Gand, M. Emore, 900 livres, environ	37	10	6
A Amsterdam, de Peter Imma	25	0	0
A Hambourg, de M. Stargue	16	5	0
A Copenhagen, de M. Beuhorn	50	0	0
A Venise, de M. Haudio	8	8	0
A Maline, de M. Rombo et Matisin	9	0	0
En Hollande, de la P-- G--	3	0	0
En Westphalia	12	0	0
A Gottenbourg	15	0	0
	843	14	0

	Louis.		
	843	14	0
En Italie	20	0	0
En Portugal, des crusades, environ	100	0	0
A Gênes	6	0	0
En Portugal encore	7	0	0
A Amsterdam	13	10	6
A Bruges, de Dumont 84 ducats	42	0	0
A la Haye	200	0	0
A Londres	75	0	0
A Londres encore	54	0	0
A Ostend	437	0	0
Lettres d'échange	47	0	0
De même	300	0	0
De même en Hollandois	31	0	0
Merchandize	559	0	0
A Genève	18	0	0
En Allemagne	89	0	0
A Londres encore	49	0	0
	<hr/>		
	2891	4	6

Dumont, dit il, a eu bien d'avantage; mais il est si rusé et si fin, qu'il ne dira j'amaïs à personne combien.

A TRANSLATION of the said EXTRACTS
of LETTERS to Mr. *Berlin*, with regard
to the discoveries of *Hamilton*,
otherwise *Phlins*, at *Bicêtre*.

N. B. *This man's name in Flemish was Vlieghe.*

21st NOVEMBER, 1758.

My LORD *,

I HAVE the honour to write to you, that my neighbour was shut up last night in a room, which is within mine. On his coming in, I did not care to speak to him. In a minute or two, he asked me what countryman I was: I made him such answer as he deserved. He was then locked up: an hour after, he began to sing.

At six this morning, he began again to sing. The captain of the prison (the gaoler) being come up, told me, that my neighbour was a clergyman. I then behaved with more politeness to him, and we began to be good friends. He told me, he was born at *Ostend*; that he was fifty-one years of age; that he had been educated at *Louvain*, at the College Major; and that, during his younger years, he was also at a college at *Ostend*, and in another at *Bruges*. He told me the manner by which, and how he had made his escape, *viz.* by sheets lent to him by father *Fleuriau*, one of the honestest men living the misfortune of his fall; that he had made several journies, and that he formerly had a parish at *Dixmude*, near *Ostend*.

* *Benin* was at this time lieutenant-general of the police. When he is addressed in what concerns his office, it is commonly by the above title; when otherwise, simple Mr. *Bertin*.

22d NOVEMBER, 1758.

This day, having discoursed a good deal with *Hamilton*, he told me, that he had set out from his parish, and began his first journey for *Paris* the eighth of *April*, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, in his own coach, two very fine horses, and his own coachman.

He had for his journey five hundred guineas, also bills of exchange and letters of credit for considerable sums; one of which bills was on a person called *Turton*, who lived at the place *Victoire* at *Paris*: his other bills were on different persons and places. He had staid some few days at *Lisle*; but being arrived at *Paris* in the month of *May*, he went to lodge at the *hôtel d'Espagne*, afterwards at the *hôtel de la Grande Bretagne*, and spent at least eighteen livres a-day.

That, during the time he staid at *Paris*, which was about three or four months, he got acquainted with several persons of distinction. From *Paris* he went to *Orleans*, to *Tours*, to *Bourdeaux*, to *Marseilles*, and to other towns; and that, being returned to *Paris*, he fell sick.

As soon as he recovered his health, he went to *Flanders*; from thence to the *Hague*, where he was often in company with the secretary of the e--- of *E----*, who was then at *Aix*, and with the secretary of the d--- of *C-----*. From thence he was obliged to go to *Amsterdam*, where a person named *Peter Imma* advanced him the sum of eighty guineas on letters of credit or bills of exchange: from thence he went to *Hamburg*, and staid there five weeks: afterwards he went to *Sweden*, from thence to *Revel*, from thence to *Petersburgh*, where he staid five days. He embarked for *Seville*, where he staid a week; from thence he went to *Madrid*, where he staid

eight days, and the queen gave him money at two different times: from *Madrid* he went to *Lisbon*, where he staid three months; and father *Carboni*, a *Neapolitan* Jesuit, gave him ten crusadoes. Father *Joseph Riter*, a *German* Jesuit, confessor to the queen, gave him six crusadoes. He travelled through several other towns in his way to *Rome*. He continued nine months at *Rome*; and in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, he set out from *Rome* to go to *Brussels*. He staid in the *Low Countries* and in *Flanders* till the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty.

23d NOVEMBER, 1758.

In the month of *April* one thousand seven hundred and fifty, being at *Bruges*, he there met one *Dumont*, a *French* Jesuit arrived from *Germany*: they signed a contract together to go to *England*. I was taken in, said he, by the *Jesuits*, who are devils for artifice: nevertheless, I love them for their wit and their tricks, and because they never did let me want money. I had more than I had occasion for, at this time, continues he. *Dumont* gave me two hundred guineas. Having got every thing ready for our journey, I was dressed as a merchant, and *Dumont* likewise. *Dumont* embarked at *Ostend*, and I at *Calais*. A few days after, that is to say, in the month of *May*, we met at *London*. I lodged at the *Turk's Head*, near *Soho*, where I lived nine months. Three months after our arrival, *Dumont* went to *Germany*. At his departure from *London*, he fixed up a writing at the chapel door of the emperor's ambassador, signifying he was dead, and desiring the prayers of all good Christians for the repose of his soul. He was a most ingenious man, full of wit and sprightliness, the life and soul of all the other Jesuits.

Sometimes he brought a female with him into company,

whom he made pass for his wife. Many of the Jesuits did the same; they made a convenience of them to disguise their affairs, and to prevent their places of meeting from being suspected. There was at that time at *London* above five hundred Jesuits.

There is nothing in the world, continued he; laughing, so pleasant as to see and know the artifices of these gentlemen, when one has any thing to do with them. Sometimes they pass for merchants, tradesmen, stewards, publicans, farmers, and of every kind of trade. They affect ignorance, to mask their designs. I cannot help saying, that I have suffered a great deal by them, but I have had a great deal of pleasure with them. I presented a poem one day to the k--- as he was going into p-----, but he refused to accept of it. I afterwards presented it to l--- H---- H---- E----, who put it in his pocket. I was with the d--- of C-----, a----p of C-----, the c--- of Y----. She gave me some money. I published some books at *London*; there were some of them burned at the *Royal Exchange*. A reward was offered to take me up; upon which I embarked at *Dover*, having first received about an hundred guineas for my journey from the provincial secretary.

February one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, I arrived at *Calais*, and went to *Brussels*, where I made my court to the pope's nuncio. He had a Jesuit in disguise with him, who behaved to me with great politeness. The third time I was with the nuncio in his apartment, he began to reproach me, upon account of my voyage. A few days after, the bishop of *Bruges* ordered me to do penance in the church of the Capuchins at *Ostend* for fifteen days: he gave my parish to another clergyman; but in all my life I never passed fifteen days more agreeably, or with more pleasure. After leaving

Ostend, I continued near four months in the *Low Countries*, sometimes at *Bruges*, and sometimes at *Brussels*.

In the month of *June* or *July* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, I embarked at *Ostend*, dressed as a *Scotch* sailor. I had then two hundred guineas. Arriving at *London*, I went to lodge at *Whitechapel*, and bought myself several rich suits of cloaths and a sword. After staying there some weeks, I took lodgings on *Towerhill*, where I staid till *July* following; during which time, I associated with the Jesuits and their friends in every thing agreeable, and partook of all sort of pleasure.

Dressed in blue, a sword by my side, I made a public discourse to the merchants and many other persons, on the *Royal Exchange*, with respect to their laws, and to exhort them to universal religion. I was advised to quit the kingdom. A *Jew*, who lived with the duke *de Mirepoix* (the *French* ambassador) came to me, and gave me advice to leave the kingdom. I told him, I was not afraid of any body, even of the ministers; for that I knew very well the laws of *England*, and that I had nothing to fear.

In the month of *July* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, I embarked with two Jesuits, named father *Le Grand* and father *Finion* (or who called themselves so). We arrived at *Havre de Grace*: there we staid three weeks or thereabouts. *Le Grand* and I took post-horses for *Rohan*. *Finion* told me he would write to the king at *Versailles*, to the queen, and to the dauphin. We were caressed by all the Jesuits, with whom we were always in company. At *Rohan* I embarked in a *Dutch* vessel for *Amsterdam*.

24th NOVEMBER, 1758.

I staid at *Amsterdam* till *September* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three. I then left it, and went by the canal in a scout to *Diventer*; from thence to *Bentham*, to *Lingen*, to *Berlin*, and from thence to *Potzdam*, where I had the honour to speak two or three times to the king of *Prussia*. I passed sometimes for an *Italian* merchant, sometimes for a wholesale merchant, in these journies, under different characters; sometimes for a gentleman, who had had the misfortune to have lost his substance; sometimes for a clergyman, sometimes for a merchant of different kinds of merchandize) as the case required.

From *Potzdam* I went by *Tallagh* and other towns to *Munster*, where I rested until the twenty-ninth of *August* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four: I then left it, and travelled by *Dusseldorp*, *Cologn*, *Bonn*, *Treves*, *Mayence*, *Francfort*, *Hanau*, to *Lunenburgh*. I staid there some time, and often conversed with the minister of the king of *Prussia*: from thence I travelled to *Nuremburgh*, where I called myself *Aaron Hamilton*.

January one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, I arrived at *Gansenhause*n, where I met the margrave of *Brandenburgh Anspach*. I was with this prince every day, and two or three times at the comedy. At my departure he gave me some money. I was afterwards with the marquis of *Brandenburgh Bareith*, who also gave me some money. I went after this to *Vienna*. During my stay in this city, I was often at the *P---*, *E---*, and *D---* ambassadors: in fine, I was apprehended, and confined in prison, and all my papers seized. However it be, I got my liberty the second of *July* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, and was conducted by a guard out of the *Austrian* dominions.

September one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, I arrived at *Jenna*, where I passed the winter; and in the month of *April* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, I went to the duke of *Weimar's* in *Saxony*, who also gave me money; and after quitting him, I travelled through many towns and villages, till the latter end of *August* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six; at which time I was turned out of the town of *Strasburgh*, in which I had staid some days: after which, I travelled through *Alsace*, *Lorraine*, *Burgundy*, and other places. Being arrived at *Paris* the thirteenth of *October* one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, I took a ready furnished room in *St. Honora* street; from thence I went, the nineteenth of *October*, to *Fountainbleau*, where I was apprehended, and made a prisoner.

26th NOVEMBER, 1758.

Hamilton wrote a list of several borrowed names, which the Jesuits at *London* give themselves to mask their designs; a list of the sums he received for the expences of his journies. He shewed a desire to write to the count *St. Florentin*, and to the superior of the Jesuits. He said, there is not a Jesuit in *Europe* but what knows his lot; that all those gentlemen, who are in *England*, are devoted to the minister; that there are *Germans*, *French*, *Flemish*, and *Dutch*, amongst them; and should he write to the superior, he perhaps would deny that he knows him.

27th NOVEMBER, 1758.

This day he sent a letter to the superior, of which the following is an exact copy.

“MOST REVEREND FATHER,

“I have had the honour to write to you three times since I

had the misfortune to be here, without receiving any answer from your Reverence. I humbly request the favour of you, to be so good as to endeavour to get me my liberty, and to have the goodness to write to the Reverend Father *Joseph Dumont*, wherever he is, whether in *Germany, Poland*, or elsewhere, to get him to send me some money, for I am in a very poor condition. I hope that the illustrious *company* of *Jesus* will have some attention to my case. In expectation of this favour, I remain, with the most profound respect,

“Most Reverend Father,

“Your, &c.

“LAWRENCE HAMILTON.”

This letter was sent to the minister (*St. Florentin*) like the others (one of 12 pages). *Bertin* had the direction of all.

28th NOVEMBER, 1758.

In the letter wrote to the minister, he speaks very much of one called *Lucy Vivens*, who sometimes passed by the name of *Elizabeth Gray*; that she was another spy sent by the Jesuits to meet him. She has got a great deal on my account, said he: she was as handsome as love itself, but I did not touch her: she was always with *Dumont*. He laughed heartily at it, on saying the devilish politics. At the *Hague* (he was with the d--- of C----- and his secretary. In reading the list, he laughed much at the name of the governor of *Syracusa*, Mr, *Baltaser*: every *Monday* he is a Protestant; *Tuesday*, a *Lutheran*; *Wednesday*, a Presbyterian; *Thursday*, a *Jew*; *Friday*, a *Calvinist*; *Saturday*, a Quaker. That as soon as ever he arrived in *London*, he would go to l--- H-----’s to tell him his case.

30th NOVEMBER, 1758.

He says, he laboured at *London*, and in *Germany*, for an universal religion, and the common cause; that he had been with Mr. *Keith* at *Vienna*; that *France* was a bad nation, and unworthy of being served; that the queen was much to be pitied; the k--- was a fool, led by a w-----. Our Jesuits, said he, are like a great chain well fastened, and extended through every kingdom in *Europe*.

He said many things of the old and young p-----; that the latter had given out, that he was come to *France* to assassinate him, by the intelligence he had received of it from *London*; and that they had refused him the sacrament, by his orders, before he made his escape; but, said he, I despise him, and all his dirty race: that if he had his liberty, his first journey should be to the primate of the *Low Countries*, who hates the *French*; afterwards to the princess *G----*, afterwards to the e--- of *H-----* and d--- of *C-----*, and others: that the martyr *Damiens*, if he had pushed his knife a little further, he would have done his business; and that after having failed in the attempt, if he had but taken off his hat, he might have escaped; but that he was frightened, and was a fool to have fifty guineas in his pocket, when he ought not to have had more than ten or twelve livres. Notwithstanding, as every thing is known at court, by the intelligence they have in *England*, I'll write my confession with freedom. Perhaps the pretender will pardon me: if not, I would rather die than live here. Be it as it may, I am not afraid of him, and I despise their torments.

2d DECEMBER, 1758.

He wrote his confession with the tears in his eyes. He wrote two of them.

4th DECEMBER, 175&.

He sent one to the minister, the other to the pretender; in which he set forth the names of the persons concerned in this affair (as he pretended). He acknowledged his crime; and that he had given the indulgence, which he had received from the pope for himself and several others, to the earl of *H----*, who kept it.

A LIST of the BORROWED or REAL NAMES of
the; JESUITS at *London*.

Mr. *Joseph Dumont*, general to the emperor Charles VI.

Mr. *Baltazer*, governor of Syracuse for the king of Spain.

Mr. *Chantillion*, secretary to general Dumont.

His excellency the count of Turin.

Mr. *Enfug*, marshal of lodgings, a jeweller in the Strand,
London.

Mr. *Bennet*, major of the regiment of Lossorio.

Mr. *Peneda*, a Spaniard, captain in the same regiment.

Mr. *Max*, a courier.

Mr. *Menu*, come from Spain.

Mr. *Meadow*, a publican.

Mr. *Cavenagh*, a pilot.

Mr. *Roosemont*, a running footman.

Mr. *Gryssperre*, a German baron.

Mr. *Knuyds*, son of a grandson to one of the States-General in
Holland.

Mr. *Beirnes*, master of languages.

Mr. *Lambert*, a scrivener.

Mr. *Baroon*, a wine-merchant.

Mr. *Softmanu*, a banker at London.

Mr. *Hamilton*, a worthy bishop.

Mr. *Peterson*, physician of the university of Jena in Saxe
Weimar.

Mr. *Smith*, historian of the same university.

Mr. *Grosse*, gazateer in Christianberlang in Brandenburgh.

Mr. *Horseman*, schoolmaster to several gentlemen of Saxe Gotha at Jena.

Mr. *Caldsmith*, a German doctor.

Mr. *Joseph Riter*, margrave at Lisburn, queen's confessor.

Mr. *Fredehryck*, a mathematician Copenhagen and Leipsic.

Mr. *De Groote*, a philosopher at the Hague.

Mr. *Fashy*, an apothecary at Jena, married seven times.

Mr. *Gamba Courta*, an oculist at Nurembourg.

Mr. *Gordolleti*, a great Lutheran at Jena.

Mr. *Angman*, a magnificent rector at Alsdorff.

Mr. *Tobus*, porter at Osburgh.

Mr. *Anche*, a pastor at Ratisbon.

Signed at *Bicêtre*, 30th November, 1758.

LISTE of the SUMS for the JOURNIES

	Guineas.*		
On arriving at Paris	550	0	0
Received from Mr. Turton, the banker place Victoire	12	10	6
At Nantes	80	0	0
At Ghent	25	0	0
Ditto, Mr. Emore, 900 livres, about	37	10	6
At Amsterdam, from Peter Imma	25	0	0
At Hamburgh, from Mr. Stargue	16	5	0

* N. B. *Hamilton*, as do most of the *French*, count always in louis; which signifies guineas.

At Copenhagen, from Mr. Beuhorn	50	0	0
At Venice, from Mr. Haudio	8	8	0
At Mecklin, from Mr. Rombo and Mastien	9	0	0
At Holland, from the P-- G--	3	0	0
At Westphalia	12	0	0
At Gottenburgh	15	0	0
	843	14	0
	Guineas.		
	843	14	0
In Italy	20	0	0
In Portugal, crusadoes to the amount of about	100	0	0
At Genoa	6	0	0
In Portugal again	7	0	0
At Amsterdam	13	10	6
At Bruges, from Dumont 84 ducats	42	0	0
At the Hague	200	0	0
At London	75	0	0
At London again	54	0	0
At Ostend	437	0	0
Bills of exchange	47	0	0
Ditto	300	0	0
Ditto on Holland	31	0	0
Merchandize	559	0	0
At Geneva	18	0	0
In Germany	89	0	0
At London again	49	0	0
	2891	4	6

Dumont, says he, had much more; but he is so cunning and artful, that he never would tell me how much.

After he had signed and sealed his confession, and finished all his examination, he was asked, if Mr. *Pitt* or Mr. *Fox* had any knowledge of, or concern in the business? To which he answered, he was sure they had not; and that he had never

seen either of them. Which answer I sent to the ministry: but he said, that the queen-dowager of Spain was deeply in it.

LETTER THE TWENTY-EIGHTH.

I MUST, Sir, in this place acquaint you, that about the latter end of the first week after my being with *Hamilton*, Mr. *Honnette* came to, my room to make me a short visit; when taking a letter out of his pocket, addressed to him from *Bertin* that morning, he read it to me; wherein *Bertin* intimated, he did not altogether approve of my method of examining, and expressing what a pity it was I did not write the *French* better. On reading this letter, I could not avoid smiling at the baseness of this *French* political turn and low artifice. I quickly saw by *Honnette's* countenance, that the contrary of what *Bertin* wrote was his real opinion; *Honnette* smiling also at the same time, on seeing I perceived the irony of the letter, and the meanness of *Bertin's* design, which I instantly considered as a preparative for avoiding the promises he had made me, in the king his master's name, and as a pretence to elude them, and so prepare me for the fraudulent payment, he, to his eternal scandal and dishonour designed, and afterwards by his secretary attempted to impose upon me, for satisfaction of my demands in this business, as you will see in the. Sequel, which still remains unpaid, and, I suppose, will ever continue so, whilst such persons surround the throne, holding, under the shew of the supreme authority, the power of oppressing.

You have now perused the foregoing extracts, by which you have the full account of the unfortunate *Hamilton's* journies,

enterprizes, &c. Whether these accounts are true or false in the whole, or any and what part, I am not, I hope, in the least responsible. I have faithfully given them to you as I received them from himself, and as they were communicated to the *French* ministers by me, on the respective days of their date, and with impatience received by them, after their using the political schemes and arts before mentioned, in order to obtain them, without speaking of the expence they put the king to for that purpose; and as I communicated them to the *English* ministers soon after my arrival at *London*, three years before I had any thoughts of publishing them.

I must now acquaint you with a circumstance not before recited, which is, that having asked *Hamilton* the reason of his taking that name preferable to any other, when his real name was *Vlieghe*, he told me, that it was true that his mother was married to one *Vlieghe*, a *Fleming*, before he came into the world, and that he was born in that wedlock; but that a gentleman, who had served as an officer in the *English* army in *Flanders*, during the latter end of queen *Anne's* wars, and retired to *Ostend*, whose name was *Hamilton*, and of honourable family, had contracted an intimacy with, and affection for his mother, and she the like for him; that she never could endure *Vlieghe*; that proving with child, and being brought to bed (of which he was the unhappy offspring) the neighbours in general believed him to be, and always regarded him as the fruit of their correspondence; from whence he took the name, and always looked upon himself as a real *Hamilton*.

He said, that he suspected me to be one of the ministers or under ministers (a title, I told him, to which I had no pretension) come to examine him; and that he was

determined to make no scruple to declare every thing touching the cause of his confinement; for he was persuaded and convinced, that every demarche he had made at *London* or elsewhere was known at court, and had been communicated to the young pretender by his friends in *England*. I know, says he, I have no chance, unless by making a full and candid confession, which I will send to court. If he has any generosity-or mercy in him, he will then of himself pardon me, and procure me my liberty, since I have done him no harm. I have committed no crime against *France*; yet I am her prisoner, though not her subject, or subject to her laws. I will ask no mercy. By my confession, it may induce him the sooner to grant it, if he has any compassion in him, as he will now know his enemies, if he has not known them before. But if, contrary to my hopes, he should have neither pity nor compassion for me, I am ready to die; I would rather do so than live here. I will send two of those confessions to the ministers, that they may send him one of them.

Whilst he wrote his confession, he wept bitterly several times, saying, he was a lost man, if mercy was not shewn him. In this confession, which consisted of a recapitulation of what is recited in the foregoing letters, he set forth, that the motive of making such confession was not for the hope of life, but from conscience and sorrow; that he had been drawn into the scheme to *assassinate the young pretender* by the promise of a considerable sum, and of being made a bishop: to which he annexed a list of the names of all those, whom he knew, believed, or suspected to be privy to the project, or who had any hand or part therein; adding, that if mercy was shewn him, it would be acceptable, as it would give him time to repent of a design, the guilt of which he thereby

acknowledged. When he had inclosed, sealed, and directed those papers for the minister, he called the *captaine a la force*, to whom he delivered them, desiring they might be sent to the minister, as directed. The gaoler undertook the commission, though an utter stranger to the contents; and carrying them directly to Mr. *Honnette*, they were accordingly sent, and duly received by the ministers.

Confessions of this kind, how far they should be regarded, I must submit to the learned and judicious to determine. Here we behold a man long suffering under the cruelties and oppressions of the severest bondage, shut up under a dreadful imprisonment, endeavouring to break his own neck to obtain the liberty of going into the other world, since he could not enjoy the freedom of this, but under calamities as insupportable as inhuman: a man, who, by denying a charge, however unjust, or at most but suspicious, augmented his miseries, protracted his hopes of freedom, and his own intolerable distresses, from which his only resource was in death; unable, by the perversion of justice in despotic hands, and that hydra's head of politics, which sanctifies the most unhallowed deeds, to procure a fair or legal trial, or even to obtain the sight or assistance of any friend or acquaintance: in fine, a man by choice preferring and seeking death before life, on such terms as nature can neither support nor sustain, who is ready to say, to sign, to do every thing, or any thing to disembarass himself of a life too burthensome to bear, and who finds no ease, content, or security, but in the pleasing expectation of his own dissolution to be relieved from those sufferings.

Can we behold, I say, this man making a true, a fair confession under such circumstances, where his partiality

and interest so manifestly appear connected, that he thereby expects to put an entire end to his miseries? It is the purchase of all he desires, all he can hope, and all that is dear to him in his tremendous situation; but it is to the learned to make their decision in regard to this point. I shall only observe, that many persons in *France*, when put to the torture, have on the rack confessed themselves guilty of the crimes, with which they have been unjustly charged, choosing to embrace death rather than continue in misery; and that after execution, which immediately followed such confession, their innocence has as fully, as publicly, in the open courts of justice, most manifestly appeared.

What pity it is, that this unfortunate man's friends, neighbours or countrymen, had not some intelligence of his misfortune: or that they are not instructed with his cruel case, that enquiry may yet be made after him, since the authors of his misery are still in being. His person and figure were bold, strong, and engaging; he was very learned, had a memory beyond belief, or human imagination he spoke several languages fluently, from all which flowed a powerful elocution: and with all this he seemed to be of great vivacity and activity, quick in his conceptions, with an undaunted courage and intrepidity.

Matters being thus finished, and an order being arrived for my return, the captain came and acquainted me therewith, to my no small satisfaction, as my fears for my own life and liberty no longer then remained. I went to bid the unfortunate man a lasting adieu, he burst into tears at last, saying, I fear I shall now be starved (humanity had obliged me to supply his necessities in the articles of victuals and wine whilst I continued); as you have been so good to me

hitherto, continues he, I beg you to speak one word for me to the gaoler, not to send me to *Galbanon*; for I would rather be executed this night, if I am to die for this affair, than to be sent to that dreadful place. I sent directly for him, according to his desire, and requested the gaoler not to send him to *Galbanon*, but to indulge him for a few days to remain where he then was, adding, I hoped he would have some news in his favour within that time; but after all I could say or request in that respect, this merciless fellow gave me this answer, and this only, d--n the villain, says he, my orders are to carry him to *Galbanon* as soon as you go: if you had not staid so long, he had been there before this time: and before you are out of the great court I'll carry him to *Galbanon*. I soon left this horrid place, conducted out of the first gates by this same kind of man-eater; since which time I have never seen or heard more of him or his unfortunate prisoner. I then called on Mr. *Honnette* to bid him farewell, who said to me, I know not what you have been about, but I can tell you, I would not have gone through the danger you have done for ten thousand pounds; I have not been in that place these twenty years, but to see you. At my return home my health was very much indisposed for some time; as soon, however, as it permitted, I went to wait on *Bertin*, and afterwards to *Versailles*. The good ministers, with their profound politics, took no notice, nor spoke one word to me of all that had passed, or been communicated to them by me on this affair: I could only judge, by their looks and behaviour, that my conduct in the business gave them no room to be displeased. Having now learned the whole secret of this important affair. I could be no longer ignorant of the causes of the political and mysterious conduct of the ministers, in their several proceedings with me, as before mentioned, and of the danger

I should be exposed to, in case the business, or any part of it (so far as I had been employed in it) should transpire through any indiscretion or misconduct of mine. But as I had no apprehensions of falling under such a misfortune; yet time sliding on, no notice taken, or money offered in satisfaction of my services, my only dread was, that the ministers might, for their own secret reasons, form some false pretext, and lay it on me, to get rid of me and destroy me. I saw that the affair regarded only the young pretender, and that his most christian majesty had no part therein, unless by the connection it might have with the affair of *Damiens*: that the young pretender must have been behind the curtain, acting with *St. Florentin* and *Bertin* in planning and directing the business. I began to see they were dancing in a net, believing they could not be seen. I could not help thinking of this with pity; especially when I saw that *St. Florentin* was afraid to have his name mentioned in the business; and that *Bertin* and his secretary were also in dread, and under a panic, whenever I mentioned or hinted at any thing about that affair, and always declined speaking of it. That whenever they wrote any thing about the Jesuits, or wherein the word Jesuit was necessary to be mentioned, they never wrote it but by the initial letter, and mostly preceded by the word *pretended*, as in the following manner: “the *pretended* J---. I found neither candour, honour or generosity in any respect amongst them, particularly from the minister, from whom all those were due, and who ought to have kept the promises made by him to me, in his master and sovereign’s name, if he had any real regard for his honour, or for the sacred name of majesty, and so have prevented my suspicions, murmurings and complaints, which he could not but perceive, he had given me cause to make. He ought to have known, that promises of

ministers, made in the king their master's name, become the king's; and he ought to have remembered what that great monarch *Henry IV.* of *France* said, *viz.* "that if truth had fled from off the face of the earth, it ought nevertheless to be ever found in the mouth of a king." Is not this a fact uncontroverted? do not then kings speak by the mouths of their ministers, who should be answerable for what they say in that respect. And shall any of them be so wicked as to prostitute the royal name to promise what he never did, or meant or intended to perform? Is not this putting a falshood upon the sovereign, and a deception upon those employed in his service and name, which is thereby stained, abused and disregarded. I often thought of lord *Clancarty's* account of the pretender, and could not doubt of his knowledge, experience and veracity, in the particulars he mentioned concerning him; The only allay I had to mitigate my discontent and apprehensions at the ill behaviour I began to meet with, was, that at times I was of opinion, that letters might have been wrote by the minister or his order, to their friends, spies, or correspondents, touching *Hamilton's* discoveries and confession; copies of which, I had good reason to believe, were sent abroad; and that further proceedings and eclaircissements might follow: wherefore, till these matters were decided, it might have been thought adviseable by them not to make me any gratification, but to continue me in a state of dependence for some time longer: in which uncertainty however I was, *nolens volens*, obliged to remain, but which did not prevent my application for payment for those services, or performance of *Bertin's* promises, as you will find in my next letters, as well as in what manner those services were paid, and the promises performed.

LETTER THE TWENTY-NINTH;

WHATEVER particular knowledge the young pretender, and the ministers of *France*, might have previously had from their spies and correspondents in *England*, or elsewhere, of *Hamilton's* designs, I cannot take upon me to say. It was kept too secret to be discovered by me. Be it as it may, by his being first arrested, and for a time detained prisoner at *Vienna*; by his being afterwards turned out of *Strasburgh*, and lastly, by his being taken and confined at *Fontainbleau* on his arrival there, at which place the court and the ministers then were, and where he expected to have met, and most probably might have met, the young pretender: it seems a proof, almost beyond doubt, that *both*, from some quarter or other, had intimation of his views, and the motives of his journeys, if not at last, certain intelligence of the whole enterprize, in which he had, unluckily for himself, embarked; the execution of which, not to speak hyperbolically, he seemed bent to perform, according to every circumstance that then appeared, if it had not been prevented by his being apprehended at *Fontainbleau*, on the very day of his arrival at that place, as before mentioned; unless the whole had been a state trick.

From *Fontainbleau*, where he suffered much on his being taken, as he declared, he was transmitted prisoner to *Bicêtre*; where he remained confined until he made his escape, and was retaken and brought back, in a few days after, from the *Hôtel Dieu*, and where I was innocently decoyed and shut up in *November 1758* with him, to examine him, as is before recited, without being once regularly examined by any of the

commissaries or magistrates, as other prisoners always are, and, as is usual in such cases, within forty-eight hours after their commitment, (for which purpose such unfortunate persons are always at first conveyed into a dungeon, or place called *Au secret*, on their being brought into the prison, and there kept private, till the magistrate is directed to come to examine them) except he was examined whilst at the *Hôtel Dieu*, which does not seem very probable, as he was then in a very bad condition by his fall: so that an interval of two years and a month had expired, during which time he lay languishing under his confinement, without any apparent step being taken to interrogate him, that I could learn. Which may well, I think, be looked upon as a further proof how much the pretender, and the *French* ministers, relied on the intelligence they had received, and how well they were instructed in, and assured of *Hamilton's* intentions and designs.

It was in the month of *January*, after *Hamilton* was taken at *Fontainebleau*, that *Damiens* made his desperate attempt upon his most *christian majesty*, to whose royal virtues, to do but common justice, the least that can be said is, that he is not less worthy of the *sceptre* he holds than any of his predecessors have ever been.

His person is amiable, his natural temper obliging, and full of benevolence: his humanity and clemency, detesting every thing that is cruel, bloody, or oppressive, has secured to him the hearts and affections of his subjects nor can it be deny'd, but that the *queen*, and *dames of France* his daughters, in whom every good and virtuous action conspicuously shines, add, with the most promising hopes of his grandchildren, a splendid lustre to his crown.

On the king's being stabbed by *Damiens*, as he was stepping into his coach, he immediately drew his hand from his bosom, stained with his own blood, and said, That is the man who wounded me (pointing to the person in the crowd) who stands with his hat on. The parricide was thereupon instantly seized; on which his majesty called out not to hurt him. Which order was only regarded, till they conducted the criminal away to the guard-room, who then cried out, as the soldiers began of themselves to torture him with red-hot irons, *Prenez garde à mon seigneur le dauphin*; "Take care of my lord the Dauphin." It is unnecessary in this place to say more of that bloody attempt, but that it was whispered some time after, that some considerable persons in a neighbouring kingdom were privy to, and abettors of the design. His *majesty* would have pardoned the miserable wretch afterwards, if it had been in his power; to such a degree of mercy did his clemency carry him: but this could not be, by the laws of *France*, in such a case (as I was told) the *king's life* being considered as the right and property of his *parliament* and *people*.

Happy for this *monarch*, and for his people, happy for *England*, I may say *for Europe in general*, had some of those *persons*, who have the honour to surround his *throne*, been half so well disposed, as he is. Effusion of blood would be less frequent, and the repose and tranquillity of *Europe* less disturbed. He loves his people with a paternal affection, who very well know, that the oppressions and calamities, which many of them suffer, and are daily labouring under, by unjust imprisonment, and other acts of cruelty and despotic oppression in the undue loss of their liberty; where a man, by interest, by money, or by the caprice of a minister, may be

cast into a prison, and there, remain unrelieved, or unheard of, till he dies, without being examined or tried; even his nearest friends denied admittance to him. This and worse, the *people* know, proceeds not from the *king*; on the contrary, that he is totally unacquainted with these cruelties and insupportable severities, which for too long a time past, and even at this time, render the police of *France* thus despotically executed, under the name of royal authority, by some persons in power, as odious and intolerable as the inquisition has been in *Portugal* and *Spain*. What heightens this grievance and unhappiness, is, that as complaints to the throne cannot arrive there, but through the channel of the minister of that department, the oppressed and afflicted have but this poor consolation in expectancy, the hope of seeing, sooner or later, the removal or disgrace of the authors, many of whom enrich themselves at the expence and ruin of the unfortunate victims, and wantonly triumph in their miseries and distresses; seeing that those who ought to preserve laws and administer justice, nay who take a solemn oath so to do, are themselves, with their tools and dependents, the first to violate both, and with impunity prostitute law, justice, conscience, and honour, to gratify resentment, vengeance, or private interest. One of the greatest blessings that can attend a nation, surely, is for the *sovereign* to hear with his own ears, and see with his own eyes.

Kings and *princes*, the best, the wisest, and most upright, have been surrounded by *evil counsellors*, and so unfortunate as to have had wicked and corrupt *ministers* for their servants. But this is not the greatest evil attending such a misfortune. Great as that evil may be, there is still one greater, I think, which is, that the *sovereign*, who ought to be

the first in the nation, is commonly one of the last, to know it, especially if the person obnoxious to the *public* be in any degree of favour at court.

Unwished for as such circumstances may be, yet, if they should happen, no *prince* can be long under any difficulty in the choice of an able, just, and worthy minister, who may render his reign and his people happy. He has but to hear their voice (*vox populi vox Dei*) accept and receive him to whom they give their suffrage and applause. They are competent judges of the capacities, abilities, sentiments, connections, private and public actions and circumstances of their fellow citizen and subject, which qualify him for the important office, and which, in the shining splendour of a *court*, are too often by art concealed, or by pomp disguised. If this their choice is approved and received, all is peace and unanimity at home, the public happiness and tranquillity are assured and out of danger, the *enemy* abroad is held in respect, and the exigences or demands of the *state* are cheerfully and with profuseness supplied; for who can refuse any thing to a *sovereign* who grants to his *people* all their wishes desire?

Drove by the violent rage of seas and storms, the lofty ship ready to be lost, the frightened passengers, even the mariners themselves, court and implore the most skilful and experienced of the *crew* to guide in the greatest peril the *helm*, and bring them safe to *port*.

Many were the journies and visits, which I frequently made to *Bertin*, for some months after my leaving *Bicêtre*, in hopes of my being paid for my trouble in that business, or obtaining a performance of some of those specious promises, which he so generously bestowed on me at *Versailles*, for satisfaction

thereof. But all these visits and applications produced no other gratification or recompence, than a renewal of the like promises, altogether as deceitful and fruitless as the first, which you must believe had a due effect upon me.

On one of those occasions, he told me, *Hamilton* was a fool or a madman. I quickly perceived his drift in saying so. I concurred in his opinion, and told him, I thought so too; and I must frankly own, that I did not then think the person I spoke to less a knave, seeing the meanness and baseness of his shifts and low artifices to put off or avoid the payment, after the promises he had made mean excuse only becoming a *pousse-cul* * *au chatlet*.

Passing one day by *Buhot's* habitation, I called on him, and desired him to speak to *Bertin*, to procure me the payment of what was due to me; which he promised to do, though he never intended it. But this is common amongst his species of vermin. He drew out, however, two guineas (for my doctor) which he gave me, and desired me to give him a receipt upon account of this for *Bertin*; which I complied with; believing at the same time, that he did this only for the sake of obtaining a receipt from me, that he might know how to make another by it in my absence, in case I should leave *Paris*; which brought to my mind the old proverb, *Tel maitre tel valet*†.

Not long after this incident, I went again to wait on *Bertin* in the evening, in hopes of finding him alone and at leisure, to talk to him. On my inquiring for him, I was told, he was engaged with a bishop in his cabinet, on private business. I then went to *Duval*, his worthy director and representative,

* The worst kind and most infamous of bailiffs followers.

† Like master like man.

to have some discourse with him, in order to find out whether *Bertin* had given him any directions touching the payment of my demand; for, I knew he was entirely guided by him in those matters. I told *Duval*, it was a shame I should have so many unnecessary journies, to seek the payment of those services, which I was employed in for his *majesty*, and who was himself to take care of me, as I was assured by Mr. *Bertin*; adding, that I was sorry to find that Mr. *Bertin* had forgot the many promises he had made me on that head. As to the sequel, relative to this interview, which I flatter myself you will find pretty extraordinary, I must refer you to my next letters, being unable at this time farther to continue the narration.

LETTER THE THIRTIETH.

*D*UVAL, on hearing me express myself, as set forth in my former letter, answered, that my affair should be arranged very soon; and then drew a receipt, which (translated) was in the words following. *I acknowledge to have received full payment and satisfaction for the services I have rendered his majesty and his ministers, in the business I have been employed by them.* He then desired me to sign this receipt, saying, he would shew it to Mr. *Bertin*. I instantly suspected, that there was some secret fraud or deceit intended by this proposal but expecting to see *Bertin*, and then to tell him my thoughts, I signed the *receipt*. As soon as I had signed it, *Duval* laid it aside amongst a heap of other papers, which lay on a table near him, and then told me, that *Bertin* was at that time engaged with some persons on affairs of consequence; that he only desired to have such a receipt, to

keep it in his cabinet for his own private and particular satisfaction; that no use was to be made of it, nor was it to be seen by any body; and that if I would come next morning, he would in the mean time speak to Mr. *Bertin*, and get the money, desiring I would not be uneasy about the *receipt*, as it was only to shew Mr. *Bertin* when he should be alone. His discourse confirmed me still more and more in my former opinion, that the whole was a trick or imposition to defraud me; wherefore I began to be apprehensive, that if I should leave the receipt, and postpone the business till next day, this hardened old *instrument of ministerial fraud and iniquity* might say, that he himself had paid me at the time I signed the *receipt*; and that in case I should assert the contrary afterwards, so as to give occasion to any dispute or controversy thereon, he would, in the first place, asperse my character, and in the second obtain, perhaps, an order for sending me to the *Bastile* from *Bertin* (who, as lieutenant-general of the police, was always well furnished with a number of blank orders ready signed, and whose good dispositions I could not doubt on such an occasion) in order to silence my complaint, and prevent me from, or punish me for presuming to maintain the truth, against what he might or would on such a conjuncture falsely alledge in favour of himself, or his patron *Bertin*: a method frequently in practice with those conscientious state pirates, to pay honest men their just demands, when they become too importunate in their solicitations. To avoid, therefore, those hidden, but dangerous rocks, I told *Duval*, I would go down stairs directly myself, and endeavour to see Mr. *Bertin*, and speak to him. I went accordingly, but without the success I expected; for I again received the same kind of answer as above related. I then returned to *Duval*, and insisted, that the sum to be paid

me should be specified in the *receipt*; but he would not admit of it, saying, it was totally unnecessary, and what Mr. *Bertin* did not require: from whence I farther suspected, that *Bertin*, or *Duval* by his direction, would make a large charge to the *king*, or write down what considerable sum they thought proper, as *their* charge for *my services*, and only give me what they pleased, and sink the rest to their own advantage; a practice, I had been informed, much in use with them in many cases, and amongst some other persons in high offices at that court. This conduct of *Duval*, with *Bertin's* manner of acting from the beginning, strongly appearing to me to have something of that strain running thro' all his proceedings with me; I therefore desired *Duval* to return me my *receipt*, since I could not see Mr. *Bertin* that evening; adding, that I would come next morning to settle the affair, and bring the *receipt* with me. *Duval* refused several times to give me back the *receipt*; and notwithstanding my reiterated requests for that purpose, he still amused me, pretending he had thrown it amongst his papers, and could not leave the business he was then engaged in to look for it. His muffling, deceitful pranks, served but to augment all my former suspicions, and so exasperated me in meeting such low mean tricks and artifice, that I could not restrain or prevent some few sparks of passion and resentment, which I had long smothered in my breast, from shewing themselves, such as are natural to start from an injured and provoked mind; when, telling him positively that I would not leave the house till he gave me the receipt, after several repetitions of this resolution (for I did not dare, in my then situation, to mention any thing of manual operations to either, though no man's heart or hand was ever better disposed to such a purpose: in so much, that I would have given any thing in my power to have had those

two sharpen in a place where I might have treated both as the duke *de Richlieu* did *Berrier*, lieutenant-general of the police, *Bertin's* predecessor *, and who brought *Bertin* into that office); the old sycophant *Duval* at last, with a countenance full of rancour and malice, rumaged and fumbled about for some time amongst his papers, pretending to look for the *receipt*: on his turning over the papers I perceived it, and told him so; he then took it in his hand, and with an angry reluctance gave it to me, which I with some warmth directly tore to pieces before him. This behaviour exasperated him to such a degree, that he could not help discharging part of his anger and vengeance, by saying to me, Sir, do you know what you have done? do you know that it is in Mr. *Bertin's* power to oblige you to leave *Paris* tomorrow? I reply'd, with a contemptible smile, that I was not afraid of his power; that I had the *king's* permission (without ever seeking for it) to live there, or any where else in *France*, that was agreeable to me, and that Mr. *Bertin* had nothing further to do, than to pay me what was owing to me, and that I would forthwith prepare for my journey, and set out from *Paris* next morning: upon which I left him to cultivate those seeds of malice and anger which I had just observed, and which failed not to grow up in his and *Bertin's* heart, faster than ever corn grew in *Egypt*, some of which, to use that old *English* phrase, I was then

* When *Berrier* was lieutenant-general of the police, the present duke *de Richlieu* went early one morning to his house, and found him in his chamber, where he severely horse-whipped him for some ill treatment he had given to a person, whose dependance was on the duke. Complaint was carried to court, but soon dropt, as it was not thought adviseable to disoblige a nobleman of his high rank and distinction.

fruitlessly endeavouring to reap; but *Bertin* was too powerful for me in gathering in this harvest. He had the art of placing the merit and services of most people, with whom he had to transact state matters, to his own account, and passing them for his own, he had filled his granaries by the labours of other people long before; and, to crown his avarice and ambition, the services I was employed in did not a little, I was assured, contribute to both; for, in some months after, he was promoted to the charge of comptroller general of *France*. Mr. *de Sertine* succeeded him as lieutenant-general of the police, who still continues to possess that post, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

How much *Bertin* charged, or how much he appropriated to himself for my services, I never could find out: transactions of that kind being with the utmost secrecy conducted, and even from the very persons themselves concealed, who, one should think, had the best right to know them: besides, as he was made comptroller-general, he then had it in his own power to charge, or take on this account, whatever sum he pleased: and I will venture to affirm, that there is not a gentleman of honour and probity about that court, but will acknowledge, that the sum charged and allowed for such services, and on such occasions, are very large and considerable, without speaking of the honours annexed, and always conferred on the person or persons so employed, as soon as such commission is finished: yet had this same man, this same *Bertin*, to the dishonour of the king his master, in violation of the assurances he made me, in confirmation of the little faith to be given to *French* promises, and to the disgrace of the nation, where, notwithstanding the wickedness of some, and the perfidy of others, many great

and good persons of both sexes are to be found; yet, I say, this same man had the *conscience* and *honour* not to pay me a shilling, but to deprive me of the whole, leaving me to this consolatory enjoyment, and to this only *solamen miseris*, that I was not the only person in *France* on whom he had exercised his ill-gotten power, by the like artful tricks and impositions.

The principal cause of his depriving me of this money was, I believe, his thirst for riches, for which he is insatiable, strongly possessing that sordid infamous passion as an inheritance from his father; together with my refusing to leave with his secretary the above *receipt*, by which he thought to humble me to lie at the will of this same avarice for payment of the money, the greatest part of which I suspected, from all that had happened, he would pocket: but several circumstances, which have since come to my knowledge, now convince me, that he pocketed the whole. This was the only quarrel that ever happened between us: in no other respect did I ever offend or disoblige him. My suspicions could not offend, as he knew them not: and true it is, that until I pressed him in the article for payment of money, he always appeared pleased and glad to see me, ever behaving with friendship to me which, however, I since found, was to disguise his intentions to wrong me; but now, convinced of his artifice and deceit, I would not from this period, ever after go to him. Passing and repassing I met him at *Versailles*, not by choice or inclination, but by mere accident, several times after this last transaction touching the *receipt*, and turning my eyes generally another way, I never would salute him; he perceived my resentment, which, tho' he did not, I am sure, then value it, whenever he saw me it was

observed he changed countenance, and looked pale: shame and confusion on seeing me by turns betrayed his guilty mind.

LETTER THE THIRTY-FIRST.

BERRIER, whom I spoke of in my former letter, had been intendant of *Poitiers*, when he was so fortunate as to obtain the charge of lieutenant-general of the *police*: the means by which he arrived to those employments I shall relate to you as briefly as I can. His parents were not in affluence, and he had three sisters, who were also much limited in their circumstances, as was then his own case, though young; but the eldest of these sisters, who was many years older than he, through the means of a gentleman their friend, having had the happiness to make an acquaintance with a person called the count *de Souvennier*, a gentleman of an easy fortune, but very old; the count, in some short time after, for the sake of having a companion, and one to assist and take care of him, and his domestics, or other affairs, in his declining age, which was then very far advanced, thought proper to marry her.

This old gentleman, who lived not many years after his marriage, left, at his death, his whole fortune to his countess and beloved spouse, who was herself at that time no chicken, if I may use the expression, but a woman of tolerable good sense, with some experience. It was entirely to this sister's care and purse, as I have heard from a near relation of the family, that little *Berrier* owed his education, and his being brought up to the law; as likewise to her money and friends,

that he, when he became great *Berrier*, owed his preferment, first as intendant, and afterwards as lieutenant-general of the police: for as her riches increased, so did her interest in proportion, as is usual in such cases.

Berrier was an artful, cunning magistrate; whose abilities, though they were far from being admired by the noblesse, or even by the better sort of people (with neither much esteemed) yet his qualifications were such as well recommended him to those offices, which his sister's money, and the solicitations of her friends, had chiefly contributed to procure him.

He enjoyed this last post in the police many years, and much longer, I believe, than most of his predecessors had ever done. By the particular talents he possessed, and which so well qualified him for this office, he, by degrees, raised and extended the power of the police to that high state of authority, in which it now exists, to the oppression of the public in many respects.

Few men knew or saw better the direct road to wealth and grandeur, than he; and being now in the high way to both, effectually to accomplish his views of both, he always rendered himself in this department extremely useful to madame la marquise *de Pompadour*; nor was there any man in office at court more studious for her interests, or in all things more implicitly devoted to fulfill her desires and commands; by which he at length did what he pleased, and in the end accumulated an immense fortune.

The countess of *Souvenier*, after the death of her husband, having taken a journey to see part of her estate, which lay near *Lyons*, *Bertin*, then intendant of that city,

thought it a proper opportunity for him to pay his visits of respect and compliments to her, thereby to establish an acquaintance of civility and friendship, in hopes of cultivating the like, or one more essential, with *Berrier* her brother, through that channel. With this view, he was very assiduous in attending her, and shewing her all the civilities in his power, during her stay in that country. Presents of fruits, wines, wildfowl, and such things as strangers are usually complimented with, by their friends, on coming into the country, were sent by him to his new friend and acquaintance the countess. All which were well received by her, who, though she loved a good table served with elegance, was in herself a great œconomist at home, living generally retired to avoid expence; and now the older she grew, the more anxious for saving money.

At her return to *Paris*, she was not wanting to make a most favourable report to her brother of the several civilities me had received from *Bertin. Berrier*, who, it is confidently said, amongst several of his extraordinary political institutions, which he established for his system to render the police of *France* powerful and important, had one somewhat singular, and almost incredible, which was that of having a spy in every nobleman's or gentleman's house or family throughout the kingdom of *France*, by which he knew what was said and doing, and the designs and dispositions of the people, almost in all places throughout the dominion. He therefore knew *Bertin's* character, and with what view he had paid so many compliments and civilities to his sister, before he received any particular account from her concerning them; but would not pretend to see or consider his view in that light, which others might or would perhaps have done, on such an

occasion.

Every *Sunday* morning he carried to madam *Pompadour* at *Versailles* an account of the most private transactions that passed at *Paris* or elsewhere within his district, or in the most distant and remote parts of the kingdom, throughout which he preserved a secret correspondence and intelligence thro' the spreading branches of that department, as he had arranged them. He was now grown tired with the fatigues of the *police*, but was desirous to be made minister of the marine, where he knew he could acquire more honour and more money, with much less trouble, though he never had seen the sea or a ship, unless in a model or picture. And knowing that *Bertin* was amply possessed of certain qualifications necessary for the person who should succeed him in his office, he settled the matter with the marquise and Mr. *St. Florentin*, who approved his plan, and then, by the interest and influence of this lady, *Berrier*, from the above and other political motives, procured the charge of minister of the marine for himself, and that of lieutenant-general of the *police* to be given to *Bertin*, who pursuing the traces and footsteps of his predecessor, instantly became as much devoted to the above lady, and so continued during her life, as *Berrier*, or any of her other dependents before him, had ever been. But *Bertin* only continued to hold this charge for a few months after my return from *Bicêtre*, and the dispute touching the receipt before mentioned; for, the great attention he shewed for the interests, and every thing that regarded that lady, even for those of her servants and domestics, with his cringing servile behaviour, gave her an entire conviction, that no man would be more supple and useful to her, in the business of money and the finances.

Thus *Bertin* *, from a low and obscure family, which,

* His father, who, through avarice, usury, and such dealings, had scraped; and raked up a considerable sum of ready money, had three sons, besides daughters. He purchased for himself the empty charge of *maitre des requêtes*, in order to put himself on the rank of a gentleman. Hence he was called amongst his neighbours *une savonette a vilain*; a term of the greatest contempt. He purchased for one of these sons, who went to the army, a little marquisate of about thirty or forty pounds a year; from whence this son took the title of *marquis de Fratteaux*. Another was brought up a priest, who was made a bishop in the life time of Madam *Pompadour*, through the interest of the brother with that lady, when lieutenant-general of the police. This brother, when civil magistrate at *Lyons*, established a hat manufactory there, caused several of the best journeymen hatters in *London* to be seduced from thence, and brought to *Lyons*, to improve and carry on that manufactory, to the great prejudice of those of *England*.

This work was carried on under the inspection and direction of one *Parreine*, cousin to *Bertin*, and since one of the secretaries; the profits of which was, it is said, always duly and secretly divided between them. The two brothers, jealous of the marquis, formed a scheme to destroy him: they prepossessed the father with an opinion, that the son intended to murder him; which furnished them with a pretext to obtain a *lettre de cachet* to seize him, and cast him into prison. The marquis being taken, was imprisoned in a gaol lying in the middle of a remote forest.

The *nobility* of the province having discovered the falsehood and iniquity of the charge, employed some trusty resolute persons, whom they caused to be dressed in the uniform, mounted and armed, as the guards or *maréchaussée*, who take up bad people, and conduct them to gaol. This body of men were then ordered to conduct a pretended criminal (whom they had put in irons and instructed) to this same gaol, and to lodge him in the same

dungeon with the marquis, pursuant to a pretended commitment given for that purpose. The project was well executed; for, the counterfeit maréchaussée coming to the prison, and telling the gaoler their orders was to leave the pretended criminal in the same place with *Fratteaux*; the gaoler not in the least suspecting the guards, conducted them with their prisoner thither: on which they secured the gaoler, and delivered the real and pretended prisoner, whom they mounted on horses, and effectually carried off, leaving the unfortunate gaoler fettered and locked up in the marquis's place.

This affair could not fail to make some noise at court; but as it was known to be the work of the nobility in favour of an innocent man oppressed, it was stifled in its birth. The friends of the marquis sent him to *Spain*, where he received intelligence, even from the *French* ambassador residing there, of the danger that closely pursued him. Having fled from *Spain*, he arrived in *England*, where, by the infernal schemes of his unnatural brother, he was arrested at *London*, upon a false action, by an infamous fellow named *Blazdale*, a hatter, who acted the part of a bailiff, and who in the night, with his inhuman accomplices in the pay of *Bertin*, conveyed him on board a vessel prepared on purpose, waiting in the river, and brought him to *Calais*, where he was put into a post-chaise, to which he was chained by the neck with an iron collar, and in that horrid manner conveyed to *Paris*, and so to the *Bastile*. The villain *Blazdale* was provided for in the hat manufactory at *Lyons* by *Bertin*, where he still remains under his protection, and as his friend and confidant. Long after these atrocious transactions, *Biazdel's* wife was employed by *Bertin* again to seduce other journeymen hatters from *London* for *Lyons*. She was taken, and long confined in *Newgate* on this charge; but the evidence being bribed and carried off, she at length obtained her liberty. An *Englishman* who lived at *Dunkirk*, whose name I cannot recollect, was employed likewise by *Bertin* on the like purpose, who seduced,

by bribes, &c. five men, and who, at great risk, after much expence, at length carried them off to *Ostend*, from thence to *Dunkirk*, and from thence to *Paris*, where he for some days supported them, and then conveyed them to *Lyons*; the charge amounted in the whole to about 150*l*. When *Bertin* had fixed these journeymen in his manufactory at *Lyons*, he put off their conductor with promises of remitting his money to him at *Dunkirk*, by orders which he said he would give for that purpose, when the person should return to that place. The man returned to *Dunkirk*, where, after waiting a long time, and no money arriving according to promise, he wrote several letters to *Bertin*, as likewise to *Blazdale*, who had received the journeymen at *Lyons*. A year and an half or thereabout past, without the letters being productive of an answer, except one from *Blazdale*, wrote by *Bertin's* instructions, wherein *Blazdale* tells him of *Bertin's* grandeur and power, how dangerous it might prove to disoblige him, and what a friend he might and would be in time, if the man would have proper conduct, and behave well; that is to say, if he would not ask to be reimbursed the money he had advanced to bribe these men to leave their country, and the expences of their journey, and the payment for his own trouble and danger: the man tired out, began to think it a trick of *Blazdale's*, and came to *Paris*, where he staid till his money was just exhausted, waiting the payment of his debts; believing, like other fools dazzled with appearances, that a man great in office could not be guilty of a base and low action. He employed one *Hart*, a surgeon, to solicit *Bertin*, and *Parraine* his cousin, for payment of this demand; but was without effect. They at last employed a lawyer, called Mr. *Le Blanc*, who undertook the cause. In fine, *Bertin* at last sent the man twenty pounds, with orders to quit *Paris* in twenty-four hours, if he did not intend to take up his lodgings in the *Bastile*; which the unfortunate man was obliged to submit to, unable to obtain any other redress.

The marquis de *Fratteaux* had received a good education, which

is easily acquired in *France* at small expence, and which he completely finished by good company in the army (being one of the best of schools for a gentleman) where he was well esteemed. He was courteous, benevolent, and generous, according to his circumstances; and his word of honour would have past for sterling in every place where he was once known. The very contrast of his brother was this gentleman, who deserved much better fortune, in so much that it might be doubted, whether they were of the same blood or family: such was the difference between their sentiments, principles, manners, and character. But in this there is nothing new; for we every day see as much difference in the conduct, behaviour, and principles of brothers, as in their features or persons, though with the same care brought up together, receiving the same education, precepts, and example, and in all respects equally treated. We sometimes with veneration behold one brother truly deserving a title and estate, with all the honours, advantages, and blessings, that can be annexed to both; whilst we with contempt look upon the other as unworthy to look after the sheep, or drive the pigs to market. You will see the one with a noble, disinterested, and unbounded generosity, in which the distressed and needy share, ready to give up his last stake, in preservation of his king and country's honour with his own; whilst the other, gaping after wealth and false honour, avariciously labouring to pick up riches at any rate, sculking about like a thief, or, with the servile baseness of a sycophant, watching to steal into some post of profit by any sinister means; for the possessing of which, tho' deserving of neither, he sells to the first or fairest bidder what ought to be most dear to every common honest man, his country and good name. Hence may it not be concluded, that true nobility is not limited to *family* or *blood*, but that it is rather a seed sown by *nature* in the formation of the soul or mind, which grows up in us, blooms, flourishes, fades, or dies, according to a due or improper cultivation; so that true nobility and honour, not being peculiar to any particular human race, they have both been often, and every

however, would be no reflection on him, had his sentiments, and principles of honour, justice, and probity, been such as they ought to have been, or in any wise adequate to the high charges he was so rapidly promoted to, by his artful intrigues, and the private connections he found on coming into play; in fine, by a concatenation of causes and events, unexpectedly and unmeritedly conspiring in his favour (though despised by the real *nobility* of that kingdom, and universally detested by the people, few regarding him even at this hour, but as the *Indians* do the evil spirit of all unrighteousness) was now mounted to one of the highest posts of honour and profit in the state; that is to say, comptroller-general of the finances of *France*, by the dismissal of Mr. *Silloette* from that charge, a gentleman well beloved, for his distinguished merit and abilities.

Determined, notwithstanding, not to let my demand be entirely lost for want of farther application, I wrote to the

hour may yet be found hid or concealed within the cottage, as well as exhibited or displayed in a court. If *Hamilton* and *Fleuriau*, or either of them, have been put to death, without a fair and public trial, can such proceedings be agreeable to justice, honour, and nobility? If they have escaped the murdering hand of private butchery, why are they not set at liberty? Their enemies and executioners, I doubt not, will say for answer, that they have died natural deaths, and long since been consumed by the worms of the earth, to which all human flesh is equally subject. But who will credit this? they must know, that there is an all-piercing eye and powerful hand above to see and avenge those despotic arbitrary cruelties, however hidden or secretly they may be concealed, though *Mario* and *Tegillinus* * are guardians of the secret.

* *St. Florentin* and *Bertin*.

count *St. Florentin*; but, I must own, with little hopes of success, being persuaded he would shew my letter to *Bertin*, with whom he then had the strongest connection, and who then appeared the mouth-piece of the state, and who, from the love of money, had with such elaborate and rapacious iniquity, not many years before, pursued the life of his own brother with a cruelty of a murdering assassin, savage, or cannibal. What can I expect, said I to myself, from such a degenerate monster? Upon the whole, I concluded, that there was but little prospect of my receiving any money thro' the channel of the king's finances, equally guarded and in prey to *Bertin*, and his then coadjutors, *Berrier* and *St. Florentin*.

In this letter, however, I acquainted *St. Florentin*, that *Bertin* had told me one day when I was about putting him in mind of promises and payment, "that *Hamilton* was a fool or a madman," which I well perceived he meant as an excuse for not paying me (though false and infamous it was) and that supposing it had been so, it did not regard me, or defeat my demand; and that to obviate this pretence, I had, as well as his lordship and *Bertin*, found *Hamilton* quite the contrary; and that I thought it was very inconsistent with the wisdom, politics, and prudence, for which the ministers of *France* were so renowned, to put themselves or the king to extraordinary expences to conduct a gentleman into a prison, and to keep him there sixteen or seventeen days and nights to examine a madman, when the insanity of the unfortunate man might have been known in half an hour, or at least in the long series of time, in which he had been before confined, which would have prevented all the trouble that was taken in that affair, and the expence also, if any insanity he had. But this letter, with all the truth it contained, had no effect on

those upright generous souls; for truth, you know, ceases to be truth with some persons, when it traverses their measures, or thwarts their designs. By powerful villainy, veracity is frequently made falsehood, and the most cogent reasons and arguments denied, or turned to ridicule. But facts, however, being very stubborn things, they sooner or later will always shew themselves, when the truths resulting from them must pierce the hearts and heads of some, and penetrate the consciences and minds of others; except they should be composed of the same kind of materials with those of the persons I have just now mentioned.

About three weeks after I had wrote the above letter to Mr. *St. Florentin*, I had the honour of being one morning with marshal *Thomond*, in his apartment at *Versailles*. In our discourse, I told his lordship, that in the affair which I had formerly mentioned to him, relative to *Bertin's* not paying me, I had wrote to the count *St. Florentin*, that *Bertin* had not paid me, but that I doubted much of having any good success by the letter, as it was so long since I sent it, and nothing done. His lordship was then so kind as to say to me, that he did not care to speak or go to *Bertin*, with whom he had little or no acquaintance; but that he would, on this occasion, to serve me, go when dressed, and talk to him.

Next day I accidentally met the marshal coming from the dauphin's apartment, as I was going to take a turn in the gardens. His lordship did me the honour to go with me; and as we walked on the terrass, he told me, that he had called on *Bertin* the evening before, according to what he had promised me; that, on speaking of my affair, he seemed to avoid entering into it, by telling his lordship, he thought I had been paid long ago; and that as soon as he was a little at

leisure, he would inquire into it, and give directions about it. His lordship not being over pleased with this muffling evasive answer, desired me to have patience, saying, that he was soon to go into the country; and that if something was not done in the business to my satisfaction, he would take some other step at his return. I told him, I did not dare let him or any one know the particulars of the business I was employed in, lest it should cost me my life or my liberty for ever; but that it was in the king's name I was brought into, and employed in it, by *Bertin*, and on the voluntary promises and assurances he made, before I knew the subject of the business.

His lordship then told me, he was very glad I had never mentioned any thing particular on the subject to him; adding, that was I then even inclined to mention any of those particulars to him, he would not like to hear them, for fear of consequences: such was that nobleman's prudence and *penetration*. But, continues his lordship, I do not doubt but you have been engaged or employed in something that may be necessary to be kept very secret, of which he may make a merit: nor is it impossible, but in some sense it may have helped him to mount thereby upon your shoulders: you must, therefore, take great care that he does not fall on you, and do you hurt: for which reason I advise you again to have patience for some time longer. This precaution made a very deep impression on me, and I only sought and wished to find an opportunity of acting, or being able to act accordingly. My imagination was seldom at rest; and in the crowd of ideas that employed it, I often endeavoured to find out the reason why I was sent by the ministers to *Rochelle*, but never could discover the motives of that journey: being therefore left only to my own conjecture, all I could conclude on that subject

was, that I had been sent there to have my conduct observed, or to perfect me farther in *the French* language. I shall close this letter, by telling you my next will open a new scene of importance.

LETTER THE THIRTY-SECOND.

THE ministers of *France*; that is to say, such of them as were let into the secret of *Hamilton's* affair, and who formed the cabinet: for you are to know, that all the ministers are not of the cabinet, or on the same footing with each other; nor does one minister know the secrets of the other's department, or communicate his to another minister, except it be where the nature of the business or transaction requires it. Yet as every department has its own branch of the public affairs to arrange and take care of, there is a regular intercourse and harmony running through all in the execution and discharge thereof; or for the dispatch of the most minute or ordinary matters: wherefore, when any affair of secrecy, or of a particular nature happens, it is then confined to the department to which it properly belongs; and the king, with his minister of that department only, have the secret between them, till it is time, or until it is thought proper and advisable to acquaint the cabinet council, or any of the other ministers therewith. The ministers I say then, who formed the king's cabinet council, (of which party was the marshal duke *de Belleisle* prime minister, monsieur *St. Florentin* first minister of the police, and monsieur *Berrier* minister of the marine) had at length got (as well as his majesty) an ample knowledge, and the full possession of *Hamilton's* discoveries, which was all they wanted in that

respect; and which it seems had some correspondence or connection with the discoveries made in the affair of *Damiens*, no other person being made acquainted therewith, except the young pretender, *George Kelly* his secretary, madam *Pompadour*, *Bertin*, *Duval*, and myself, unless it had been intimated to Mr. *Trefrville*. Cardinal *Bernis* was at this time minister of foreign affairs, and of course of the cabinet council; but was not, however, let into this secret, as I have great reason to believe. This minister was a handsome well looking man, very graceful in his person, and of an ancient and honourable family: besides his engaging figure, he was generous and beneficent to all those who had ever obliged him, before he attained his high preferment; full of gratitude and acknowledgments, which certainly shews the true greatness of a noble mind. His abilities were shining, his address inimitable, table, and persuasion sat upon his tongue. With all these illustrious qualities and advantages, however, he could not keep his ground: he was dismissed from his important charge, and exiled from court, soon after I quitted *Hamilton* at *Bicêtre*, to the great surprize of every one, being much beloved by the people in general, who heartily lamented his removal. His disgrace and banishment from court, which it was said did him honour, was, as it was given out, owing to the same head and hand that at first, when only simple monsieur l'abbé *Bernis*, brought him into the ministry, where his great talents soon procured him the red hat, to which a large revenue was annexed. In fine, it was to madam *Pompadour*, who brought him into the ministry, where he made the most considerable figure whilst he remained in it, that he owed his dismissal; for being one day required by this lady to consent to, or sign some order for payment of a large and extravagant sum, which she thirsted

after, and which was to proceed from, or come through his department, his conscience and honour would not permit him to assent to her demand, as he thought it would be doing a wrong to the king his master, as well as a loss or injury to the public, which he did not scruple to represent to her: the lady was upon this so offended at his representation and noncompliance with her unreasonable and improper demand, that in a few days after she caused him be dismissed from his charge as a minister, and to be forbid the court, with orders to retire to his abbey, or country-seat; at least this was the received report, which was current, and believed by every body. On the cardinal's being dismissed, and quitting the court, the duke *de Chosueil* was appointed to succeed him in the post of minister of foreign affairs. As I shall have occasion to speak of this nobleman hereafter, I must only do him the justice to say in this place, that he had no knowledge or part whatever in the affair relating to *Hamilton* or the Jesuits, which was intirely finished several weeks before he entered into the ministry. I am indeed almost convinced in my own mind, that if the cardinal had been in the secret of *Hamilton's* affair, he had remained minister; because the young pretender, whose cause was now strongly revived, and who at that time stood extremely well in the good graces of that lady, to whom he now made his constant court, (though formerly both he and his brother the cardinal *York* had disoblged her, by a ridiculous behaviour, which they had foolishly, and ignorantly for themselves and their affairs, shewn her, which they had time to repent of afterwards) would have found out some expedient for appeasing her anger, and reconciling the displeasure she had shewn, on cardinal *Bernis* disoblging her in objecting to, or refusing her the request she had made him, rather than to have suffered him to quit the council

board and ministry, if there had been a possibility to prevent it; as he might in both have been of the greatest service to him, in promoting and forwarding his interests, in case he had . been trusted with the secret, and that he had liked it, or thought well of it.

Cabinet councils were frequent on this astonishing subject and occasion, as it was then termed; and private meetings and consultations between the young pretender, with *Bertin*, and those of his clan, to whom he thought fit to communicate any thing of his affairs; though they were but few, were not less arduously carried on than if a new conspiracy had been intended and discovered against the king himself. When the subject was under consideration in the cabinet, if the young pretender was not there *incog.* or with the king in private, which he frequently was, dressed sometimes as an abbé, or under other different disguisements, which he from time to time puts on, as best suits the occasion, places, visits, journeys or persons which engage or employ him, or which may demand or require his presence for transacting his private affairs, the result of the council, or their decision, with all their deliberations, and private conferences touching this business, were duly and regularly transmitted and communicated to him with the greatest privacy, care and precaution: but nothing transpired in all this affair, so as to come to the knowledge of the public, or even to that of the king's own family, much less to the principal persons of the court. So greatly and so inviolably was the secrecy, with which every thing relating to *Hamilton* impenetrably preserved, that I am thoroughly convinced, that if by any other accident it had come to be spoke of, I should have been the unhappy victim, tho' innocent, and my days for ever

consumed in the *Bastile*, or some other dreadful prison altogether as bad. By this affair then, which happily for me made not the least noise, the young pretender became more dear, was more caressed, and looked upon to be of more consequence to the king and court of *France* than ever he had been before, and his affairs and pretensions more interesting than they had ever been in any former time. This provocation of a design to assassinate him, and which they believed to be but too true, from the like danger the king himself had so lately, and so very narrowly escaped, confirmed every suspicion, and left no room for doubt in the minds of those ministers, who were informed of the design: with which, and the measures the young pretender pursued, by representations and solicitations, he soon raised and worked up the anger and resentment of the king, and his fast friends in the ministry, *Belleisle*, *St. Florentin*, *Berrier* and *Bertin*, to the highest pitch of vengeance and revenge: and by this also he secured to himself, not only the friendship, affection, and pity of such other powers, to whom he thought fit, by the advice and direction of the *French* ministers, to intimate the matter, according to their deep and hidden politics, on such occasions, in such light as they thought might best answer their own views and designs.

The natural aversion, which is so prevalent in that people against the *English* nation, and more so in the ministers of that court; notwithstanding their external politeness, when their internal, or, if I may be allowed to say, infernal projects of deceit are hatching, or on foot; together also with their repeated losses and miscarriages by sea and land, in the progress of the war, had run in the ordinary and common channel: but now the tide of fury and desolation, ready to

overflow *Great Britain*, is possible, swell'd to the highest degree, was, in its rage, scarce to be confined within its ordinary bounds. This temper was improved by the young pretender, to his own advantage, by every argument, every insinuation, and every promise that wit, policy, vengeance, or his necessities could suggest. He now found himself esteemed and regarded with a new and uncommon attention, his power and influence daily and hourly increasing: his party at court gaining strength, and totally disposed in his favour, determined at last, for once, to act sincerely in his cause, wherein (by his own, and the exaggerations of his friends) the cruel and bloody designs of the Jesuits, and his other enemies, were always blended with the injustice, as they expressed it, long-sufferings and disappointments, that he and his family had, for such a series of years, sustained, with the dangers to which they had been so frequently exposed, by schemes of poison or assassination: it having been well known that, amongst other perils, which had often threatened both father and son alternately, by the devices of their enemies, there was one above thirty-five years ago, wherein a certain *Scotch* lord, then in a high character at *Paris*, had employed a person to assassinate or poison his father: which project would have taken effect, and would have been actually executed, as there was the greatest reason to believe, if it had not been detected and prevented by one colonel *O'Flannegan* of the *Irish* brigade: the short detail of which is as follows. The colonel being with the old pretender at a public house or inn, on the road leading to *Rohan*, where they were obliged to lie that night, on their journey thither at which place the colonel and his family dwelt; and being not long got out of their post chaise, and settled in their chamber at this inn; the *colonel*, who had the care of his fellow

traveller, went down stairs in order to give directions for their supper: on going into the kitchen he accidentally met a person dressed like a gentleman, who had but just before alighted from his horse, and was then come in to stay all night. The gentleman, after entering into some casual discourse with the colonel, invited him to take a glass with him: which invitation the colonel with his usual politeness accepted, little suspecting any thing particular follow; but telling him he was obliged to return to his room for a little while, said, he would soon return and join him for some short time. The colonel having gone up stairs to the old pretender, who was on this journey dressed like an abbé (the ordinary disguise for gentlemen, who would avoid being known) related to him all that had passed, with the particulars of the discourse between him and the gentleman his new acquaintance; giving him at the same time, according as he was questioned, by the pretended abbé, touching the matter, an exact description of this gentleman's person and dress. Upon which, after a short silence and reflection, the old pretender desired the colonel to fasten the door; and then told him, he was positive that this man was the person attached to lord S----, and that he was employed by that lord to assassinate or to poison him, which ever he could with the most readiness or facility do, according as opportunity should offer; of all which he had before received private intelligence: and then produced and shewed him the picture and description of the man, as had been sent to him. This convinced the colonel of the identity of the person. Though not a little alarmed, the colonel soon after this relation stood up, and begging his abbé to be under no uneasiness or ill apprehensions, he desired permission to go down stairs to take a glass with him, in consequence of his promise; which

being agreed to, the colonel went, locking the door, and putting the key in his pocket. Having joined company with the suspected person, they called for wine, and began to be chearful, and drink heartily together. The colonel finding his then companion a pleasant entertaining man, and he altogether ravished with the politeness of the colonel and his agreeable conversation: After drinking for some time pretty briskly, the suspected person proposed to the colonel that they should sup together; which the colonel said he would agree to, upon condition that the other would give him leave to have the supper there, which he had already ordered. and which was actually then getting ready at the fire, being only some fish and a couple of chickens, which he had ordered for himself and his fellow-traveller, who was a good-natured poor priest, whom he had accidentally picked up at a friend's house in a village a few miles off, and whom he was so kind as to take into his chaise, as he was coming his way to give him a set-down; but that being unaccustomed to riding in a chaise, the poor priest was much fatigued, and could not join company: besides, as he had his office to say, he would soon after go to bed: they therefore concluded to pass the rest of the evening together, and send the priest a morsel of something for his supper. When the chickens were served to table, the colonel took one of them, and said, he would carry it himself to the poor priest, and try to persuade him to eat part of it; which the other begged he would do, offering to go with it himself; but as the priest was said to be indisposed, he saved him the trouble. The colonel having gone to his abbé, and arranged matters with him, as well for his supper, of which he eat very little, as with regard to his bed; and having settled every thing in the best manner he could, and altogether to his abbé's liking, he again locked the chamber

door, took the key in his pocket, and returned with as much speed as he could to his new acquaintance, with whom he sat up drinking all night: but towards morning, when he found him pretty well charged with wine, and that he was grown excessively fond of the colonel, the latter at last told him, he had heard something talked of with regard to the above design in short, that he had seen his picture, and knew the whole affair, insisting, that he was the identical person employed to execute the bloody project; the conclusion of which detail you will find in the following letter.

The END Of The FIRST VOLUME.

A
S E R I E S
OF
L E T T E R S ,

DISCOVERING
The SCHEME projected by FRANCE,
In M D C C L I X.

For an INTENDED INVASION upon ENGLAND
with FLAT-BOTTOM'D BOATS;
AND
Various CONFERENCES and ORIGINAL PAPERS touching that
FORMIDABLE DESIGN.

POINTING AT
The Secret and True Motives, which precipitated the Negotiations, and
Conclusion of the last Peace.

To which are prefixed,
The SECRET ADVENTURES of the Young Pretender

AND
The Conduct of the French Court respecting him during his Stay in Great
Britain, and after his return to Paris.

ALSO
The CHIEF CAUSE that brought on the late Banishment of the JESUITS from
the French Dominions; a Secret as yet concealed from the JESUITS
themselves: with the real Examination of FATHER HAMILTON, taken at
Fountainbleau, October 1756, who was employed to assassinate the
YOUNG PRETENDER.

Together with
The PARTICULAR CASE of the AUTHOR,
In a MEMORIAL to his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

By OLIVER MAC ALLESTER, Esq;

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A
S E R I E S
OF
L E T T E R S.

LETTER THE THIRTY-THIRD.



HE gentleman (for such the colonel said he was) struck with surprise at this discovery, thinking himself in a bad situation with an officer of some reputation and authority over him, whose hand might not prove too tender; or intimidated by inward fear or apprehensions, or from the effects of wine, or from some one or all of these considerations, confessed, in some measure, the accusation, with which the colonel had charged him, so far as to acknowledge, that such design had been in agitation; and then in tears swore on his knees, that there was not a man upon earth he loved better than the person he spoke of: that, as to himself, he was one of the last men in the world to commit such a base action, though he avowed it had been proposed to him, and that he had been pressed to embark in it, which, he said, he declined, and ever would decline, was

such proposition to be made to him ever so often. He continued, that he was determined, if ever he could be so happy as to see the person, whose life was intended to be sacrificed, or any one, that he knew could have easy access to him, to acquaint him with all the particulars that had come to his knowledge, in relation to this affair.

When the colonel and the suspected person rose from their chairs to go to bed, the latter begged to embrace the former, and shewed all the marks of concern, affection, and friendship, that could be expected to be found in a man endeavouring to remove the suspicion or ill opinions, which he apprehended. might with great reason be conceived against him.

As soon as the suspected person was gone to bed and fallen asleep, the abbé and his colonel got into the post-chaise, and set out directly for the colonel's house at *Rohan*, where he remained for several days with his safeguard and his family; and the suspected person having in two or three days after arrived at *Paris*, he went to wait on the noble lord, who till then had always behaved to him as his benefactor and protector; but he now found the scene entirely changed: for his lordship would never see him after; and, to his great loss and surprise, entirely stopped the continuance of those bounties, which he had before enjoyed through his benevolence. This fact, with regard to his losing his lordship's favour, was universally and publicly known immediately after at *Paris*, the man's losses appearing by his wants. But the cause of his lordship's displeasure and anger remained a hidden secret at that time with regard to the public.

This digression was never designed in the beginning to be so far extended; nor should I have said so much on the

subject, if I had not imagined, that there are but few in *England*, who have heard the relation, though it is well known to the king and his ministers at *Versailles*. The whole of this detail, with many interesting anecdotes relative to this project of assassination or poisoning, was wrote down by the colonel the day after the design was discovered, as above. It is all of his own hand-writing, and may, without difficulty, be seen in the hands of his daughter, Miss *O Flannegan*, at *Paris*; a lady of an easy fortune, visited and respected by many persons of distinction, and who lives in the *rue Turon*, near *Luxemburgh*, and her two brothers are officers of rank in the army.

Thus, with all the skill and ingenuity possible, but with the greatest prudence and secrecy in the conduct of those proceedings, the ministry of *France* had every action and circumstance laid before them that could be collected by the most diligent and indefatigable researches, to exaggerate the pretended wrongs, injuries, and cruelties, which the pretender, and which the *Stuarts* family, had suffered from, or in such a long course of years and troubles, as those, which might be included from the sufferings of *Charles I.* to the then present epoch; though, by their own tyrannies, and the oppressions of the people, they brought those misfortunes complained of on themselves and the nation, which they endeavoured to ruin and destroy: but all their evil actions were now overlooked, if not entirely turned to their savour and advantage, and could not fail to be approved of and applauded, as coinciding with the system, modes, and politics, of the court of *France*, for establishing popery, despotism, and arbitrary power, in *Britain*.

The plots and designs of the Jesuits, who were represented

as the present and most dangerous instruments on earth of royal destruction, and for reducing the power of kings and princes to their own model and standard, if not to their implicit obedience and dependence, were, upon this occasion, . exposed in the strongest point of view, but in the blackest colours. Murders said to be intended to be perpetrated by *Damiens* and *Hamilton*, each of whom had been twice in *England*, became one and the same subject of concern, interest, and of every other tender consideration.

An attempt to assassinate the king could not be doubted of; and the design to assassinate the young pretender was as little questioned. Hence the conclusion, that those projects flowed originally from the same source, though conveyed by different channels. To secure then from future dangers, to which the king's life and the pretender's might be again exposed, was a matter of the most important necessity, and of the highest consideration; for the effecting and completion of which, no efficacious remedy, it was thought, could be found, but in the resolutions of exterminating the authors and projectors of those designs, with their directors, together with all those, who could be supposed to have had any part therein, or to be enemies to the king's or young pretender's peace and personal safety; by which resolution, and a due execution of it with success, the life and security of the latter would be also under cover in their extinction. To make war, said they, on the country and subjects of a monarch in the ordinary way, had nothing new or uncommon: events of that kind have ever been, and ever will, continue amongst neighbouring kings and princes throughout the whole habitable world: but to make war upon the sacred person of a sovereign, by privately stabbing him in the dark, is an action

so very new and so very extraordinary, as it so seldom happens, that it almost becomes incredible that such a catastrophe should happen. Projects so terrible and infamous in the eyes of all men, especially in those of kings and princes themselves, must be regarded as ingendered or hatched in hell, and to have been nursed up, and reared to maturity, by the most consummate villainy and atrocious wickedness: in so much that *French* perfidy, deceit, and breach of promise or faith in politics or other transactions, were on this occasion to be considered as virtues, worthy admiration, compared with such actions as fill the human mind with the most shocking apprehensions and utter abominations.

From such causes, from such provocations, believed as truths, enforced as such, and by that evidence and demonstration proved which cannot deceive, which is what they had beheld with their own eyes, and what their hearts had experienced, in the sorrows they felt on the attempt made upon their king; and by the other evidence of *Hamilton*, and the discoveries which they had then got into their own hands, the alledged facts were sustained and exaggerated by all the force and power of language, wit, and eloquence, biassed by native prejudice, and uncontroverted by any adversary or other opposition. After all this (all this, I say, and more) can any reasonable impartial man suspect, suppose, or doubt, but that the most desperate resentment, the utmost rancour and sanguinary vengeance that human malice or rage could devise, or carry into execution, were the result and decision of all their deliberations, in order to punish and destroy their enemies, however artfully they may endeavour to disguise or conceal them. Whoever will doubt of their resolutions and designs, may doubt of his own

existence, and that of every being which nature has formed throughout the whole creation, in her prolific dispensation of her powers: for no sooner were all these matters duly weighed, and maturely considered, but the *French* ministers, from the above motives, thirsting with an insatiable desire of revenge, concluded their determined resolution of an enterprize, the greatest, the most important and hazardous, that ever *France*, or any other power of *Europe*, embarked in; consisting of two objects, which they agreed to execute at the risk and expence of all the wealth and strength of the nation, if nothing less could accomplish their ends, and crown their formidable designs with the desired success. This vast, but impenetrable project, consisted, as I have said, of two objects only; the first of which was nothing less than the demolishing and extinguishing the whole power of the Jesuits throughout the king's dominions, the seizing and confiscation of their possessions, churches, riches, and effects, which were of immense value, to the profit and emolument of the crown, with the entire banishment and exile of those reverend fathers from the *French* territories and dominions for ever.

Designs so formidable, so precarious, and (one should say) so dangerous, were certainly to be conducted with the utmost secrecy, and with the greatest precaution, to answer the mighty ends for which they were intended, especially against that order of men, which is justly regarded as the most learned, the most wealthy, and the most formidable, of any other upon the globe of this atmosphere; an order established about two hundred and twenty-five years ago, by their patron *Don Ignatius Bertram*, of *Biscay*, a discarded soldier of fortune, full of scars and wounds, without education; but who, with an enthusiastic and extravagant ambition of a wild

fanatic, disguised under the mask of piety and mortifications, for which he has been since ranked amongst the holy, with the spiritual title of *saint*, laid the foundation, laws, and ordinances, of this great order, by the name of *the company of Jesus* which, notwithstanding the shortness of its date and foundation, and all the obstacles at first opposed to its establishment, both by the ecclesiastical and secular powers, has surpassed, with amazing rapidity, all other orders, in riches, credit, and authority; and by a policy more formidable than that of any other power on earth, has found the secret to extend its dominion throughout the universe, and of making the most powerful and intrepid monarchs tremble. Could any enterprize appear more dangerous and difficult, than to attack an order of men so fortified with wealth and power, numbers of whom were then swarming about the court, and many of them actually residing in the court at that very juncture, attending on the king and royal family, and some of them accompanying him or them wherever they went; intimate with the ministers, frequenting and attending their levees, dining, supping, and conversing with the nobility of both sexes, to whom they were confessors, and whose consciences, with their most secret desires and inclinations, they had in keeping; daily communicating and corresponding with the greatest men of the nation, the greatest number of whom were brought up and educated by those very fathers? Yet did the *French* ministers, notwithstanding those difficulties and dangers which seemed to threaten discovery, carry on their designs and resolutions against this tremendous order of Jesuits, which, had it come to their knowledge, would have most probably cost some of those ministers their lives, or brought upon them a total disappointment of their project, with their own ruin, which

nothing but the most profound secrecy could prevent, conducted with a policy, which even surpassed that of the Jesuits themselves.

Whilst the ministers were working their destruction, I daily saw many of those reverend fathers walking, at times, in the grand gallery, and in the gardens, going to and from the apartments of the king and royal family; crossing the courts to visit or dine with the lords and principal persons attending on both, without the least appearance of any apprehensions of the designs formed against them.

Their dress, and the gravity of their looks, which command respect, and which did not fail to make me admire them, did not fail, on the other hand, to amuse my thoughts, when I reflected on *Hamilton's* account and description of them, as no men in the world surpass them in company, or render the amusements of society and conversation, abstracted from all their politics, more agreeable.

I often, it is true, trembled when I saw them, thinking of what might happen to myself, in case matters should come to light, and that it should be known to them that I was the person, who had been employed in the affair of *Hamilton*, which was, in my own private opinion, hastening their approaching ruin. My apprehensions were only extenuated by my reflecting, that as they were men of sense and learning, valuing and distinguishing themselves for the practices of wisdom, justice, and humanity, they could not but see and know, that I was innocently decoyed and betrayed into that business and that it was not on me, but on those, who were the projectors and directors of their fall and intended expulsion, they ought to pour out their vengeance, if to vengeance they should be carried. I imagined in myself that

their ruin was not very far off, and that the ministers of the department, the police and the pretender, were labouring indesatlgably to bring the fatality upon them; but the certainty of succeeding in their design was to me as yet altogether doubtful, for nothing was said about them; and as all I concluded was merely from my own thoughts and conjectures, the certainty and validity thereof was hid in the bosom of time, which could only by time be disclosed and ascertained.

I often thought, that, if those matters should come to public knowledge, that the young pretender, and his associates in the business, might pass their times but badly; and that, notwithstanding their resentment and revenge as Jesuits, as men they ought to do good for evil, by which they might heap coals of fire on the heads of their enemies. But how happy, said I, might it be, if, by some political scheme or other, they should send the young pretender to *Paraguay*, and there give him a territory, to free *Europe* from future troubles and calamities (where he has so long been the match to set fire to the train, which has made them break out) where, with less impunity, he might in all appearance satiate his tyranny and cruelties amongst savages or cannibals, or where he might be in command of the troops of the company of *Jesus*, amounting to above 200,000, well disciplined, a sufficient number to take care of him, and keep him in order and employed, while his other associates might be otherwise provided for. The continuation of which subject I must reserve for my next letter.

LETTER THE THIRTY-FOURTH.

ABOUT two years had now expired since the first resolution taken by the ministers against this society; when I observed, that these gentlemen began to fall off, and not to appear so numerous, and in such crowds, about the court, or in the public places of resort, as they had for some time done before. Whether this proceeded from any suspicion of their own, from any private intimation given them, or from their having collected or concluded any thing carrying on to their prejudice, from a coolness and new behaviour, which in all probability might have been shewn them by the royal family, ministers, or their friends and intimates about the court, I cannot pretend to say; but this I can affirm, that their numbers by degrees daily diminished to a very few, and that I saw in the countenances of the few that remained such a very great change, that in the place of that modest cheerfulness, which before had usually appeared in their faces, a melancholy gloomy sorrow was now most visibly to be seen in them. The like aspects I soon after saw and remarked in them, in all the public places and gardens about *Paris*, where many of them usually assembled with their friends and acquaintance at those times, when the grand company came there, to walk for recreation. But now, in these places, as at *Versailles*, their numbers began greatly to diminish, even to dwindle from thirties and twenties to fives and fours. At last it became rare to see a father of *the society of Jesus*: which soon gave me reason to surmise to myself, that they had heard or learned something to their disadvantage, or that something had transpired to their

prejudice.

This unexpected change did not escape the observation of the public; amongst whom they had many friends, and amongst whom many debates arose in their favour, which soon broke out into a kind of party and faction; and which furnished an occasion for the ministers to send many of their partizans to the *Bastile*, and other prisons. These unfortunate persons were in the most private manner arrested, and conducted to those prisons, under pretences of having said something against the government, though in fact it was only idle discourse, and thereby appearing advocates for the Jesuits, in their sentiments, or maintaining their maxims and arguments: an ignorance and folly which, with the bias of religion, and a prejudiced education, might in some measure excuse their weakness: but which did not in the least prevent their being stript of their liberty, and sent into gaols without farther examination, to study new opinions, till the minister's pleasure should dictate which was best to follow. Such are the sweets of despotic power and arbitrary government! On all those occasions and controversies, wherever I happened to be, and they were pretty many, I took special care never to express any sentiment or opinion on any subject relating to the Jesuits. I considered myself as walking on ice, where I thought it became me to have the strictest attention to every step I made, lest I should slide unawares into a gulph, out of which I should never be able to draw myself. A misfortune which, from the minister's behaviour, I had long believed would not be disagreeable to them, as it might give them a pretext, though an unjust one, to shut me up in close confinement; and which, without any colour of law or justice, they afterwards effected, as will be fully shewn in the sequel

of my letters.

Works so intricate, of such difficulty and importance to the state as those above-mentioned, were not to be unravelled, arranged and perfected on a sudden. The womb of time alone ripens and brings to maturity the ministerial fruits of hidden plants, under the dark and too often dismal shade of secret conjuration.

The Jesuits were now, with all their learning, wisdom and policy, at last outdone at their own weapons. The work intended for their ruin was now in the political loom, where all the ministerial powers were employed. The best heads and hands (not to speak of many of the parliaments) in *France*, were engaged therein; such as *Lyons* and the provinces could not equal, and whose labours the reverend fathers could neither penetrate or examine. The political journeymen slaving both day and night in their mysterious occupations, were more assiduous, industrious and secret to accomplish the work, than bees in the hive, who work by day alone, immerged in the laborious occupation. I must leave them for some time, to speak of the second, but much more interesting object, with respect to this nation, a design to overthrow the constitution of *England*, to deprive his majesty of his crown and kingdoms, to place the pretender on his throne, and sacrifice the greatest part of the nobility and his majesty's liege people, by the most formidable invasion ever yet projected against *Great Britain* by that nation, in any preceding reign.

An object of such importance could not fail to employ the whole attention and labour of the ministers, and under ministers of the department of the war, as well as that of those other persons intrusted by them in the several branches

regarding this formidable enterprize: for the carrying of which into execution with effect, and with infallible success, the greatest precautions and secrecy were to be observed, as their most flattering hopes and expectations depended thereon. The secrecy to be preserved of the designs of the court in this affair was even greater, and absolutely more necessary than that, which was used in the affairs of the Jesuits, where necessity obliged the ministers frequently to consult, and privately to confer with many of the parliament, in which the Jesuits had a strong party, but who were to give the *coup de grace* to that society, when the ministers should prepare the materials to be laid before that respectable corps for their judgment, and final sentence and decree against this society of Jesus. The two objects arising from one and the same cause, from the same provocations, from the same motives, from the same spirit of vengeance and revenge, the same thirst for riches, wealth and glory, with the desire of a complete triumph over the public and private enemies of the king and the nation, now resolved them into one and the same motive or object; and you will readily confess, that it became, at the same time, an object or motive the most affecting and interesting that ever engaged the attention of that court. A nation already reduced to the lowest ebb, by the great abilities and vigilance of one *British* minister: defeated and chased by sea, and by land, in all parts of the globe, by his wisdom and judicious politics, in opposition to those of a group of ministers, his opponents and inveterate enemies: a minister, whose very name and existence they dreaded, and whose being and administration alone was capable to confound their enterprize, to delay the execution, or retard the progress of the concealed, disguised, and dangerous attempt of the enemy; an enemy who did not, who would not

venture to proceed in their premeditated designs of placing the pretender on the throne of these realms, the accomplishing that ruin they intended against his majesty and his royal family, and the destruction of the nobility and the whole kingdom, whilst that minister, by his prudent councils, and political measures, continued the guide and protector of all, securing the happiness and prosperity of all, with the honour and glory of his country, which he had found insulted and trampled on by her enemies, distressed, and almost ruined, when her guardian-angel called him to her aid and rescue.

The project of making a descent upon *England* was then the only resource left them, and in which the *French* ministers placed their certain hope and confidence, as well to gratify revenge, as to recover the invaluable possessions which they were deprived of by the war, to repair their losses and miscarriages, which they had every where sustained by the unparalleled success of the *British* arms throughout the world; under the direction of such a minister, reduced to the lowest condition, their funds and finances exhausted, the king's plate, with that of many of the nobility, after the royal example, gone to the mint, the execution of this bloody project was the only one left from whence to find redress and satisfaction. *Spain*, tired with supplying and lending, had now sufficient employment for her own wealth, in the preparations which she began to think of making, to second the views and designs of *France* upon *England*, whose measures that nation is always devoted to, when any thing is to be done in favour of the pretender, hoping that in the general calamities which might be spread throughout the *British* dominions, by such a daring attempt, she might find a

favourable opportunity to improve her own national interest, by easily obtaining the surrender of *Gibraltar* and *Mahon* without firing a gun, and to raise to herself all the other honours and advantages to which that haughty nation aspires. Mr. *Wall*, her then prime minister, a secret and sincere friend to the pretender and his interests, was entirely disposed to lend a powerful hand to him, as soon as he and the *Spanish* court could find an opportunity to pull off the mask, which could not with prudence and good policy be openly done, till *French* troops were landed in *Britain*.

The *French* ministers looking upon their project as infallible, began at last to give themselves little or no concern at the losses and depredations which they, their country, island⁶ and trade, laboured under, and which the public (entirely ignorant of their stratagem and designs) felt and beheld with sorrow and amazement, without any prospect of redress, or amendment of their distressed circumstances. These ministers, therefore,

now now persuaded in their own minds that they should soon repossess all they had lost, and more, by laying the ax-to the root, and in seizing” upon *England* by an invasion *sa coup sur J*; and as this was the sole expedient left to avail themselves for all their sufferings and misfortunes, to answer their interests, and gratify their revenge in exterminating their enemies, they founded and built all their future hopes, dependence and ex- • pectations thereon: but here, as almost in all other complicated affairs of moment, wherein many obstacles and difficulties naturally present themselves, or unwished-for arrive to obstruct them, there was one impediment which stood strongly in the way to frustrate the execution of this great design, and which all their arts and

politics could not remove; though for the accomplishment they were to have given half their wealth. This obstacle was the continuance; *f d* of Mr. *Pitt* in office; whose administration had all along been so fatal to the natural and declared enemies of *Britain*; and by whose indefatigable labours their projects and designs had hitherto been always defeated and undone: it is not therefore to be wondered at, that the continuance of such a minister at the head of a nation, whose affairs they were sure to bring to ruin, as they believed, if he was removed, and whose capacity and abilities they had so often woefully experienced, should give them the greatest fear and uneasiness, and create more difficulties and danger to them in the execution of their formidable project, or render it more? precarious than all the fury of that raging element which separates the two kingdoms, or any other obstacle that might, by chance or accident, fall in the way. Waiting with impatience his removal or resignation, they were not less diligent and assiduous in making, at a most enormous charge, the preparations for executing their redoubtable scheme. For which purpose a great number of flat-bottomed boats were built, and many more were, with a number of prames, continually building with the utmost diligence, at millions of expence. The duke *de Choiseiul*, on entering into the ministry in the department of foreign affairs, could not avoid falling in with the system, politics, and plans settled, and adopted by the ministers employed before he was named to that charge.

He is a very able statesman, it must be acknowledged, superior to many who have gone before him; above the little practices and artifices of some of his colleagues, and piques himself much upon his honour. Business is readily

dispatched by him, on most occasions; as he has two of the most notable and judicious men in all the public offices at *Versailles*, Mons. *Goudin* and Mons. *Marie*, to serve him as secretaries or under ministers, who, by an experience of many years service, in the most intricate affairs of that court, are well qualified for their stations, having always preserved the public esteem without reproach. Those gentlemen work incessantly in his department, besides a great number of other persons. It is no wonder he should be thus well supplied, when he had, on coming into the ministry, the power of picking and chusing for himself those who were most proper to serve him; wherein you may be easily convinced, he was not wanting to take the best, and was much happier in that respect than marshal *Belleisle*, at that time his superior in the administration, though his inferior in knowledge and politics. This minister has certainly more honour and honesty than *Richlieu* or *Mazarin* ever had, and not less a politician than either: he is generous to those who serve him, and an excellent friend where he takes. To which may be said, I think, that a duke *de Sully* may be found in a duke *de Choiseiul*. But, with all this, he has, like other men, his particular failings: personal ones, with which all mankind do more or less abound, I do not speak of; I only intimate those that regard the public character of a great man in high station. He is too warm, too peremptory, and too proud. A man in high office ought never to forget, that those, he has to deal with, are men, as well as himself, and that his station is no inheritance. It is true, that the vivacity, of which he has an uncommon share, and which seems truly natural to him, may sometimes occasion his forgetting himself in some few instances; which hurts him with respect to the opinion that other persons, who know not his better qualities, may

entertain of him, on that account; though, to alleviate this disagreeable part of a character, which is not peculiar to him alone, if he is left to himself but a few hours, he returns to his temper, and shews good nature and affability to those he thinks he had treated too warmly, or whom, he supposes, he has disobliged. He is extremely happy in the matrimonial state; for the duchess de *Choiseuil*, his lady, who is most amiable, studies his temper, and leaves nothing undone to render the connubial engagement happy; whilst the duchess de *Gramont*, his sister, is every where esteemed for her goodness, humanity, and personal merit. Upon the whole of this nobleman's character, with respect to the high charge he still enjoys, having been made prime minister of *France* immediately on the death of marshal *Belleisle*, it is thought, by the *French* themselves, that if he would take the pains to cleanse the *Augean* stable, and lop off from the ministry some of the bad limbs and members, that have too long infected and dishonoured it, and dismiss the pretender's affairs entirely from the cabinet, which will always involve *France* in loss and ruin; whilst she uselessly squanders her blood and treasure for his ungrateful service that he would not be much inferior to Mr. *Pitt* himself in the discharge of the ministerial functions.

Necessity, which, it is said, has no law, is also represented to be the parent of invention. In no place on the earth were those two old *English* proverbs ever found more verified, than they were in *France* at this conjuncture: for although that court was under the most alarming apprehensions of the great minister, that then conducted the *British* measures, the necessity of the miserable circumstances and situation of their affairs drove them to the last extremity, to push on their

designs, and to run the hazard of being defeated by his great abilities; in confidence that providence, propitious to their formidable project against *England*, might do that in their favour, which their own wisdom and politics could not attain unto; which was the first to procure the dismissal of that great man from the *British* councils, and then to conduct the body of troops safe to the place of their destination, with which they intended to invade *England*.

To this end, the orders, which had been before sent to *Brest*, for the equipment of the *French* fleet, were renewed, and others sent thither, requiring the artificers to work with double diligence, and prepare the men of war for sea service, with the utmost expedition: the command of which fleet was to be given to the unfortunate marshal *Conflans*, who was then past the grand climacteric of his age, but who was looked upon as one of the best sea officers in *France*; who was at this time highly respected; and, as it was his custom to walk every day in the public gardens at *Luxemburgh* with his agreeable young wife and her sister, every one thought himself happy and honoured that could approach them, walk with them, or salute them with compliments of politeness. But, alas! to what strange vicissitudes of fortune is all human nature subject, by her inconstancy and caprice, will be easily exemplified in the fatal event that followed; as you will perceive by the sequel.

LETTER THE THIRTY-FIFTH.

WHILST the fleet of men of war, with the transports, were getting ready, and all the necessaries for that

service were preparing, a body of troops, to the number of about eighteen or twenty thousand men, were ordered to march from their several and respective garrisons and quarters, and to assemble themselves on the coast of *Brittany*, from *Brest* to *Vannes*, where the general rendezvous or head quarters were assigned or established. Some frigates were also getting ready at *Dunkirk*; on board of which a small body of troops, to the amount of about fifteen hundred men, were to embark, though more were first intended. These frigates were appointed to be under the command of one captain *Thurot*, and the troops under Monsieur *Flaubere*, whom I knew very well. One *Cavennai* had also a principal post therein, and in whom the minister confided. And a little droll *Hungarian*, who was an hussar officer, whose name I forget, had the command of the handful of hussars, which were to be of this embarkation, the number of which were to be augmented at the place where they were to debark. The three last mentioned were deemed good officers, and well qualified for the enterprize they were engaged in; which, when it comes to be fully related, you will, I believe, consider as the forlorn hope. It was however very daring and dangerous, calculated to aid and second the descent of the transports and troops, which admiral *Conflans* was to conduct; and at the same time to embarrass, or confound, the ideas and suspicions of the penetrating minister of *England*, ever vigilant and attentive to all the motives of the enemy.

Thurot was designed for the command of these frigates: but, notwithstanding this, he was always at *Versailles*, pretending to solicit some other employ or command, by order of the minister, the better to conceal the design; and, I

think, I can here positively assert to you, that there was not one officer or commander in the service, who had the least idea of the destination of this grand expedition; unless that, from appearances, they almost all believed, as many perhaps in *France* still do, that it was against *Ireland*. As I have mentioned *Thurot*, his own conduct, intrepidity, and death, has already occasioned so much to be said of him, that a short account of him may not, I suppose, be unacceptable to you in this place.

In the beginning of the war before the last, from being a barber's boy he went on board a *French* privateer, or other vessel of that nation; and being taken at sea, was confined, like other prisoners of war, in *England*. Marshal *Belleisle* was also then in *England* as a prisoner of war; who, after a long stay, was preparing to return home to *France*, on the terms settled between the two crowns, for restoring him his liberty. Some few days before the marshal's departure, *Thurot* made his escape, and concealed himself till late at night in the country; then getting to the port, went in search of some small bark or cutter, unwatched or unguarded, with which he was determined to put to sea. Passing with all the precaution he could from one vessel to another, he at last discovered a small smuggling boat or cutter, which seemed to him fittest for his purpose, and which he took by the moonlight to be *French*. Her sails had been taken out, which had much embarrassed him, and she lay along-side of another vessel, to which she was made fast, without any other person on board her. *Thurot*, in this perplexity, though charmed with his good fortune in finding such a bark, as best suited his necessities, but confounded by the want of sails, pursued directly the only method, which his alarmed mind and precarious situation

suggested to him; which he immediately put in execution, by going up the shrouds of the other vessel, and cutting away a small sail, which he thought would serve his turn. Having thrown the sail into the little vessel, which we may now call his vessel, he soon cast off ahead; fast fixed his sail in the best manner he could; and the wind and weather being at that time very favourable, he commits himself and his little cutter to the waves and providence; by whose assistance he miraculously got out of sight of the port before the day did quite appear. His voyage, you will agree, must have been extremely dangerous and miserable; notwithstanding which, he had the good fortune to escape all the difficulties he had to encounter, and to arrive safe at *Calais* in two days after, without any other assistance than that of providence, but almost half starved. The town was greatly surprised at such an extraordinary adventure and wonderful deliverance; and *Thurot*, after making fast his bark, went on shore, was received with acclamations of joy amongst his own sort, caressed, and tolerably well entertained; where he thought himself more than happy, as he was now possessed of a ship of his own, and a captain in his own right, to command his little vessel, as he pleased; by which he looked upon his fortune as already made, purchased at such a dangerous price as that which might very easily have cost him his life, if he had been retaken; without reflecting on his perishing at sea with want, or by bad weather. How capricious and cruel are the fates to most men, whose ideas are intoxicated and marred in all sublunary enjoyments! for when we imagine the means of our happiness and prosperity most remote, they often happen to be nearest at hand. So when we think we are even out of the power of disappointment, it often happens, that our most flattering hopes are nearest to be baffled and

deceived; as in the greatest calms the greatest hurricanes are known to arise on a sudden. The unfortunate *Thurot* was not many hours in the enjoyment of all, and more than his wishes could at that time aspire to, when word was brought him, that the king's officers had seized and taken possession of his little dear-bought vessel, for his majesty's use; and that there were other claimants in town, as the vessel was *French* property, belonging to some person or persons in that place. Under such a dilemma, without friends or acquaintance, or money to engage in a law-suit, an entire stranger in that part of *France*, the joy and satisfaction he had but just before tasted, and which he now began strongly to feel and possess, were on a sudden turned into grief, sorrow, and disappointment.

The duchess of *Belleisle* had arrived the day before at *Calais*, and was there in town waiting the arrival of the duke *de Belleisle*, her spouse, from *England*, who was expected every hour. The unlucky *Thurot* was by somebody advised to apply to her. He followed their advice, and was attended by some persons ready to assist him, and desirous to see what effect this application might have. The story of his adventure had before been related to her Grace, as it quickly had been spread through the whole town, on account of its novelty and singularity. He no sooner begged the honour to be admitted to speak to the duchess, than her Grace's own curiosity, to see the young man, and to have the relation of his adventure from his own mouth, gained him admittance. Being introduced to the duchess, *Thurot* related all the particulars, which are mentioned above; with which me was very much moved. He cried bitterly on lamenting his hard fortune, of being deprived of his vessel, after the risk and dangers he had gone through to obtain her; begging her Grace to be his

protectress, and to interest herself for him, so far as to procure him the restitution of his dear-bought little vessel, which he thought was unjustly taken from him. The duchess promised to do all she could for him in this affair; and accordingly wrote in his favour, and sent directly to the principal persons or officers, who had any authority in this business, in order to obtain a restitution of the vessel for *Thurot*: but the answer she received was far from appeasing his grief, when he learned that they could not give up the vessel without orders from court, to whom the affair would be directly communicated. The duchess, who was not at all satisfied or pleased with this answer, gave *Thurot* some money, and desired him to come to her, as soon as he heard the marshal was arrived. In a day or two after, the marshal arrived from *England*; who, hearing *Thurot's* history, first from the duchess, and then from *Thurot* himself, as soon as the governor, magistrates, and officers, came next morning to wait on him at his levee, he caused *Thurot's* vessel to be delivered to him; and giving him some money, ordered him not to fail waiting on him whenever he should go to *Paris*; and advised him in the mean time to take care and make a good use of his new acquired property, which he had so well and so justly merited. Thus *Thurot* began the world, and laid the foundation of his future preferment, which was but of short duration and fatal conclusion to him, as you already know from the public accounts of his expedition in the *Irish* sea.

Marshal *Belleisle* was a man, who liked and encouraged projects, and all bold enterprizing persons, to such a degree, that it was a common saying of him, as he walked in his great boots, that those boots were stuffed with plans and projects.

Thurot and his adventurous affair, you may be well assured, did not escape his memory at the breaking out of the last war; at which time he applied to the duke, who soon determined to employ him. It was, therefore, to the above adventure alone, he owed his knowledge of marshal *Belleisle*, who, looking upon him as a bold enterprising man, caused him to be named and raised to the command of three frigates at *Dunkirk*, to execute a dangerous part or branch of the formidable grand enterprize then determined and preparing against *England*.

All these particulars concerning *Thurot* have been told and related to me by those, who ought best to know them; and that, destitute of friends or interest, he had nothing but the above adventure to recommend him to the minister's notice, unless his own courage, with some little merit in the maritime knowledge, which in a daring, intrepid man, though of low stature, made him capable of embarking in the most hazardous, fatiguing, and perilous schemes or undertakings.

Thurot was seen sometimes at *Paris*, sometimes at *Versailles*, pretending to solicit the ministers for some employ, as I have said above, though at that very time he had in his pocket his majesty's commission to command the frigates above mentioned: and when, in conversation, his solicitations came upon the carpet, he would often complain of the ill usage he received from the ministers, not being able to obtain some employ or preferment from them; and was accustomed to say, that, because he had neither money nor friends, he could not get admission to the ministers, nor any promise of preferment: nay, he would sometimes pretend to pawn his watch or ring, and would tell it in company, that he had pawned them to give money to the servants of great men,

to gain him an opportunity of speaking to their masters, or to obtain an answer to some pretended memorial. The political farce was acted so masterly, that *Berrier* has sometimes said to him, attending at his public levee (which was done on purpose), "Friend, it is in vain for you to lose your time here; I have told you before, it was not in my power to do any thing in your affair: why do you torment me? you ought to go to some of the other ministers; for, it is not to me, or in my department, you must apply." These and the like speeches were often made to him in public; though perhaps he had been shut up with *Berrier* the night before in his cabinet, till one, two, or three in the morning, or was to be so that night; and was frequently so two or three times a week, settling the voyages, provisions, arms, &c. for his expedition: nevertheless *Thurot* was still kept in the dark as to its destination. This political behaviour in the ministers was to keep people in ignorance, disguise their real designs, and deceive the enemy, or divert their attention as much as possible.

The ministers of *France* being determined, at all events, to carry their design of invasion effectually into execution, for the purposes before-mentioned, and to pursue it with the utmost vigour and vengeance, though the intended expedition to be made from *Brest* and *Vannes* should be entirely defeated, or, as it afterwards did, miscarry; kept in the pursuit of their execrable design; and, not to be baffled by any miscarriage, resolved upon another project, rather more dangerous and formidable, which was that of invading *England*, as near *London* as they possibly or conveniently could land, with a much more numerous and powerful army than that, which was assembling, or already assembled in

Britanny, whose vengeance would have spared neither young nor old, neither wives nor daughters, nor infants at the breast, if success had followed their resolutions and attempt. For which purpose orders and instructions were given in the month of *September* 1759 (about two months before admiral *Conflans* sailed from *Brest* to the same captain *Dumont* who brought *Sullivan* from *Scotland*, to sail from *Boulogne* to the coast of *England*, and to measure that part of the coast where the descent was intended to be made, with the ports, harbours, and landing places, and to take the soundings most convenient and contiguous for debarking a powerful army in flat-bottomed boats, which army was to consist from between forty to fifty thousand men. *Dumont*, in obedience to these orders and instructions, proceeded to the *English* coast: he certified the objects of his instructions, and made a report to the ministers of the facility of debarking the *French* army and artillery; the particulars of which will be shewn in their proper place; where you will find the said instructions and report set forth at large.

The army intended for embarkation at *Vannes* was already assembled; the greatest part of which being encamped, and in Summer quarters, was supplied with all that was elegant, superb and magnificent, which *Paris* or the country could afford for support of their tables with pomp and profaseness: the richest wines, the most exquisite meats and fruits that the earth, air or sea could supply, did here abound. Ladies of all ranks and denominations frequented their situation: the most celebrated, as well as the indifferent of the *French* and *Italian* players and dancers from the operas and comedies at *Paris*, with the best performers in music, followed this army in crowds. In short, all sorts of amusements, entertainments,

pleasures and gaiety reigned here, and went on in one continued round throughout the whole army, in order to keep up their spirits in the execution of such a dangerous attempt. Impatient, however, of embarking for the desired port of invasion, the army was under the command of the duke *d'Aiguillon*, prince *de Beau Veau*, and general *Sullivan*; the first was commander in chief of the troops at land, and the two last of the *etat major* whilst the fleet was under that of Monsieur *Conflans*.

One of the principal directors and counsellors in this affair, and who at times made some journies from *Brest* to *Paris*, and from *Versailles* to *Brest*, on secret conferences and intelligences, was one *Jemmy Dun*, son to the late old *Thady Dun*, the solicitor at *Dublin*. This director was a vain, supercilious, officious man, who had insinuated himself into the favour of the duke *de Choiseiul*, and so got himself thrust into a charge, he was as capable of, as he was of conducting a ship round *Cape Horn*, though he had never seen the salt water, but in his voyage from *Dublin* to *London*, and from *Dover* to *Calais*. From *London* he took *French* leave to go *France*, where he had nothing to recommend him, but a family relationship with general *Rotin*, originally of a very low family in *Ireland*: yet this man was looked upon and employed as a mighty and useful engine, a necessary conductor and adviser in all that had been done, was doing, or to be done, touching this expedition, as far as (though with an unmilitary knowledge) advice and authority could reach or extends in the last of which he had no very little portion: in so much, that at councils (which were frequently held there) he would only summons or admit some favourites of his own, or such as he thought fit, to those deliberations; where he

sometimes took upon himself to preside, and disobliged many, who secretly despised him for his ignorance and presumption. It was no wonder, then, said many of those gentlemen, that the project miscarried, and that marshal *Conflans's* fleet was defeated with disgrace, and loss of honour to the marshal, as well as with irretrievable loss to his country, since *Dun* was to direct Monsieur *Conflans* in such an enterprize. It is a true proverb, *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit*; but here was a total ignorance.

However, by every day's experience, we know, that ignorance, presumption, and folly, supplant modesty and merit, by favour and interest: for, we find this very *Dun*, or *Dunce* more properly, employed soon after in another project at the court of *Portugal*; where, if he did not do as much evil as he did at *Brest* and *Vannes*, by his preternatural politics, he did altogether as little good for his principals. The whole *Irish* brigade, and the *Scotch* regiments, composed part of this army: they were the first destined to embark, and the first to give him their curse at their disappointment, which they ought to regard as a blessing, as it prevented them from falling into the hands of the victorious admiral *Hawke*. Marshal *Conflans* was against failing or encountering the brave *English* admiral. *Jemmy Dun* took upon him to be more knowing, and to be a better and more experienced sea-officer; therefore, by his letters to the minister, he controuled admiral *Conflans's* opinion; notwithstanding his representations, set forth in his letters, of the danger and difficulty to escape the *English* fleet, then at their nose, ready to swallow them up. This opinion of the admiral was, at last, found to be the best, and orders were at length sent to countermand his sailing; but those last mentioned orders

came too late.

Thurot had sailed with his three frigates from *Dunkirk* for the northern seas, some time before, to attend admiral *Conflans'* motions, and to wait his escorting the troops to be embarked to the place of their destination: in consequence of which he was to act pursuant to such orders as should be given him. He came to an anchor the first night off *Ostend*, and the next morning made sail. He was discovered, and pursued for some time, by some *English* ships of war; but these ships keeping the *English* coast, on a violent presumption that he had steered that course, gave him an opportunity of escaping their vigilance; and *Thurot's* squadron arrived at *Angfer* in *Norway*, the port of his destination, for that time, pursuant to the instructions for that purpose given him: in his voyage to which place he was separated from one of his frigates in a hard gale of wind; and his own frigate narrowly escaped going to the bottom. She was so much disabled and damaged by the storm, that she was obliged to run back, notwithstanding the danger of meeting the *English* men of war, and becoming their prize, by falling into their hands. She, with the greatest difficulty, arrived at *Ostend*, from whence she got safe to *Dunkirk*, unable longer to keep the seas. The other particulars of which you will be more fully informed of by my next letter.

LETTER THE THIRTY-SIXTH.

PROPORTIONABLY as the losses, misfortunes, and desire of revenge of the *French* court, did increase, the necessity of supporting the young pretender and his cause increased

also, from the beginning of the war, the attempt of *Damiens*, and the discoveries of *Hamilton*; all which he might very well perceive. In consequence thereof, he carried matters with a higher hand than formerly, by setting a greater value on himself, and forming higher demands than he had ever done before on that court. He found this a most critical conjuncture for once to oblige the *French* ministers to act with sincerity in his cause, though the sincerity proceeded more for their own than his interests. Those ministers were now, at times, not only obliged to court and humour him, but at last to agree to his own terms, of furnishing him with a body of troops from forty to fifty thousand men, horse, foot, and dragoons, which were to be under the direction and command of himself, and of such generals as he should name; and to be furnished with all necessary supplies for invading *England*, even though *Conflans's* expedition should happen to miscarry.

Their secret views for falling into his measures, were, in case of success, in any descent to be made upon *England*, to place him on the throne, as viceroy or deputy for the king of *France*; to put an entire end to any future wars with this nation, by bringing her under subjection to *France*, and obtaining thereby an immediate restitution of all her places taken from her during the war, and a full recompensation for all her losses, which, they supposed, they might do, without much difficulty, as the *English* forces were mostly employed abroad, and her chief internal defence confined to her national militia.

However hard, difficult, or inconsistent, such a state of deputation and slavery might be to himself, or obnoxious and repugnant to the laws, liberties, religion, and temper of the

British nation, the pretender could not, in his situation, but be well pleased with those, or with worse terms: for, what is it a powerful and victorious army cannot do, against the feeble efforts of a vanquished people, in case such misfortune (which heaven avert) should ever happen? The most brave and populous kingdoms have been reduced by invaders; their lawful sovereigns dethroned; their laws and religion trampled upon; their wealth plundered or exhausted; their possessions taken from them; and they, with their ravished wives and children, carried into slavery, or loaded with its gawling yoke, *contre la force il n'y a point de resistance*. Dreadful thought! more dreadful state! most shocking to humanity! Yet such were the designs, and such are the maxims of our dear, and, at present, pacific neighbours and friends; who would not be wanting in their politeness and complaisance to us, to put those things in practice, when time, their own strength, and a favourable opportunity, shall combine with their own interest: for the doing of which, they would give to all *Europe* their own irresistible, but pernicious reasons; such manifestoes as no other power would venture to oppose or contradict.

Two days before *Sullivan's* departure from *Paris* for *Vannes*, to enter on his command in the army then assembled there, he went to *Versailles* to take leave of the minister, and receive his last orders, or private instructions and commands, as is customary on such occasions. He continued shut up about a quarter of an hour only with marshal *Belleisle*, and then left him. The next morning, about eleven or twelve o'clock, as he was going up the great stairs to the grand gallery, he met the prince *de Beauveau*, to whom he was next in command, on this expedition: they were both

in their new regimentals of uniform, such as *French* generals wear when in command, or on duty. Talking together, *Sullivan* told the prince, he had been on the preceding evening with the marshal, and had taken his leave of him; and that, upon asking of him, where was their destination? the marshal answered, he would know it, he believed, when he arrived at *Brest* or *Vannes*; which was all the answer or satisfaction he could obtain to his question, and which he thought very extraordinary, as he found he was to set out very suddenly; expecting to embark in two or three days after their arrival, according to all appearances. To which the prince replied, that the marshal had treated him almost in the very same manner; with this difference only, that when he asked him for what place the army was destined, he told him, the duke *d'Aiguillon*, who is now, says he, on the coast with the army, will inform you: but he can't tell you as yet; nor will he know what to say to you on that head, in case you should ask him, till he is out at sea. So you see, continues the prince, that *Aiguillon* himself, by G--, as yet, knows nothing about it. On which they both laughed, damn'd the marshal's old boots, and wished them burnt.

Hence you may judge, with what impenetrable secrecy the projects and designs of the ministers were carried on. All *Europe* had their eyes on this expedition: but its destination was in the cabinet, and breast of the ministers only. The very next evening *Sullivan* set out for the army, and about two or three days after the prince *de Beauveau* followed, where they remained much longer than they expected, waiting the fleet's being got ready a few of the ships that composed it not being at that time entirely finished, or their wants and necessaries supplied; though every thing was doing with the utmost

expedition and dispatch for that purpose, and was soon effectually completed, to prepare them, as if turned out, for greater damages and repairs, than what they had at any time before sustained.

Attention, secrecy, and the common interest of affairs, had now conducted the young pretender into the neighbourhood of *Brest, incog.* with a heart transported with secret joy at the delusive prospect he had before him; but particularly at the final arrangement and conclusion which had been entered into between him and the ministers at *Versailles*, in case the expedition should prove abortive. A joy easier conceived than expressed! and which obliterated and extinguished every remembrance of his past misfortunes and miscarriages in *Scotland*.

With the sunshine of prosperity our most sorrowful tears for past afflictions and disappointments are quickly and with ease dried up or forgot. These pleasing but visionary assurances transported his mind, and left him little room to doubt of possessing, in some short time, what his heart had so long and eagerly desired. The time was now at hand, when the touch-stone was to be laid to the sincerity of *France*, and to the faith of her promises, as well as to her strength and power, conjunctively employed for his service; it was therefore necessary for him to be near the scene of action, as he thought to receive intelligence, and be informed in the best manner he could, how matters went forward amongst the troops, and in forwarding their embarkation. This he could easily do, in riding about disguised (as he did) and going to such places unobserved, as might best answer these ends, and were most conducive to his views and expectations. For which purpose he took all the necessary precaution

imaginable, and effectually concealed himself in such a manner, that his being in that country was only known to two or three persons of confidence, who were proper to be intrusted on this occasion. Guards were placed on all the roads, and at all the avenues leading to *Brest*, where no person was admitted to approach, but such as were examined and known. *Sullivan*, though so well intitled to this confidence (as you may think) was as far from it at this juncture, as if he had never known or served him; nor was he once admitted to any interview or conference with him, the young pretender, whilst the army remained there: which however did not hinder another person, who much dishonoured him, from being with him continually, and who was of much less consequence and importance to him and his affairs, in order the better to conduct them for his honour, good fortune and interest; if he had had any regard to either of them, especially to the former.

This man was of honourable family in *Scotland*; but his life, conduct and principles were odious to every one who knew him: he was hated by all his own countrymen, who looked upon him in no better light than that of a gambler: nor did any of them care to serve him; which is a thing so uncommon amongst the gentlemen of that nation, that it is almost incredible to think it possible, as they are remarkably national, and ready to assist each other. There might have been some new pretence, it was imagined, forged out of an old and former one, for keeping *Sullivan* from approaching him at this time, as it had formerly done long before, which was that of a calumny raised upon him by *Kelly*, and secretly propagated by him, and some of his partizans, *Sullivan's* private enemies, on purpose to blacken and hurt him in the

eyes and esteem of the ministers and others, his friends and acquaintance; but without the desired effect.

The story raised for this purpose is as follows. That *Sullivan* had been the person who had introduced Miss *Walkinshaw* to the young pretender when in *Scotland*, after having first had a previous intimacy and acquaintance with her himself: and that he had since been the cause of her being brought over to *France* to be his companion. This was the accusation privately whispered about against *Sullivan*, with this addition, that he himself had boasted of it in private to some of his intimates. However, *Sullivan* always denied the whole charge with the most solemn asseverations of the falsehood of it, and threw the whole calumny thereof upon the malice of *Kelly*, his sworn and implacable enemy. But be this as it may, the young woman was not the better treated by her galant, for her having quitted her country and friends, to follow her lover through dark and intricate roads, interrupted with brambles, thorns, and many other difficulties, which have sometimes led her almost to death's door, and which passion he brutally and ungratefully often recompensed. Whilst they lodged at the house of one *Gallide*, a butcher, *dans la rue de la Boucherie Fauxbourg St. Germain*, *Gillshenagh's* wife, who had nursed the little girl, Miss *Walkinshaw's* daughter, lived then with them, still attending on the child. This woman was born at *Mons* in *Flanders*, had a good face, and genteel person, and was much more desirable and agreeable than *Flemish* women generally are, and in nowise a novice in the art of intrigue. Her mistress had observed, from time to time, something in her behaviour and conduct, that at last gave her a sensible concern, and raised in her an opinion that all was not well with her. Hence it was as

impossible for the broken trooper's wife to oblige her mistress in any thing she did, as it was for her not to perceive the real cause of her discontent and displeasure. Jealousy at last forced its way, and shewed its frightful face with *Argos'* eyes and *Midas* ears, notwithstanding all the borrowed or affected disguises, that female policy or hypocrisy could lend. Impertinence and insolence appeared, on most occasions, in all the behaviour of mistress nurse, who, though perhaps agreeable to her master, was hideous to her mistress, with all the *Flemish* graces she could possess: none of which could be in anywise perceived by the mistress, who looked upon them, with every qualification she might have had, as mere deformities. Concord and harmony no longer remained, where suspicion, disrespect and envy, were every hour increasing. In one of those unguarded moments, when jealousy and rage transport the mind beyond the bounds of duty and reason, *Gillshenagh* had the audaciousness to call this lady a b----, which her prudence, however, then concealed. He had observed his master in a melancholy humour, and said to him, Sir, I am sorry to see you look so dull I hope you are not indisposed? No, replies the master, my health, thank God, is very well. Why then, continues the man, I believe you have no reason but to be chearful; for, from what I hear abroad great things are going forward for your happiness, and you may expect to be soon at home. No, no, *Gillshenagh*, it will not be so very soon. I do not suppose it will happen before sixty-two, says he; but let it happen when it will, I'll make the monsieurs pay dear for all their ill usage to me and my family. Why Sir, says the servant, I always thought the *French* loved you very well. Yes, replied the master, the people in general wish me and my family well, but the b---rs of ministers have always played their tricks on

me and my family: but I believe that is all over now, and as soon as I am settled in *England*, I'll let them know it. *La France me payera bien*. These were the particular words, and this the exact relation that *Gillshenagh* gave to some of his particular friends, on speaking of the conduct of the *French* ministers, and his masters expectations and designs.

Discontent and uneasiness increasing in the family, from the causes before-mentioned, the lady gave orders to find out some discreet woman, to assist in taking care of the little miss. An elderly grave gentlewoman, an officer's widow, was at length fixed upon for that purpose. Terms being settled, she was brought home, to accustom the child to her, before the other was to be dismissed, and strict orders given, that no intimation should be had, or the least discovery made to the old woman, of the persons into whose service she was entered. Thus things went on very well for some time; and the officer's widow having no suspicion of any thing, had no curiosity. She dined and supped with *Gillshenagh* and his wife, in the chamber or back room destined for that use, without ever going into the dining-room, where the master and mistress usually dined and supped, beyond which there was a long narrow chamber, like that of a dressing-room or cabinet, where a window, with a blind constantly before it, was towards the street; in which room the master spent most of his time, when at home; frequently looking (unseen by those in the street) at all that passed; seldom going abroad but at night, and then always disguised. He had a *pass par tout*, or master-key, to open the door; so that he went in and out at such times as he pleased, or best suited him and his affairs, without being noticed by any body. In the best concerted schemes that human prudence and invention can

contrive, accidents unforeseen and unexpected by casualty happen, which the greatest sagacity and precaution cannot prevent. One morning as *Gillshenagh* was coming out of the dining-room, after leaving his master in the little chamber adjoining, the door of which opened into the dining-room, his master happened accidentally to stand at this door, whilst *Gillshenagh* was going out of the dining-room, the two doors facing exactly each other. The widow was on the landingplace at the stairs-head, standing near the dining-room door, when the man opened it and came out, in such manner as to give her a full view of the master, who stood at the other door directly opposite to her, on which he instantly retired out of sight towards the window, perceiving he was observed by the woman, but not in the least imagining she had any kind of knowledge of him.

Not a word more was said of this business, till late at night; at which time, after business was over, *Gillshenagh* and the widow sitting together, whilst his wife, who had left the room upon her particular affairs, the widow told him she had seen her master at the dressing-room door in the forenoon, and knew him very well. The other asked her where she had seen him, and who he was? The widow said she had seen him several times at mass at the *Cordeliers*, and that he used to go into a little chapel surrounded with iron rails, kept on purpose for him, every *Sunday* morning. The farther account of which you will find in my next.

LETTER THE THIRTY-SEVENTH.

I KNOW him so well, continues the widow, that I never shall forget him, was I to live an hundred years: nor do I believe that any person, who has once seen him, and looked at him with attention, can ever forget him, so as to be mistaken in his person. For my part, I have seen him so often, that I am sure I am not mistaken. But pray, says *Gillshenagh*, who is this same person? I should be glad to know who it is you take him for, though I know you are already mistaken in the account you give of him: for, to tell you the truth, which is a great secret, and not to be known by speaking of it to any person living; my master never goes to mass; he is a protestant, and as good a one as any that ever left *France*: he is one of the ancient *French* protestant families, who were persecuted by *Lewis XIV*. Fie, fie, fie, Mr. *Gillshenagh*, said she, you must not think I am so great a fool, or that I have lost the use of my sight or memory. I know him well enough: it is the prince; I am sure it is the prince, you may say what you please. The other fell into a fit of laughter, ridiculing the woman, and swearing so many execrable oaths, that she was mistaken; that what with his asseverations, and those of his wife, who had returned into the room a little before, corroborating what he had so solemnly sworn, that the credulous widow at length suffered herself to be persuaded out of her senses, and to believe she had been mistaken.

When breakfast was over next morning, and the gentleman retired to his cabinet, drawing-room, or dressing-room; for it served in all these capacities, the man attending the master took an opportunity of acquainting him with all that the poor

widow had the night before innocently, and without the least design of offending, declared; and which she most probably said, only to shew her good memory, and to obtain a better confidence, as she did speak with affection.

Few people consider or judge of the ill consequences, or bad effects of speaking or meddling in delicate matters. The widow thought, it is true, there was no harm in making a declaration of her knowledge; but the master thought otherwise: for, being alarmed at the relation, he remained silent for some short time, and then told *Gillshenagh*, that he should go out in the evening, as soon as it was dark, and should not return any more to that place. He desired that the widow should be well treated, and no notice taken of any thing that was past; but that in the morning the widow should be paid off, and sent away; that *Gillshenagh's* wife should go to another lodging, and that he should take the child in a hackney coach or *siacre*, to a certain place on the other side of the town, where he was to take a post-chaise, and to follow him with the child to another place, according to a particular direction, where he was to find him and the mother. All which *Gillshenagh* duly performed, according to the orders for that purpose given: and the poor widow, without knowing that, by her indiscretion, she had brought this misfortune on herself, was sent to her former condition of living on the bounty of her friends, and a pension of about ten guineas a year. Generous provision for an officer's widow, scarcely sufficient to keep her from starving!

This transaction happened before the expedition of Mr. *Conflans* from *Brest*. *Gillshenagh's* wife being entirely dismissed, remained a long time in a poor condition in *Paris*, until an abbé, of more generosity than piety, out of a

particular respect he bore to her, set her up in a little shop near the church of *St. Sulpice*, in the *rue Bourbon*, to sell snuff; by which she made shift to live, though in a very poor manner. Her husband was, some time after, dismissed likewise, and was obliged to depend on his wife's endeavours for bread. But at length, by the interposition of *George Kelly*, he was taken back, and reinstated in his former service, when almost half naked and half famished. Such was the noble spirit of generosity in his gracious master, who has no feeling for any person, but for himself.

All *Europe* knows, and whose chronicles will record to the latest posterity, the glorious success of the *British* fleet, under the command of the brave, vigilant, and victorious admiral *Hawke*, who, by his prudent conduct, his intrepidity and superior knowledge in his naval profession, as a *British* admiral, attacked and defeated the *French* fleet sailing out of *Brest*, *November 1759*, under the command of admiral *Conflans*, particularly chosen by the pretender and the *French* ministers for that important expedition; and who was, at that time, esteemed and regarded, not only by them, but by all *France*, as the most judicious, experienced, and distinguished officer of rank in the service of that crown, and the most capable of conducting that important enterprize, so far as related to his department.

The *French* court had such an opinion of this admiral and of their fleet, which consisted of about twenty fine stout and good ships of the line, many of them quite new, and all well equipped and provided, against an equal number of *English* ships, most of which had been long cruizing the seas, waiting their coming out, and watching their motions, that the young pretender and *French* ministers made no sort of doubt of

gaining a complete victory, in case a battle or sea-fight should happen between them; though their secret policy and design was to avoid coming to an engagement with the *English* fleet, if possible, until the *French* admiral had conducted the transports and troops under his care to the place of their destination; or unless the necessity to open themselves a passage, by favouring their escape whilst the two fleets might be engaged, should oblige him to an engagement. They flattered themselves at first, and even until a day or two before admiral *Conflans* had sailed from *Brest*, that with the fleet, which he then had under command, and the advantages, which he might draw from situation, he would have been able to have blown the *English* fleet out of the seas, in case of finding or engaging them near the coast. Such was their idea of the strength and number of their ships, and of the abilities and courage of their admiral. His orders therefore were, to take the transports lying at *Vannes* under his care and protection, to escort them until they were out of any danger of being intercepted by the *English*, or at least of falling into their hands; the grand object being not to fight, but to escort or open a free passage for the troops and transports, by some *coup de maitre*, maritime manœuvres, or political operations, on the rough and imperious element. Sir *Edward Hawke*, who had that day more on his head and shoulders than he could possibly know or imagine, perceived, however, very soon the *French* admiral's designs, and quickly determined not to lose any time to prevent him from carrying any of them into execution; unless that of his running away, the only one which unluckily he was not able to prevent: for, the *French* fleet was but a few hours from *Brest*, and still in sight of the people on shore, who had in crowds assembled on hills and rising grounds to observe them, when *Hawke*, as

soon as he perceived them, gave orders to form the line; and as soon as he thought it convenient and proper for his purpose, and doing business in his own way, the signal to engage the enemy was flung out.

The action was not of a very long duration, though one of the most desperate, bloody, and fatal, that *France* has suffered for ages past, under her then circumstances, and with regard to the shortness of the time: for, as soon as the *English* seamen perceived the signal for a general engagement, inspired by the example of their bold and gallant commanders, as well as by the natural courage, vivacity, and irresistible bravery, which, without any sort of prejudice or partiality, distinguishes them above all other nations under the sun, and renders them the dread and terror of all the maritime powers of the world, whenever they are obliged or forced to come to blows with them, impatient for action to avenge their country's and their own wrongs, run (like enraged lions, who would preserve their young from voracious savage animals coming to devour them) to their respective posts and stations, burning with the arduous desire of doing their duty to both. The fight on both sides begun; the fire of the *British* cannon from their several ships was so dreadful and incessant during this bloody engagement, that the *French* themselves could only compare it to the thunder of heaven and terrors of hell united at the last day, for the destruction of all mankind, to make the world to atoms, and bury them in the ruins. It drove the *French* into such fright, terror, and confusion, to which a dreadful carnage or human butchery ensued on many of their decks, that, by sinking some of their capital ships, who at once were swallowed up into the deep with the crews entire, that bombs

or bullets had not before destroyed; by burning several, and taking and making prizes of others; receiving those, who, dismasted or disabled, had no way to save themselves from going to the bottom, but by striking and submitting to the mercy of a provoked, but generous and victorious enemy; who, though forced to spread that terror and desolation amongst her foes, which the laws of necessity, and of a just war, required to chastise them, yet never forgets the laws and ties of humanity, in their punishment and correction: in fine, by the destruction and ruin, which the *French* admiral apprehended to have threatened this expedition from the beginning, and which, it seems, he looked upon as certain and inevitable, before he put to sea, he shewed his own wisdom and experience, by not resisting a force too long, which he believed impossible for him to vanquish, and to which he in all likelihood might soon become a sacrifice: therefore, upon *Hudibrastic* principles, often experienced, proved, and practised amongst the *French* themselves,

*That he that fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day;
But he that is in battle slain,
Can never rise to fight again;*

Conflans soon quitted the engagement, and made the best of his way into the river *Villaine*. A few others followed his example, who had the good fortune to escape the fire and fury of the *English* in this remarkable action; the rest of the *French* fleet being mostly taken, sunk, burnt, or destroyed; which gave a complete victory to Sir *Edward Hawke*, and rendered the designs of the court of *France* in *Conflans'* expedition entirely abortive; to the eternal honour and glory of the *English* minister, the *English* admiral, and the *English*

arms.

Grief and lamentation instantly displayed themselves with piercing cries in *Brest* and *Vannes*, where numbers of the *French* from the coast beheld the fatal event, and lost many of their friends and relations; in so much, that most of the particulars were known on shore, as soon as they were felt at sea. The joy and gaiety, which had been so universal and uncontrouled for such a long series of time before, in those places, and amongst the troops in camp or in quarters, were now converted into the deepest sorrows, accompanied with bitter tears and reflections; where mourning in sackcloth and ashes became the suitable uniforms and regimentals of such a melancholy catastrophe: a sorrowful distraction was spread abroad every where; players and dancers were no longer to be seen, nor musical instruments to be heard; sorrow, sighs, and dejection, had taken their place.

Monsieur *Conflans*, on running his beautiful ship, the *Royal Sun*, aground, ordered her to be set on fire, lest she should fall into the conqueror's hands; and he was one of the first to quit her, and get on shore; where having staid but some hours, to refresh himself, and give some few directions, he set out for *Versailles*, and arrived there to give an account to the king and the ministers of his own conduct and their misfortune; of which I shall say a few words more in another letter.

LETTER THE THIRTY-EIGHTH.

THE surprise and consternation, which the news of this defeat gave the court, could only be equalled by their grief and mortification at such an unexpected loss and fatal miscarriage, which did not fail to extend, more or less, its dolorous effects to all degrees of people throughout the kingdom of *France*; whilst those of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* were, with good reason, triumphantly rejoicing at this memorable success.

After some few days had passed, the *French* admiral, loaded with the public reproaches, came at times from *Versailles* to his house in *Paris*; but appeared not for a considerable time in any of the public places; which gave rise to a report, that strongly prevailed amongst the *Parisians*, viz. that he would infallibly undergo the same fate, which the late unfortunate admiral *Byng* had suffered. But this was *vox et præterea nihil*; for, after he had related to the ministers what he had to say, no steps were taken against him. The first place he thought most proper to shew himself publicly at, was in the *Carmelites* or *White Friars* church, near *Luxemburgh*, on two or three different *Sundays*, not far from his own house, attended by his footmen and equipage in rich liveries. Whether it was owing to the representations he had made by his letters to the ministers, some time before he sailed, of the danger and inexpediency of the embarkment, and of the great difficulty, as he apprehended, of escaping the *English* fleet; or, whether from the young pretender's own conduct,

arguments, and secret reasons, that no public examination, process, or criminal proceedings, were carried on against this admiral for such an extraordinary miscarriage, is not in my power to determine; but I believe the latter had its full weight in his defence, and was the sole cause that prevented farther or other inquiry, than what was made by the ministers in private, touching this business; and that it is not unreasonable to believe, that the just misfortune attending Monsieur *Conflans*' expedition, was, on his behalf, more to be ascribed to the obstinacy and ignorance of the young pretender and his clan in the directing this project, than the want of courage or abilities in the *French* admiral, who suffered much in his character from the public in this respect. The jealous, invidious eyes of the populace, were always upon him, when he came with his lady and sister to walk in the public gardens, and they looked upon him with contempt and disdain; for the meanest person in those public places would not now be seen to approach him; nor would those, who but a few weeks before courted an occasion, and thought it an honour to salute him, or any of his family, or be noticed by them, now look at either; by which the poor unfortunate ladies shared in the public resentment, for a supposed fault, in which they could have no part, were it real. Such, however, is commonly the ignorance, impertinence, folly, and ridiculous behaviour of men, who frame their capricious judgments on suggestion and surmise; opprobriously loading the innocent with scandal and infamy, whilst thet secret guilty, by favour and interest, escape with impunity.

This *French* expedition, which had been so long preparing, and for which such immense sums had been laid out, being in a few hours destroyed and consumed, as above mentioned,

the smoke soon evaporated, whilst the embers remained still burning under the ashes, that covered them, the easier to kindle new fires, on any other future occasion; and *France* was now more sick, and sensible of this new and bleeding wound, than any, which she had before received. Time alone could heal and restore the state to that good plight and condition, in which it had formerly been; the re-establishment of which she did not despair of, as her last project, in which her whole dependence lay, and which she counted upon as her *coup de reserve*, and infallible, was not yet brought upon the tapis, but remained concealed, waiting the convenient time and opportunity for carrying it into execution. Mr. *Pitt* was still alive, and alive like: delay was therefore essential. The troops were now ordered to march into winter quarters, unless such as were thought necessary to be left to guard and protect the coast; many of which marched, the spring following, into *Germany*; from whence considerable numbers never returned, leaving their bones in that country, ever fatal to *France*, in being the common grave of a *French* army.

You are, I doubt not, curious to know (as it has not been as yet mentioned) the destination of admiral *Conflans*' fleet and embarkation, and with what view this formidable enterprize was planned. There are but few, I believe, at this hour, that know it particularly well; though many may guess at it on supposition or conjecture: I shall here, therefore, relate to you what I have heard touching that matter, as I had it punctually, above a year and a half after the expedition had failed, from a gentleman, who knew the whole design, and whose word I could rely on. These troops, he told me, to be escorted by admiral *Conflans*' fleet, were destined to be

landed in the west of *Scotland*, where measures had been, and were to be taken, with more precaution and success, than in 1745; from whence they were to march to *England*, sweeping the whole country before them, and not leaving a man or boy, from sixteen to sixty, able to carry arms, behind them, who might or could be caught within their reach or power; by which they doubted not to increase their army to fifty or sixty thousand, and strike a terror through the nation, and carry all before them with a high hand.

Thurot, who was lying quiet in *Norway*, and knew not why he was sent there, attended the orders of the ministers. As soon as news should arrive of the troops under the escort of admiral *Conflans'* fleet being landed, the minister was to have sent him orders to embark some *Swedes*, or such as he could most readily get to join those *French* troops already with him, and with these forces united, under the command of *Flaubere*, and the other officers already mentioned, till they should join their grand army, embarked on *Thurot*, he was to sail with them, and land them in the north of *England*, or on that side, in order to make a diversion in those parts; or to advance, or follow the *English* army in front or rear, of such part of it as might be in its march, according to its situation, and the emergency of affairs; to harrass or distress it, and so to act according to circumstances and necessities, till farther orders could be received from their commander in chief. The person who gave me this account thought it a rash and daring attempt, as *Thurot's* frigates would have most probably fallen in with some of the *English* men of war, either in going or coming, which then covered the seas: and he likewise said, he often thought that this little army, commanded by *Flaubere*, would, in all probability, have been

cut to pieces by the *English* forces, before it could do any material execution, or join their grand army. Be that as it may, this was their plan, and motive of *Thurot's* being sent to *Norway*; from whence it was judged he would have but a short and easy voyage to the north coast of *Great Britain*, with the greater facility, and less suspicion to execute this plan, which was rendered totally abortive in the miscarriage and defeat of monsieur *Conflans's* expedition. Hence it may be said, without any great impropriety, that admiral *Hawke*, by the defeat of *Conflans* off *Brest*, defeated *Thurot* also in *St. George's* channel. Upon receiving news of *Conflans's* defeat, orders were dispatched for *Thurot* to return home in the best manner he could, to avoid being taken or intercepted. He thought the best chance he had to escape the *English* men of war, was by making his course through the *Irish* sea, and he steered that course accordingly; and from that motive alone, distressed by hard weather and want of provisions, one of the frigates ready to split and go to pieces, necessity obliged him to put into *Ireland*, to avoid starving at sea. As you already know the history and consequence of his landing in that kingdom, which brought him to his end, it is needless for me to say any thing further on that subject; except that on *Flaubere* and *Cavenna's* arrival in *France*, they were sent for to *Versailles*, where many disputes arose between them before the ministers: many clerks were employed by each of those officers to write details, accusations, and other matters of complaint or grievance, touching each other's conduct; in which marshal *Belleisle* gave himself much trouble, but which at last ended in air. *Flaubere* having received a sum of money, on a sudden made up his baggage, and went off from *Versailles*, without acquainting his most intimate friends where he was going. After he was gone, it was conjectured

and reported that his journey was to *Switzerland* or *Italy*, and that if *Belleisle* had lived, he would have been again employed in some important expedition. Taking leave of Mr. *Conflans* and his expedition, I proceed to other matters in my next.

LETTER THE THIRTY-NINTH.

THE affairs of Monsieur *Conflans* and *Thurot* having ended in the tragical manner before mentioned, the young pretender soon quitted the coast of *Brittany*, where nothing but scenes of wreck and ruin could present themselves to his view; and he returned to *Paris*, accompanied by his new companion, I can't say confident, for he trusted him but very little. The latter had nothing farther to do, but to go (as he did) to his old trade of gaming, and fleecing several young persons of fortune, with whom he had got acquainted, and whom he marked out as his proper prey. In the art of gaming, he was said to be a perfect connoisseur, and to have learned from a sharper, celebrated for his dexterity in handling cards, and playing at *passe-passe*; who had the art of playing the whole game, so as to be always sure of success, in this most infamous practice; by which he had already acquired several considerable sums, and for which he afterwards was obliged to make the best of his way out of *France*, to avoid the punishment that threatened to overtake him for his fraudulent acquisitions; a prosecution having been already commenced and carried on against him, on that account; the judgment of which he thought neither prudent nor safe for him to await, as it would not have been less, than to be marked, whipped, and sent to the gallies.

The young pretender had, about this time, in some of his tyrannical flights, behaved so cruelly to Miss *Walkinshaw*, whom, it was rumoured, he had slightly wounded one night in his frolics with a sword, that she withdrew privately from him, to his no small mortification: for, the young gentleman was not a little enraged, when he found that she was really gone. On the other hand, it was also whispered, that her quitting him, and secreting herself, at that time, in a convent, which he could not find out, was a scheme of the ministers, for political reasons; as some of his best friends had disliked and disapproved that connection; several of whom, it was said, offered to raise and settle a genteel and reasonable pension on her for life, and to take care of young miss, her daughter, on condition of his sending away the mother. But to this proposal, or any other of that kind, the adventurer would not give any attention; in so much, that it even became dangerous for any one to speak to him on the subject: and now he employed several trusty persons to discover the convent or nunnery into which she had retired, but without success: and in his passion, or when intoxicated with liquor, he would swear, that he would set fire to some convents or nunneries, in order to find her. But these menaces were all without effect at that time. What has since happened to her, I know not.

The industrious gamester had acquired a good deal of money in his way, before his iniquitous practices were suspected; a considerable part of which he had at different times, and on different occasions, lent to the young pretender: he was therefore much countenanced by him, and was employed by him in some small affairs of little consequence. He had been sent two or three times to the ministers at *Versailles*; on some messages, who soon

intimated their dislike to his coming; which prevented his going to them any more. They looked upon him, from the first, with an evil and suspicious eye; nor were they in the least ignorant of his adventures and conduct at *London*; and having found him a weak, ignorant man, to say no worse of him, destitute of those qualifications, which they require in those whom they employ; for these, and other reasons, they would not have any thing to do with him, or suffer him to approach them.

Nevertheless, he continued at *Paris* without knowing their dissatisfaction, under the favour and sunshine of his protector, in the zenith of his glory; his secret transactions not having at that time, nor until about three years after, appeared in their full light. After the defeat at *Brest*, he had boasted that he had been two or three times in *England* and *Scotland*, *incog.* on private commissions from the young pretender in which he endured more hardships and fatigue, than in all the time he had been an officer in a marching regiment, in the service of the crown of *England*; and that, by his commission, the spirit was still kept up in *Scotland*, where there were as many friends as ever. This puff, as it was thought to be nothing better, was not much credited by the very persons to whom he related it.

Notwithstanding the repeated losses which *France* daily met with (losses, which surpassed by far all that she had ever met with in any preceding war) her ministers went on in the resolutions they had first taken, of invading and reducing *England*; with which view, every preparation for that project was still with the same rancour secretly carrying on, that money could furnish, or imagination invent. They smiled at the distresses and grief of the people, every where afflicted

and distracted with the intolerable sufferings of a calamitous, destructive war, without the least prospect of recovering or retrieving their insupportable losses and whose consternation was the greater, at seeing the little concern the ministers continued to shew at the number of captures daily made and making; as well as at the infinite number of conquests of their possessions by the *English*, who only waited the proper seasons and orders to make more, if more remained to be reduced or taken.

Amongst the wiser and better sort of people, there were, however, many of more penetration, and some more rational, who formed a different conclusion from the behaviour of the ministers; and who, judging from the mighty preparations still going forward with vigour, that there was some secret design in agitation, which would atone for all past miscarriages and losses, consoled themselves and their friends with. that precarious expectation.

Bussy, who had been at *London* negotiating, unable to deceive, amuse, or cajole the great minister, was returned to *Versailles*, without being able to do any thing material, except putting in practice two objects, which he had in charge, and much at heart the first of which was, the plundering the nation of a considerable sum of money, which he got by his emissaries and agents, whom he employed in the alley, in the jobbing way, raising and falling the stocks, by those false lights and deceitful stars, which are occasionally made to appear in news-papers, calculated to deceive or impose on the weak and credulous: and by those artful schemes buying or selling at great advantage, as he was the person, who gave out or made such news as best consisted with his views of interest, he carried more money with him

into *France*, by stock-jobbing, than he or all his generation had ever beheld before that period.

The other object was, by the informations from his spies, who were daily pursuing such inquiries, as by their instructions they were directed, to give intelligence to the *French* ministers of the quarters, marches, residence of the troops, militia, &c. in a word, of every thing doing that might contribute to facilitate their designs against this kingdom.

Each of the ministers of *France*, you are to know, has commonly a spy in *England* belonging to himself, or attached to his department. This person is always disguised under some character, shew, or appearance, if possible, effectually to conceal him: sometimes he is a *German*, an *Italian*, a *Frenchman*, or of any other nation, according to the design, and the better to mask it. They have at *Paris* above three thousand persons of different nations, men of parts, out of whom they chuse, as the subject or occasion requires, and those they dispatch to different places frequently, where they imagine the native *French* may be suspected. In *England* there is always one likewise of some greater consequence, and who is superior over that large number, which is employed by the police in different shapes, characters, and professions; all of whom are employed and occupied, according to their several instructions, capacities, and destinations, without knowing each other. But *Bertin*, whilst lieutenant-general of the police, besides those of his department, had another spy, particularly attached to himself (which he still continues, though not in the ministry; he changes his spy, and sends another in his place, as do the others, as often as they think necessary) by whose intelligence, and by the *English* newspapers, which he had

constantly transmitted to him from *London*, and duly translated at *Versailles*, as soon as they arrived, by one *Butler*, a young man from *Kilkenny*, bred up and educated in the college of *Lombard* at *Paris*, to whom a pension or salary of forty pounds a-year was granted for this service; *Bertin*, I say, by these translations and intelligence, rendered himself of more importance, and more knowing, to many of the great personages at court, who knew not a word of the *English* language, than any body else, by being able to entertain them with all the particulars contained in those public papers; many of which, whether true or false, are often surprising and amusing.

English news-papers were at this time proscribed and prohibited throughout all *France*, upon account chiefly of the many bitter invectives in those papers during the war against that court, and particularly against the late *madame la marquise de Pompadour*. *Butler*, on translating one day some of the passages contained therein, relating to the marquess, of which, from time to time, there were many, abounding with wit and humour, found some of them, as he thought, so indecent and severe, that he was afraid of offending and disobliging, so as to lose his place and pension, if he gave them their full sense and force in his translation; and therefore went to *Bertin*, and told him his fears, desiring he might have leave to soften them for that he was not only afraid, but ashamed, to put them into *French*, in the same sense and terms as he found them in the *English* language.

Bertin told him, that he must not be under any such apprehension; for that he insisted he must not mince the matter, but must translate them then, and at all times thereafter, in words or sentences as strong and plain as those

in the originals, if the language would bear or admit of it: for, says he, it serves to make the marquess laugh: she does nothing but laugh at those things, and gives herself no other concern about them; and as for the rest, the more the king and the ministers are exasperated against that wicked nation, by their scurrilous abusive writings, the better it will be: nothing therefore must be omitted: which gave *Bertin* a secret pleasure, as no man under heaven has a more fixed and implacable aversion, even to the name of an *Englishman*, than himself.

Those spies above mentioned have no knowledge of, or correspondence with each other, as I have been well assured, unless directed by their instructions to the contrary, on some extraordinary affairs and occasions. When they have no other means to convey their intelligence, they send their letters by private hands to the *French* ambassador at the *Hague*, whence they they are transmitted to *Versailles* or the police, where they are compared, examined, and prepared to be laid before the ministers, so far as they are material. They have another way of conveying their intelligence, which is by sending their letters or packets by the servants of those, who send them abroad to other courts, and who drop them in *Holland*, according to direction. Cyphers and fictitious names are much in use.

Believe me, when I have the honour to tell you, that there is not a man or woman in a hundred of the *French* nation, that comes into *England*, who is not disposed, by nature and inclination, to be more or less a spy; and who does not, on returning home to *France*, not only ridicule, and most ungratefully despise and reflect on all the civilities, generosity, kindness, and hospitality, they receive or meet

with in this kingdom; but also acquaint the ministers or the police with anything they learn or discover to the prejudice of this nation, if they had not an opportunity of making such discovery known to the *French agent at London*, before their departure, or some particular reason for concealing it until their arrival in *France*.

Such is the genius of that nation; which you will not so much wonder at, when you come to know, that this spirit of dissimulation generally descends from many of the greatest to the very lowest of the people, even from father to son. There is not a common woman of the town, valet, lackey, or footman, at *Paris* (and of which there are many thousands of both sexes) but what are actual spies: they are subject to the police, and (unfortunately for them) immediately under their inspection and direction: they receive private rewards for every secret piece of intelligence they communicate to the ministers, or lieutenant-general of the police, proportioned to the consequences of their discoveries.

Again, as all the unfortunate kept women at *Paris* pay to the inspector of the police of the quarters, wherein they reside, a yearly sum, proportioned to what they get or receive by their wretched trade of prostitution, those miserable persons, under this heavy contribution and subjection, are very glad (though they were to receive no pecuniary reward, but merely for obtaining favour) of any opportunity of obliging those harpies, who often pocket more than half their recompences, in discovering what they can hear, see, or learn, especially if it relates to the *English*: for these inspectors, in case of finding out that these creatures conceal any thing from them, without much ceremony, or suffering a word of reply, would make no difficulty to send them in a

hurry to improve the hemp manufacture, in places allotted for that purpose.

An *English* gentleman, therefore, going to *Paris*, cannot be too careful in all his words and actions, or even in his most trifling affairs, especially where he is obliged to have *French* servants: nor can he be too much on his guard, where he has any intercourse with the female sex: for, notwithstanding all the obligations a man can or may load them with, or all the oaths, vows, and professions of love, friendship, attachment, and sincerity, they make for his person and interests, of which no people under the sun are so lavish as the *French*; yet are his words, actions, and motions, strictly watched and observed by them, and the knowledge of all conveyed to the police; and this they do without being perceived or suspected by the person they intend to injure; even the persons themselves, in whose house he lodges, pursue the same steps, and give intelligence to the inspector once a month, or oftener, of all he knows concerning his lodger. Those who keep public hotels or lodgings have all double keys to the chambers, closets, drawers, chests, or cabinets, in the several apartments which they let out to lodgers; and in the absence of the lodger, especially if a foreigner, or foreign family, are at liberty to examine, inspect, and visit every thing contained there; by which many strangers have met with considerable losses, without remedy or redress, as those kind of people are never unprovided with artful reasons and false pretexts, which a man, who does not speak the language well, can scarcely ever detect, so as to obtain satisfaction or reparation for his losses.

I should not have dwelt so long on this matter, if I had not thought it absolutely necessary to precaution those, whom

business, pleasure, or curiosity, may lead or invite to that great city, and to advertise them against the hidden rocks and dangers, which lie concealed under that smooth and pleasing surface, which too oft deceives us, and terminates in our ruin.

LETTER THE FORTIETH.

UNABLE to obtain from Monsieur *St. Florentin* or *Bertin* the payment of what was due to me, I intimated this injustice to the duke *de Choiseiul*, by letter one morning at *Versailles*, who did me the honour to promise, that he would see that justice should be done me in this affair. And I must here do his lordship justice, which is frankly to own, that I believe it was at that time his full intention to direct the payment of my demand, and remove all cause of my complaints on that head; as well for the honour of his sovereign, as for that of his own administration. I likewise have reason to believe, that he mentioned the business to those he thought it most concerned; but as I returned to *Paris* in two or three days after, I did not at that juncture farther importune him. I knew the old leaven remained in *Bertin's* breast, and I only waited an opportunity to see him removed, which was every day expected, and that Mr. *Silloette* would have been restored to his charge of comptroller-general, and marshal *Thomond's* coming to town, who was then gone to his government at *Montpellier*, and soon expected at *Versailles*, in order to renew my demand, with more probability of success; on payment of which, I was determined to leave *France*, and return home.

About ten days after my return to *Paris*, walking in the

garden of *Luxemburg* with a gentleman, who had been envoy in *Italy*, and was then in much esteem with the duke *de Cboiseiul*, I was just beginning to speak to him of my affair, in order to get him to put the duke in mind of my demand, when we met *Buhot*, who joined us, and put an end to my design. He told me, that he wanted to speak to me on a particular affair, desired my company to dinner, and then parted.

Coming into *Buhot's* apartment, I found three gentlemen, one of whom I soon discovered to be a *Spanish* Jesuit, a man of great learning and politeness; which is nothing extraordinary amongst those of that society. I was surprised, however, to find one of that order at this table; and immediately supposed, that as there are so many schemes continually on foot at this court, that this reverend father might have been brought *there* on some of them, and *here* to be instructed and documented by *Buhot*, in whatever business he, perhaps, might be employed, according to the minister's lessons; considering it hard to condemn such a numerous body of men, the most learned and the most useful of any to be found in the church of *Rome*; who, from their great and many useful discoveries in physic, their compositions in medicines, drugs, and other things of that nature, for the preservation of life; who, for their works in history, mathematics, philosophy, and every branch of learning, have laid mankind under the highest obligations; who have too much sense to be real papists; who consider, and only make use of popery, as jugglers do the goblets, to answer their own purposes over the ignorant; who admire the *English* laws, and who have shewn themselves enemies to the pretender and his designs: I say, that it would be unjust to condemn a number for the faults, or supposed faults, of a

few; and that a man might as well condemn and dishonour the whole corps of an army, as cowards, knaves, and poltroons, because some particulars had behaved ill in action, or deserted their colours. Hence I concluded, that this reverend disciple of *Ignatius de Loyola* might be as enterprizing, courageous, and bold, as his patron and founder had ever been, in his military capacity; and that he might be then in favour with the minister, and intended for some affair extraordinary, otherwise he would not have been at dinner with *Buhot*, who, no doubt, charged the minister handsomely for this entertainment. In which affair, whatever it might be, I sometimes thought the grave *Spanish* priest might in the end prove too cunning for the gay *French* minister. I likewise expected every moment to hear something said to me in particular, during our conversation at this entertainment; but nothing of that kind happened. After dining and drinking chearfully, the company gone, *Buhot* and I retired to another room: he asked me an account of my cloaths, linen, stockings, &c. in short, a whole state of my wardrobe; which I gave him. He then desired to see me in a day or two.

Having called upon him according to appointment, not doubting but that he had received orders from the duke *de Choiseiul* to pay me, and that I was then going to receive the money I had so long waited for, which I expected would have been pretty considerable, I was more surprized, than at any thing I had before met with in all these proceedings, when he told me with an air of the greatest importance, that the duke *de Choiseiul* was highly exasperated and offended at me, and that he would not suffer me to stay any longer in *France*; and that I must leave the kingdom in a few days.; I answered and

said, that indeed, as the truth really was, I had never, directly nor indirectly, disoblged or offended the duke, or any person whomsoever, since I came into *France*; that I had never spoke against the king or government; that I frequented neither taverns nor coffee-houses; that I had no quarrels, or any dispute or difference, with man or woman, young or old; or any dangerous or suspicious connections. How then could I offend the duke? and persisting that my conduct being irreproachable, I expressed great concern that the duke should be misinformed of my conduct, and offended without a cause: therefore, as I knew myself innocent and blameless, I hoped he would order me my money: and declared that I would leave *France* in twenty-four hours. *Buhot* replied, As to money, he knew nothing about it; but he believed it would be best for me to apply in that respect to Monsieur *de Sartine*, then lieutenant-general of the police. He then told me, he was ordered by the duke to deliver me the passport, signed by the king and duke *de Choiseiul*, which he took out of his pocket, and gave me; which is in the following words, and still in my hands.

“DE PAR LE ROY.

“A tous gouverneurs et nos lieutenans generaux de nos provinces et armées, gouverneurs particuliers et commandans de nos villes, places, et troupes, et à tous autres nos officiers et sujets qu’il appartiendra, salut. Nous voulons et nous mandons très expressement, que vous ayez à laisser surement et librcment passer le Sieur *MacAllester* allant en *Holland*? sans lui donner, ni souffrir qu’il lui soit donner aucun empechement, mais, au contraire, toute l’aide assistance dont il aura besoin. Le present passe-port valable pour un mois seulement; car tel est notre plaisir. Donne à

Versailles, le vingt Avril, 1760.

“LOUIS,

(L. S.)

Par le Roy,

Gratis.

“LE DUC DE CHOISEIUL.”

The above passport, translated, is as follows:

“IN THE KING’S NAME.

“To all governors and our lieutenants general of our provinces and armies, particular governors and commanders of our cities, places, and troops, and to all other our officers and subjects, to whom it appertains, greeting. We will and command you most expressly, that ye let pass safely and freely Mr. *MacAllester*, in his road to *Holland*, without doing, or suffering any thing to be done, to obstruct him, but, on the contrary, to give him all the aid ‘and assistance he shall have occasion for. This present passport to continue in force for a month only; for such is our pleasure. Given at *Versailles*, the 20th of *April*, 1760.

“LOUIS.

(L. S.)

By the King,

Without fee. ‘

“DUKE DE CHOISEIUL.”

I could not conceive the reason of this proceeding, and sudden order; but my apprehensions were, that it was a trick to stop my mouth, and to get rid of me, without paying me, by sending me out of the kingdom, lest I should further torment them with my importunities, or apply to the king in person: I, therefore, went to Mons. *Sartine* the next afternoon; and, on entering the house, he was the first and only person I met: he was coming out of his cabinet to go up stairs; and the

servants out of the way, I told him I had received such passport, which I shewed him, and related what had passed between me and *Buhot*. This was the first time . I had ever seen *Sartine*. I likewise told him, that I was long since tired of *Paris*, and that, as the duke *de Cboiseiul* had promised me to do me justice, which I understood was to order me the payment of what was due to me, I hoped he would think it just that I should have this money before I went, and that I would not stay in *Paris* three hours after it was paid me; that it was a fair and just demand, which his predecessor had promised in the king's name to satisfy, and therefore hoped the minister would not give me cause to make my complaint, in another country, of such an injustice done me in *France*, after I was gone from thence.

De Sartine told me, he was to go in two days to *Versailles*, and was to be with the duke on business; that he should not return, he believed, till *Tuesday*; but at all events desired me to call upon him on that day, about five o'clock in the afternoon; which I did. At this interview he told me, the duke had only said I need not go; that I might make myself easy. I understood not this: I understood not these word, *need not go*: I did not ask to stay; I wanted to go; but I wanted my money first. I then asked him, if he had said any thing about the money? he said, he had not time to talk much to him, and bid me have patience. I thought this very extraordinary, though nothing new, and believed it was one of the former tricks: yet I hoped that the money might be ordered the next time Mons. *de Sartine* went to *Versailles*.

Having waited till the week the passport was to expire, without hearing any thing from the minister, I went to Mons. *de Sartine*, and told him, the passport would soon expire;

begged him to speak to the duke, that I might have the money; for that I must set out; and hoped he would get my business dispatched, that I might not have occasion to trouble the duke or him any more. *De Sartine* answered me, saying, that I need not trouble myself about the passport, or about going; it would be the same thing: the duke was as well pleased at my staying; and that, when he saw him next, he would speak to him about the money, which, from such a mighty sovereign and generous minister, I thought, could not amount to less than some thousand pounds: in *England* it would have amounted to many, upon an action of false imprisonment, for so long a time as I was, by the name of *Philip Grandville*, unjustly and falsely shut up and imprisoned in *Bicêtre*, for the king's service, as it was supposed and pretended, and as before set forth. The passport at last expired, and nothing done. I then went and returned it to Mons. *de Sartine*, and begged he would get me another, and requested him to get the duke to put an end to the affair, and to let me have my money, that I might return home; which *de Sartine* promised to do. As *de Sartine* is an affable good-natured man, I did not doubt but he would bring matters about by degrees, and that I should in the end get paid. When I gave the passport to him, which was a week after it expired, he desired that I would take it again, and give it to *Buhot*. I gave it accordingly, believing he would take it to *Versailles*, and bring me another; and on going a few days after to Monf. *de Sartine*, to know if the passport was brought there, and if any sum had been ordered, Monf. *de Sartine* not being at home, I went up stairs to the old *Cerberus, Duval*, to ask him, if he had heard any thing of it? This was the first time I had seen him since we quarrelled, on my refusing to sign the receipt; and many months were since expired. He

told me, that neither he nor Mons. *de Sartine* had received any new passport for me from the duke; that he had received the other from *Buhot*, which I had given him as being expired; but that he had not wrote for another; that I must be content for a while; and that I would have been paid by Monsieur *le comte d'Affry* at the *Hague*, if I had gone there, and been well contented. I suspected they had some particular design in sending me to the *Hague*, and I was resolved to have nothing to do with them, as you will see in the sequel of this political perfidious treatment, mentioned in the following letters.

Some few days after, I met *Buhot*, who told me, that the duke continued very angry with me, and would never suffer me to come into his presence. I thought this very droll from *Buhot*, that a man should be angry with another, who had never offended him, unless for asking to be paid a just debt, which was, I thought, somewhat uncommon, and inconsistent with the character of a duke. The money was not to come out of his pocket. In such circumstances, I believed I had nothing to fear from his anger, nor from his power. I had before observed the weakness and ignorance of some men, who, when in authority, make it a crime for a man to think contrary to their wishes; who vainly imagine, that on entering into posts of honour and profit, their own talents increase with their wealth and power; and that they may trample on the senses of those they leave behind: that no man has a right to speak or think contrary to their sentiments or inclinations, or to make a demand at court, however just or reasonable, and nowise a charge or expence on them, if they, from pride or caprice, think fit to oppose it; whilst they themselves are heaping up riches, which they have neither earned nor

merited; perhaps to the ruin of a nation, and the distressing of honest men; who, like locusts, wasps, and other insects, feed on the honey the industrious bee has with toil and labour collected. Believing, however, the duke de *Choiseiul* not to be of this *gout* or way of thinking, notwithstanding what *Buhot* had said, I concluded to go in a few days (it being now the month of *June*; to *Versailles*, and not to leave it till I had obtained both my money, and a passport to return to *England*. The several particulars which followed, as the consequences of this resolution, I shall give in another letter.

LETTER THE FORTY-FIRST.

PURSUING the intention mentioned in my last letter, I went to *Versailles* in the beginning of *June*, where I staid till *September* following, except at chance times, that I went to *St. Germain*. The day of my arrival, I had the honour to see the duke by accident, standing at one of the windows of his apartment, talking with a gentleman; and the evening following I went to Mr. *Goudin*, his first secretary, and sat with him a considerable time. I expected to have found in this gentleman some sparks or symptoms of the duke's groundless anger and dislike to me, at this interview; but, on the contrary, to my surprise, I met with nothing but politeness, civility, and friendship, from him; which induced me to believe, that all that *Buhot* had said to me about him, was false, or that he had said it on purpose to try my temper.

I entered on my affair with *Goudin*, and told him how long I had been amused with promises and assurances of payment, and begged the favour of him to speak to the duke

to put an end to my demand, and to let me go home. I found by him that the duke had seen me. I forgot to mention, that in the afternoon, as I passed by the front door of the duke's apartment to the court, his *Swiss* ran to me, and told me, that he believed, by the description given of me, I was such a person; to which I answered, he was not mistaken. My lord, Sir, replied he, ordered me, if I should see you pass this way, to desire you to go to Mr. *Goudin*; which was the reason of my going to him that evening. After I had said all I thought necessary to this gentleman on the object of my complaint, he promised to lay hold of the first favourable opportunity, which he said might be in a few days, and that he would not fail to put him in mind of my affair: but at present, said he, it is impossible to speak to him, he is so much hurried with business. When I carry papers to him to sign, continues he, I can't open my lips to him, was it on an affair which concerned myself. From which I feared and believed, that my attendance would be longer than I expected: requesting him, however, not to forget me, I took my leave, and went away.

Foreseeing such delay, and knowing the impatience and uneasiness my friend *Lewis* would be under, to hear of my success, I wrote to him to come to *Versailles* to me: in consequence of which, he came to me a few days after. My applications were renewed from time to time, which were answered with the like promises as before; and patience was strongly recommended; but patience being exhausted, I went one *Sunday* afternoon to wait on the duke, in order to speak to him; and on entering the hall, I met him there, with three or four gentlemen attending, amongst whom was Master *Jemmy Dun*, whom I have formerly mentioned, for his extraordinary conduct at *Brest*. I paid my respects to the

duke, and began to represent: he seemed to be angry at my importuning him; and on something I said, which he did not like, he told me, if I did not hold my tongue, or leave off, he would send me to the *Bastile*. I told his lordship, I was not afraid of the *Bastile*; for I had done nothing to deserve it; and that it would be better to send me home.

The *Sunday* following, I met Mons. *de Sartine*, as he was crossing the court in his chaise, going from *St. Florentin's* to the duke, and told him what the duke had said to me, and how he had threatened me. He desired me to be easy: I am going to the duke, said he, and will speak to him, and will meet you at Mons. *St. Florentin's* at seven o'clock this evening; but I did not see him till next morning, and then I found him just getting out of bed. I staid with him until he was dressed; and going out to take leave of the minister, and return to *Paris*, he told me on this occasion, that he had spoke to the duke; that he was a good-natured man, tho' a little warm; that I was in the wrong to speak to him about affairs of that nature before people; but that it was all over, and that he would see me the *Sunday* following, at his arrival from *Paris*; wherein he failed not, and then paid me some money, towards defraying my expences at *Versailles*; which I thought a good omen, and that my demand was going to be settled. He told me at the same time, that there was no money to be got. That the finances were very low, I knew from several; and that numbers of the court were in the greatest distress for money; the whole finances of the kingdom being in a manner swallowed up by the losses, expences, and misfortunes of a most destructive war.

All this did not prevent me from continuing my solicitations at times to the duke. On my going another

afternoon to so seek an opportunity to speak to him, he was descending a flight of stone stairs, of about ten or a dozen steps, to come from the door of his apartment or buildings to the pavement, where his chair stood, to go into it, in order to go to council, or to wait on the king: he did me the honour to leave the chair to be carried after him, and walked with me across the courts, talking to me with all the good humour that one could wish to find in a particular intimate friend, till we came to the foot of the great stairs going to the grand gallery; at which place I left him. The eyes of the people were upon us; and he was pleased at this time to tell me, he would settle my affair in a few days with marshal *Belleisle*, who had often promised me the same thing; sometimes saying, it was not his affair, but that he would inquire into it, and give orders about it: at other times, that he would order it to be made an end of in two or three days, by speaking to *St. Florentin* and *Bertin*.

On an afternoon, that I was going into the gardens, and *Lewis* with me, the duke met me, and gave me a nod; then asked me, who the person was that was with me? I told his lordship, he was a gentleman, a particular friend of mine, and as honest a man as any in *France*; that he had nothing to do in any affairs; that he lived on his own fortune, and waited only for me to return together to *England*. The duke knew this, as well as I did myself: notwithstanding which, the duke some time after did me the honour to call to me, as we happened accidentally to be going up the great stairs together to the grand gallery; and seeing *Lewis* after me, he said, what is this man doing here? he is ever after you, in the gardens, gallery, the courts, every where. I made his lordship much the same answer as before; adding, that it was my fault; for that I

had told him, I was pretty sure I should get my affair settled, and that we should soon set out for *London*. *Lewis*, however, in a few days after, went and lodged at *St. Germain*; fatal *St. Germain* to him.

Coming out some time after from the *grand couvert* (*the king supping in public*) one night about ten o'clock, at the folding doors, which opens into the grand gallery, the duke happening to come out at the same juncture with me, did me the honour to walk with me to the end, and then we turned to the right, and continued our walk till we came to the private stairs, which descended to the apartments of the late madame *Pompadour*. In this walk I renewed my entreaties to his lordship, of putting an end to my demand, and of ordering a passport for *Lewis* and me to return. I represented to him the injury and injustice done me for the service I was employed in (though before his time) and in not finishing my affair; the delays I had met with, and the constant expence I was under. His lordship heard me with great patience, good nature, and temper and told me, he had been full of business; but that as soon as he had a little time, he would settle and put an end to it, which he hoped to have leisure to do in a few days; and at parting told me, to go to *Goudin* on the *Tuesday* morning following: this was, I think, on a *Sunday* night: then turning about, after we had parted, he called me to come to him, and told me not to go to *Goudin* till *Friday* morning, by which time he would give his orders to him. In this long walk we did not meet one person to interrupt us the gallery being free from all sort of company, every thing quiet and silent: and having, I may say, his lordship so long to myself, I flattered myself, that the business was as good as half done, as he could not, I imagined, forget it.

Anxious for *Friday* morning, I went that day, about ten in the forenoon, to *Goudin's* office, in the duke's apartment, and found him. I told him, I was come to him by the duke's order, and mentioned what his lordship had been pleased to say to me on *Sunday* night. *Goudin* told me, that the duke had not said one word to him about me; at which I was so surprised, that I looked, I believe, like one suddenly stupified, or thunder-struck. I could scarce recover myself; and when I did, could only with difficulty contain myself at the disappointment. But, continues *Goudin*, he was going to say something about you to me a day or two ago, if he had not been interrupted; and then it went out of his head. I did not dare to say any thing more at this time, but to desire him to put the duke in mind of my requests, and of what he had been pleased to promise me, coming from the *grand couvert*; which you will easily believe he readily promised to do. Marshal *Thomond* was arrived at court from his government, and I was resolved to acquaint him with these particulars, and to pray him to use his interest with the minister to procure me my payment and passport; though I was sorry to request of him the most disagreeable task I could desire of him, which was that of speaking to *Bertin*; a man, whom, I had great reason to believe, he despised. Nevertheless, as I knew the marshal had great friendship for me, and that I had the honour to share in a part of his affection, necessity forcing the barrier, of what I apprehended was discretion and prudence, not to make such a request, I was at last obliged to pray his lordship to speak to the duke *de Choiseiul* and to *Bertin*, and to tell them, if they did not think proper to pay me, that I would drop my demand as to the money, and confine it purely and simply to that of my passport, so that I might return to *England*. This last proposal seemed so

reasonable, that the marshal promised me to mention it to them: and in a few days after, when I had the honour to wait on the marshal, he told me, he had spoke to the duke and *Goudin* separately, and believed what I had desired would be complied with; and thought it extraordinary, if refused. I met the duke soon after, and had the honour to tell him my request, as the marshal had mentioned it, of my asking only the passport; on which he desired me to go to *Goudin*. On meeting this gentleman, and relating to him the request above mentioned, and telling him that I would not insist longer on my demand, touching my money, he told me, I must then apply to Mr. *de Sartine*, by the duke's directions: pursuant to which direction, I wrote to Mr. *de Sartine* at *Paris*; for I would not wait for his coming to *Versailles*. In this letter I observed how cruel it was to keep me so long in suspence, and that I was in great want of money; but that I was still in greater want of returning home: that I was then going to *St. Germain* (four miles only from *Versailles*) to prepare my friend *Lewis* for his departure; that I was directed by the duke to apply to him for the necessary passport only, and prayed him to do me the honour to send it to me, that my friend and I might set out together. I forgot to mention, that the *Sunday* preceding, he had given me again money to pay off my expences at *Versailles*.

On writing this letter to Mr. *de Sartine*, he was pleased to write me the following letter, and to send it to me at *St. Germain's*, which I here give you word for word, as wrote by him•

A *Paris*, 30 *Aout*, 1760.

“Je vous envoy, Monsieur, vôtre passe port, que vous m'avez demandé par votre lettre du 26. Je suis touché de

votre état mais, je n'y puis apporter de remede, et ne comptés plus que je puisse vous envoyer de l'argent à là venir, mes fonds etant bornés, et tous destinés à des parties prénantes.

“Je suis sincerement, a Monsieur,

“Votre très humble serviteur,

“A Monsieur Monsieur *Mac-*
Allester, à St. Germain.”

“DE SARTINE.”

In *English* thus translated.

Paris, 30th of August, 1760.

“I send you, Sir, your passport, which you have demanded from me. I am touched with the case, but cannot apply to it any remedy, and do not count that I can send you for the time to come any money, my funds being limited and destined to the * parties who take them.

“I am sincerely, Sir,

“Your most humble servant,

“To Mr. *MacAllester*
“at *St. Germain.*”

“De Sartine.”

This letter and passport are still in my hands, and the letter will be more clearly explained to you by what follows.

* *The parties who take them:* these I supposed to be the spies, of which the number, as I said before, is incredible, and of all professions; as well of the church amongst the popish priests and abbées, as of the law, and officers of the army, ladies, &c. &c. all paid by the police.

LETTER THE FORTY-SECOND.

NO sooner had I received from Monsieur *de Sartine* his vague letter, which I instantly read with the passport, but my heart swelled with indignation at the falshood and imposing artifice which that letter contains: particularly in the paragraph which intimates, that he is sorry for my want of money, and says, that for the future I must not count that he can send me any. I knew I never asked him for any, nor never expected any from him, or out of his funds, as he calls them; having never had, directly or indirectly, any connection, and but a superficial acquaintance with him, and that only from *April* before; and therefore no pretension to make any demand on him for money: what I wanted was the money due to me from the king, or on his account, which I expected should, and ought (since *Bertin* did not pay it) to be paid by an order from the duke de *Choiseiul*, for the reasons herein after specified; for obtaining which order alone, I thought *de Sartine* might have been of service to me, as he was every *Sunday* on the public business of his office or department, personally with the duke; by which he could not fail of meeting many opportunities of reminding him of my demands, if he pleased to make use of them for that purpose: nor did I ever require any favour from the duke himself: I required from him only common justice, to sign an order for my being paid what was my due, and to order me a proper passport, which I did not think a favour. Hence I could not help thinking *de Sartine's* letter somewhat extraordinary and inconsistent; and that it was not much to the honour of the king, or to the credit and reputation of the duke, or *de*

Sartine, to neglect the modest requests I respectively made them on that head.

De Sartine was so little acquainted with me, that he knew not that he had one to deal with, whose sentiments of honour and probity were not inferior to those of any of his acquaintance, let his circumstances be great or small. There are a set of beings, little deserving the name of men, who, being raised to preferment, make wealth and power more the objects of their care, than the duty of office, or the service of the king or the public; to enrich themselves and their families, and oppress others, is their only views. This species of land pirates have always one predominant disposition, which is, to let no man thrive or prosper but themselves, if they can prevent it; making it a kind of merit to oppose or defeat the just pretensions and demands of honest men, by any pretext or excuse whatsoever. They are well paid however themselves, or pay themselves well, by fleecing the public for pretended services, which they never rendered either to king or country; services which have been the work and labours of better hands and heads, which they were never able, by their own abilities, to project or perform; the honour and profit of which they have the modesty to place to their own account, and generally without any regard or feeling for those who have really done great services: but this is the scandalous practice, and these the infamous politics of low, avaricious, ignorant blunderers only; who oppress and strip the deserving, to gild and dress their own deformities, whilst the wise, the prudent minister, whose services for his king and for his country, will for ever shine in the annals of time, as bright and unspotted as stars in the firmament, despises and abhors such low, such base, such ungrateful practices and

conduct; who generously and liberally rewards the services of the state, well knowing, from the best systems of politics, that he who serves the state should never be abandoned, and that nothing of importance can, in that respect, scarcely ever be too well rewarded. Does not he then, who robs a man of the recompence and merit due to his service, act upon worse principles than a highwayman or thief? This wretch injures but one or two, perhaps, in private property, for which he commonly pays very dear; whilst the other, with impunity, dishonours the sovereign, discourages future services, injures the station, and robs the public of those advantages which she may daily stand in need of, for the preservation and security of king and people against the designs of the enemy. Can any man doubt but that he who would be guilty of such a crime, would also be guilty of robbing on the highway, if driven to necessity? Such vile actions are beneath an honest man, and can only be transacted by a knave and a coward.

Looking over the passport which *de Sartine* was so condescending to give himself the trouble to send me, with such uncommon expedition (though full of resentment, I own I could not help smiling, as I believe you and the public may do) at the trick wrapt up in that ministerial imposition, transmitted in this letter, when it comes to be related.

I determined to write another letter to *de Sartine* concerning this passport, which otherwise necessity would have obliged me to have done, though not so soon. I so far penetrated into his and the duke's politics, with respect to myself, by the purport of his letter, and the passport that accompanied it, that I clearly saw, that the ministers wanted me to stay, and were, by a low and shameful artifice, playing me off, whilst I endeavoured as much as possible to be gone. I

saw that they were afraid to let me go, and that they wanted to hold me in a state of dependence, or expectation of being paid for the service I was employed in, by deceiving and amusing me; which I was determined, if possible, not to submit to any longer. I had now more reason to conclude than ever, that the duke de *Choiseul's* pretended anger to me, and the pretences of *Buhot* on that subject, were specimens of *Berrier's* political behaviour to *Thurot*, or of something that strongly resembled it. I found, that the passport for my leaving *France*, and going to *Holland*, was a ministerial scheme for some design or project of their own, which I would not enter into, or ever desire to know. I knew the king and his ministers (though I had in my pocket his permission to stay in *France*, and had never done any thing to forfeit it) might do as they pleased; and that they had a right, I must suppose, to send me out of his kingdom, or any other foreigner; but none to send me in particular to *Holland*, any more than to *Jericho*, or *Jerusalem*. I had all the reason to suspect, that demanding my money and passport to return home, had set them on their metal, and I supposed might have angered them a little against me, at that juncture. I was not insensible, that my persisting at this time to have a new passport, with what I had said touching my money, did not fail to rouse them, as well as to give me some concern and surprise in the progression of these affairs. But, pray, will you not share in the surprise, and will you not concur in my ideas and opinion of the folly and presumption of men, in endeavouring, from the ill application of power, to impose on the senses and understanding of others, as I have above hinted, when you find, that the passport sent me by *de Sartine*, and mentioned in his letter of that day, was the very identical old passport, of the 20th of *April* preceding, in force

only for one month from the date, for my going to *Holland*; and which was expired three months and ten days, when he inclosed it to me; the very numerical passport, which that letter *Buhot* had returned to *de Sartine* or *Duval*, after I had given it to him in the latter end of *May*, in order, as I imagined, to get me a new one from the duke *de Choiseiul*; but which was now returned to me, to impose on me as above. Surely, says I to myself, *de Sartine* imagines, I have neither the sense of seeing or understanding, or that I dare not make use of either. However, I was not sorry at getting this passport again into my hands, to preserve it; which I have carefully done ever since, with the letter that conveyed it to me.

Three or four days after the receipt of this droll letter and passport, I wrote *de Sartine* a short letter, according to my former resolution i wherein I told him, I was surprised at receiving a passport from him, which had been so long expired, and, by consequence, useless to me. I supposed it to be a mistake, I said; for I would not appear to be too wise, or to know more than they would have me, at this juncture; and therefore only begged he would send me a proper passport, with my friend *Lewis's* name inserted therein, as well as mine. In answer to which, I received from *Duval*, his secretary, a letter addressed to me, at the *White Cross* at *Versailles*, which is still in my hands, and is in the following words.

“A *Paris*, le 12 *Sept.* 1760.

“MONSIEUR,

“Le lieutenant general de police me charge de vous mander, Monsieur, que vous ayez à venir à *Paris* avec Monsieur *Lewis* vôtre amy, et que vous veniez tous deux en

semble lui parler.

“En m’acquittant des ordres du magistrat, je profite de cette occasion pour vous dire que je suis sincèrement,

“MONSIEUR,

“Votre très humble, et

“Très obeissant serviteur,

“A Mons. Mons. *MacAllester*,

“DUVAL.”

“à la *Croix Blanc* à *Versailles*”

In *English* as follows.

“*Paris*, 12th *September*, 1760.

“SIR,

“The lieutenant-general of the police orders me to write to you to come to *Paris* with your friend Mr. *Lewis*, and that you should come both together to speak to him.

“In acquitting myself of the orders of the magistrate, I embrace this opportunity to tell you, that I am sincerely,

“SIR,

“Your most humble, and

“Most obedient servant,

“To Mr. *MacAllester*, at the

“DUVAL.”

“*White Cross* at *Versailles*.”

When I had received and read this letter, I no longer doubted, but that my letter to *de Sartine* had had the desired effect; and that I should have the pleasure of a proper passport, and seeing an end to all my uneasiness and apprehensions; nor did I doubt of receiving a recompence for my services, somewhat suitable to the crown and dignity of a

great monarch: in a word, I concluded all was settled, and that *Lewis* and I should set out on our journey for *England* in two or three days, after our arrival at *Paris*: for the accomplishing of which object, so dear to both, I went to *St. Germain* next day, and shewed *Lewis* the letter, who was much rejoiced at the good news we imagined it intended for us. But his fate, alas! poor man, had no such happiness in store for him: his unhappy end was otherwise determined; of which *Buhot* and others (God forgive them) were the cause.

Immediately after dinner we took coach, and drove away to *Paris*. We quitted our coach at the door of *de Sartine's* hotel, and went to *Duval's* apartment, where I found him waiting; and telling him, that I had brought Mr. *Lewis*, pursuant to his letter, he desired his son, a young secretary, and promising sprig of that prolific root of iniquity (the police) to conduct us to Mr. *de Sartine*, who, he pretended, had something particular to say to me in private. We went into the great parlour in Mr. *de Sartine's* apartment, and waited a while, till the young secretary went to his master, to let him know that we were come. He soon returned with Mr. *de Sartine's* compliments, and to let me know he was engaged on private affairs with a bishop (a common hackney excuse with several of those gentlemen at *Paris*, when they would avoid an interview) but that the duke *de Choiseul* had signified to him, that I should come to town and stay at *Paris*, until further orders from him. New amasement! new consternation! I wondered that the duke did not signify this order to me himself at *Versailles*, or by Mr. *Goudin*, his secretary. Recovering myself a little from my consternation, pray, Mr. *Duval*, said I, is this all? All (answers *le petit maitre*) that I know; at least all that Mr. *de Sartine* said to

me. And pray, continued I, where is Mr. *Lewis* to go or stay? Where he will: he may return to his lodgings at *St. Germain*, if he pleases, replies the young scribe. And is this all? or is it for this that Mr. *de Sartine* desired I should bring *Lewis* to town, to send him directly back? 'Tis very well, Sir, said I; we must obey. And then we departed much discomposed. I immediately took lodgings in the *rue Tournon*, facing the duke of *Nivernois's* hôtel and kept my friend with me about a fortnight, who then returned full of secret grief to his retreat at cursed *St. Germain*. I promised to go to see him, and in a few days, if I heard nothing farther from the duke or *de Sartine* relative to my demands and requests, to go or write once more to both.

Fifteen days being now elapsed, without hearing a tittle from any of those gentlemen, I wrote another letter to Mr. *de Sartine*, telling him how long I had waited, in expectation of hearing from the duke or him, since I came from *Versailles* by his order; and that all I now desired was a proper passport for *Lewis* and myself, and hoped he would speak to the Duke on *Sunday*, when he went to *Versailles*, in order to get this passport for me; and to bring it with him to town, and to send it to me. Much sooner than expected, I received his answer to this letter, inclosed in another from *Duval*, which is likewise still in my hands, and in these words following.

“A *Paris*, 24 *Sept.* 1760.

“Monsieur de *Sartine* me charge de vous mandez, Monsieur, qu'il a recû votre lettre d'hier, où vous lui mandéz de vous faire avoir un nouveau passe-port, le tems du premier etant expiré; et en même tems de vous dire, que vous vous adressiez en droiture, par une lettre à Monsieur le duc de *Choiseiul*, attendu qu'ayant sollicité ce ministre, pour vous

tollerer à *Paris*, dans le tems qui vouloit vous en éloigner, il y avoit une bizarrerie de parler aujourd'hui tout differement.

“Je suis très parfaitement, Monsieur,

“Votre très humble, et

“Très obeissant serviteur,

“DUVAL.”

Thus translated.

“*Paris, 24th September, 1760.*

“I am commanded by Mr. *de Sartine*, Sir, to acquaint you, that he has received your letter of yesterday, wherein you desire that he would get you a new passport, the time of the first being expired; and at the same time to tell you, that you yourself ought to address in the ordinary way, by letter to the duke *de Choiseiul*; for as he had solicited that minister to let you stay at *Paris*, at the time he would have sent you away from thence, it would now be impolite for him to talk at this time in a contrary manner.

“I am, most perfectly, Sir,

“Your most humble, and

“Most obedient servant,

“DUVAL.”

You see, and all the world may see, upon the face of these letters, the poor chicane and artifice made use of for refusing me the money and passport, and what some men are capable of writing and of doing. You may now also see, that the duke *de Choiseiul's* anger was political and pretended or why did he not send me away the day or week the passport expired, or during three months that I resided at *Versailles*, and every day under his own eyes. The falshood and untruths of the

above letters are self-evident. *De Sartine* I had never beheld in my life, till I went to him by *Buhot's* advice and direction, after I had received this remarkable passport, to get him to speak to the duke *de Choiseiul*, to give an order that I might be paid before I left *Paris*; as it was *de Sartine's* business and duty to carry all complaints and representations, made at *Paris*, to the minister, and mine I imagined more particularly to the duke, who was then minister of foreign affairs, and whose duty, as such, is to take care of foreigners, to see that justice is done them, that their wants are supplied, and that their grievances are redressed; especially where they regard the king or the state. As I had no other request to make, I could not, in such a case, apply with propriety to any other person than to *de Sartine*, about what concerned the payment of what was due to me long before he came into office, which was not to come out of his purse: and as I had no sort of acquaintance or connection with him, but as before mentioned, I could not expect he should do me any particular favour, or interest himself for me, at a time he knew me not, to ask the duke for this pretended permission (*de me tollerer à Paris dans le tems, qu'il vouloit m'en éloigner*) for me to stay at *Parts* it would be absurd to the last degree, and contrary to common sense or reason to believe that I should ask him any such favour. All I could, or did expect from him, was to do his duty, and to represent (as I had done without success) the justice of my demand to the duke *de Choiseiul*, which I supposed he might do more efficaciously. I was confirmed in this opinion, since, being persuaded, that the money he paid me at *Versailles*, to defray my expences at that place, was paid by the duke's order. How idle and how ridiculous then is the expression of *Duval's* letter, where he says, it would at this time seem impolite, if he was to ask a

passport for me. Had the duke been desirous to send me away, as one who had offended or disobliged, all I could say or do could not prevent it. Hence I doubt not but you clearly see into the whole of those impositions, and mean artifices above-mentioned, and which are frequently practised by men in power, on such as are not in a situation to oppose them: of which I am but one example, I believe, among hundreds. Such then were the politics of the ministers of that court, on the subject of my asking for the money that was due to me, and a passport to carry me out of their country, Politics, of which the young pretender was, as I soon after learned, behind the curtain, *the primum mobile*, or principal spring in all these extraordinary proceedings, which lead me to shew you others of much more cruelty and injustice in my succeeding letters.

LETTER THE FORTY-THIRD.

RESIDING at *Paris*, attending the promised passport, though it did not prevent my going at times to *St. Germain* and *Versailles*, to visit my friends and acquaintance) *providence*, for wiser purposes than can be perceived by the penetrating eye of the most consummate sagacity, or conceived by human understanding, prevented my obtaining this passport from the ministers, which I had so long and impatiently solicited when leaving them in the pursuit of their own ingratitude and iniquitous designs, she placed me as her instrument to render their bloody projects against *England* fruitless and abortive.

News, according to custom, arriving daily from all parts of

the world, confirming the accounts of the new and unexpected losses of the *French*, undone in *Asia* and *Africa*; and all *Canada* reduced by the success of the *British* troops in *North America*, were matters which occasioned great and continual murmurings and complaints of the people, whilst the court shewed the same indifferent concern at those mortifying occurrences, as she had hitherto done in all her former miscarriages, stedfastly relying on one last and infallible effort, as they imagined, for recovering the whole, and something more, by way of retaliation and satisfaction. The secret destination of this enterprize was still as inviolably preserved, as the preparations for executing the project were industriously and vigorously carried on.

In the end of *October*, news not less consequential for *Europe*, than any she had heard in the course of past years, arrived at *Paris* and *Versailles*, confirming the death of his late majesty, king *George II.* universally lamented by his faithful subjects, whose sorrows could only be extenuated and consoled, by seeing his present majesty succeed to the throne of the best of kings, fortified to him by the affectionate hearts and unbounded love of his people, truly devoted to his royal person, and to the prosperity and happiness of their sovereign.

An event so interesting could not fail to alarm the court of *France* and all her allies; and immediately to set all her political springs once more in motion. Councils and cabinet councils, were every day or night successively held on this occasion. The deliberations and decisions of which were only communicated and made known to the young pretender. Couriers with expresses continued for a long time to be daily sent abroad, whilst others returned with their dispatches;

whereby matters were in some little time so soon arranged by the *French* ministers, that, in the spring following, that nation put on a new promising aspect, like that of the season, which often deceives us: or, as if she had not sustained either loss or misfortune during any of the foregoing campaigns. The whole political body, and all (as the lawyers write) the members and appurtenances thereunto belonging, were now secretly at work, and every faculty employed, so as to leave them no room to doubt of accomplishing their most hidden and formidable views, by their dark and mysterious operations.

Expresses were also continually going and coming to and from *Dunkirk, Rohan, Havre, Dieppe, Boulogne, Calais*, and other parts of the coast: the chevalier *d'Arcy*, who had the inspection of the flat-bottomed boats in those ports, and all along the coast, under comte *d'Herouville*, was continually travelling to or from one or other of those places, and making experiments with those vessels, and with the prames, which were found to sail as fast as any of the men of war, or other vessels, and to answer the most ardent wishes and expectations of the ministers, with respect to navigation and utility, whilst the hidden embers at *Brest* began to rekindle and spread their baneful influence along the coast. Comte *d'Herouville*, who, under the minister, was the chief director in the preparations now secretly making and carrying on, for this bold and daring attempt, and who was to have had the principal command therein, (the success of which the king and his ministers looked upon actually as infallible) was now, with all diligence, riding post to *Dunkirk*, and from thence to *Paris* and *Versailles*, every month or six weeks, giving his secret orders and directions, touching the marine, and other

branches of the intended embarkation; communicating to the ministers what he had done, or thought necessary to be done, consulting them, and receiving their orders.

To blind the curious, and betray the credulous, this work was to be carried on under a mask or pretext of other public business. To cover and conceal the grand design as much as possible, they thought it therefore necessary to place or throw out a kind of phantom before the eyes of the people, to dazzle and deceive them, and to divert their imaginations and attentions, by persuading them to think and believe, that the motive and necessity of this gentleman's going so frequently to and from *Dunkirk*, was different from that of the real one. With this view, there being a long tract of land, which is commonly covered with water about three parts of the year, lying off *Berge* and *Dunkirk*, extending itself on the east side towards *Ostend*; a considerable part of which, it is said, belongs to the *Austrian* territories, the cultivation of this tract, to avoid disputes between the two crowns, has been always neglected; it was now given out that the court of *France* was going to drain this land, or her part of it; and that *d'Herouville* had got a grant of a considerable part of those lands, in case of his being able to get them brought in and reclaimed. The better to carry on the draining farce, an engine or two, with some working tools and machines of little value, were brought to the place, to set about this pretended draining, in which a few hands were employed: whereby *d'Herouilles* real designs and business were effectually concealed, and unsuspected by the people, whose thoughts were taken up with the hopes of seeing this curious work succeed, for the benefit of the whole neighbourhood, and all the low countries.

Comte *d'Herouville*, who I have been obliged to mention in this place, is a lieutenant-general of the king's armies, a man of profound learning, a good officer, a great mathematician, philosopher, and orator; indefatigable in his studies or applications in all public affairs. He is commonly at work in his cabinet, surrounded with books, papers, globes, and mathematical instruments, at five o'clock every morning, if the season permits. He is a member of the royal academy, and in great esteem with that learned body, as well as with all, who know him. He is courteous and affable, and his generosity runs almost to profusion; which, with the great expence he fell into on account of the affair of an invasion, has hurt his fortune; never suspecting to meet with any disappointment in the execution of that project. His abilities gave occasion to a report about this time, *viz.* that he was to be taken into the ministry, which it is thought he then declined, on account of the project and assurances of the extraordinary advantages, which, it was expected, would result to him from the great enterprize under his direction. Though there were several other officers of the highest birth, rank, and merit, destined for particular commands in this tremendous expedition, the grand secret and conduct thereof was principally confided to him, and such part of it, as he judged proper, to those he should make choice of; the pretender's opinion and approbation always first taken.

D'Arcy, who is called *the chevalier d'Arcy*, is an *Irishman* (who has frenchified his name, and signs it, as you see, by an apostrophe) is of a gentleman's family, and was educated in *France*. About *Christmas* 1761, he was appointed colonel of honour in the regiment belonging to the late unfortunate *Lally*, consisting of about fifty private men only, at the time

of their return to *France*, after their fatal expedition to *Pondicherry*. *D'Arcy* is but a young man, of low, mean figure: he is, however, a good scholar, and, I think, a member of the royal academy also. The brevet of colonel was bestowed on him, to give him a title or qualifying rank in the business confided to him by the ministers and *d'Herouville*, to whom he was a jackall. He was a favourite with the countess *de Sabatin*, who is favourite of *St. Florentin*, to whom she has given several little representatives: her private history will, one day or other, I am persuaded, afford the public no small entertainment. By these, and the like tricks and artifices, as above mentioned, the great work was carrying on, without suspicion, on the side of *Dunkirk*, or any noise, more than what was usual and common in time of war; which was what the king and ministers had mostly at heart; as a discovery, they feared, would have blown up all, and exposed and ruined their darling project and resource.

In some of those excursions made by the count *d'Herouville* from *Versailles*, he made one or two trips, as I was afterwards informed, *incog.* to the coast of *England*, to reconnoitre the places pitched upon for the debarkation of the *French* troops and artillery; where I found, from the same authority, the young pretender more than once had also been, and of which there can be no doubt, as you will clearly perceive, by all that will appear in the following letters, touching that part of his adventures.

LETTER THE FORTY-FOURTH.

ALL objections relative to the project being now satisfied, and every doubt or difficulty touching the danger of miscarriage removed or reconciled, so far as sense, consideration, and argument, could operate nothing remained to assure success, but concealment of the design, until the preparations were finished, and the favourable moment (which they had fixed upon) arrived, for carrying it into execution; except the removal of the *English* minister, the scourge of *France*, the spoiler and bane of her projects and councils: and in the fluctuating state, which the *British* affairs were then in, the *French* ministers no longer doubted of seeing her wishes soon gratified also in a change of the *English* ministry, and the person, whom she so much dreaded, no longer in power or capacity to hurt her.

No opportunity was therefore to be lost or neglected, in preparing for an event, which they supposed and believed to be not very remote; which added fresh courage to her hopes, in prosecuting the great design of invasion. For which purpose, *Dumont*, who had been employed, *September 1759*, in fathoming and measuring that part of the coast of *England*, with the ports and harbours, destined for the debarkation of the *French* troops, &c. was therefore now sent for to *Versailles*, with orders to bring with him the instructions formerly sent to him, as before mentioned, with his answer or report thereupon, and the chart he made of the coast, towns, harbours, &c. to be again laid before the ministers.

In consequence of these orders, he soon arrived at *Versailles*, to go through an examination touching these matters, to give all the necessary *eclaircissements*, and to satisfy the ministers of the facility of making the descent, and to explain so far as concerned his knowledge in the branch of this project communicated to his care, and which was, in fact, undoubtedly more important and essential, than any other. The policy used on this occasion had some resemblance to that used with *Thurot*; but the business, and the consequences, were of much greater weight and importance. To land an army of about fifty thousand men, in seven or eight hours, in *England*, was an object of the deepest and most interesting concern; it required the most deliberate considerations, the most prudent measures and unbiassed councils, without mentioning the wisest precautions, to deprive a mighty sovereign of his throne, his crown, and his kingdoms, to settle a pretender in his place, to overturn the laws and constitution of the nation, and to deprive the great and small of their possessions, liberties and religion, and many of their lives, by an invasion, or rather by a massacre, and destruction of all that should dare to oppose them, was a most daring and desperate attempt; a matter wherein the greatest abilities of the most consummate statesmen and ministers might be uneffectually employed: it was a subject for a *Richelieu*, a *Mazarine*, a *Zimenes*, or an *Alberoni*; it was not, therefore, less a subject for a *Belleisle* or a *Choiseiul*, enraged to retrieve and recover the insupportable losses, which their king and their country had sustained; to avenge the supposed wrongs, which they surmised had been done to both, by the enemies of their master, as well as to secure him and his friend, or ally, from future evils, was to them a provocation, which they thought would justify the worst

actions they could do, and would amply recompence the expence, and trouble, by an extravagant retribution.

Dumont was an experienced sea-officer, much esteemed by the ministers for his knowledge in maritime affairs; and was now more to be depended upon, it was thought, than any of their gay fluttering summer admirals. When he came to *Versailles*, he was clean; that is, all that one can say in favour of his dress, which was a plain ordinary blue coat, with yellow metal buttons, a full round black bob-wig, large hat, long walking-stick, no sword, bag, or ruffles, which gave him the air of a rough country coachman or waggoner, objects not very common in that splendid court. His story to deceive, was a pretence that his journey was to recover some prize-money, for which he was obliged to commence a suit at law; that he had left *Dunkirk*, and was come to *Paris*, to solicit friends, interest, and protection at court, to obtain a sentence or decree there in his favour. He had, however, an apartment and bed-chamber assigned him, in the hôtel of the duke *de Penthievre*, at *Versailles*. This nobleman is a prince of the blood, lord high admiral of *France*, and much esteemed for his humanity, benevolence, and the many charities he bestows on the poor and necessitous. *Dumont's* directions from the minister were not to appear but as little as possible publicly, nor to be seen coming or going to and from their apartments in the day time; the night only was the time appointed for him to attend them; and the better to facilitate and conceal his interviews, he had a master-key or *passee-partout* given him, for the convenience of going in and out, at such times as he pleased, by a private door in the gardens belonging to the duke *de Penthievre's* house, without being noticed or spoke to by the servants, who had their

directions accordingly.

When he went at night to attend the ministers, there never was any one present but marshal *Belleisle*, the duke *de Choiseuil*, *Berrier*, and *St. Florentin*, on those important meetings and conferences; the first, he said, talk'd a good deal, and asked many questions; the second talked much more, and put many more questions to him; the third said much less, and asked fewer questions than the other two; and the fourth asked scarcely any, but listened attentively to all that was said or questioned. Thus matters went on for a while, and *Dumont* had intervals of recreation, to go at times to see his sister, who was married at *Paris*, and to return to *Versailles* again; for as yet he had nothing final communicated to him.

Having in my walks met with *Dumont*, and renewed our acquaintance, we went to take a glass together. He knew I was much esteemed by marshal *Thomond*, who had, on occasions, done him some service at *Dunkirk*, on his applying to him for that purpose, when he came to that place, as inspector-general of the king's forces. He had heard likewise that I had been employed by the court, and had been sent to *Rochelle* on a secret expedition, which he imagined to be something of very great consequence, and in which opinion he never was undeceived by me. General *Sullivan*, in *France* commonly called Sir *John O'Sullivan*, herein before-mentioned, had a great friendship for *Dumont*, from their former extraordinary adventure and escape in 1746. On drinking our bottle, *Dumont* began to talk of his old friend *Sullivan*, and asked me when I had seen him? I told him that I had seen him a few days before, walking with some ladies in the gardens; and that he was easily to be seen at the same

place every day, when the beau monde came there. He replied, he should be glad to see him, to consult with him, and shew him some papers. Which set me a longing to know what they were. He then talked of some other of his adventures: and the other bottle of *Burgundy* began to make him more gay, and made him unbutton with regard to the ministers. For, said he to me, You have been at *Rochelle*? Yes, said I. Does lord *Thomond* know it? Yes, continued I; though he knew it not till my return, and then he knew not the subject of my going there. By G—d I love him well, replies *Dumont*; for he is one of the most worthy noblemen in *France*, and did me several acts of kindness the two last times he came down to the coast. Well, said he, I wish *Irish* marshal *Thomond* were in the ministry. 'Tis the de--l to have to do with some of them, and to make them understand things right. He then related several particulars about them. You say nothing but truth, said I, Mr. *Dumont*, to my own knowledge, (I began at this instant to be on fire to learn what this business was) for in this affair, continued I, that I have had with them, after my return from *Rochelle*, and since, I have had a thousand difficulties with them, and can't get them to understand me yet. That is very hard, I own, said he. Well, we shall do our business to some purpose by and by. It won't be very long before we see old *England*, for all that; but I must tell you, continued *Dumont*, one thing more, and I had a mind, the other night, to say as much to marshal *Belleisle*, and to the duke *de Choiseiul*; which is, that, d--- me if half our *French* admirals, and captains of men of war, don't deserve to be hang'd; they are a pack of conceited *jean f---rs*, who mind dress, pleasures, and women, more than their duties and professions as seamen, who know not what they are about: d--- me, said he, if I do not get, in twenty-four

hours, fifty or sixty old *Flemish* dogs of captains about *Dunkirk* and our coast, who would skin the king's officers, and kill them with fatigue. Some of them have sailed twenty or thirty years in fishing-boats, and other vessels, who know the *English* shore, creeks, and harbours on the coast (*sacré Dieu*) as well as their own bed-chambers; and who shall do more work in twenty-four hours, and go through more danger than all the powder monkeys of *Brest*, *Toulon* and *Rochfort* can do in a year.

Such was our discourse, and *Dumont's* opinion of his hardy *Flemings*. We had now drawn the third cork, and I did not doubt of drawing more with him, and something more essential from him. I told marshal *Belleisle* something to this very purpose, said he; and as I am to be with the ministers again in two or three nights, I shall tell them the same thing when I am before them. We then talked of the nature of debarking the troops, &c. When ready to part, he promised to let me see some interesting papers relative to the subject. I assured him, I would not be wanting to shew him some papers in my turn, of which I had sent the originals to court, and others that I had from lord *Tbomond* and others, that I transcribed whilst at *Versailles*, attending and frequenting the ministers; which would not only surprise him, but all *Europe*, if they were known; and which related to an affair that I had been employed in for the king. This discourse instantly raised his curiosity to the highest pitch; on which he promised to put his papers in his pocket, and to meet me next morning at *Luxembourg*, where we had concluded to meet in the most retired part of these gardens. On my going there after breakfast, I found my man, who had waited an hour for me. I proposed going and dining together, and reading the

papers over; but he begged to be excused, telling me, he was obliged to return to his sister, to go with her to dine in the country, and that they should not be in town till next day; but, for fear I should be uneasy, had started from home to meet me. Then giving me the packet of papers out of his pocket, begged I would take great care of them; telling me, that I might read them over at night, or in the morning in bed, or at my leisure, till he came to town: then requesting of me, not to let the papers be seen by any one, he promised to come directly to me, as soon as come back with his sister, in order to look over ray papers, which I told him were always ready at his service with pleasure. In talking over these affairs, this served effectually to amuse *Dumont*; on which we parted, leaving me the papers: the consequences of which I am going to recite.

LETTER THE FORTY-FIFTH.

IMPATIENT to peruse *Dumont's* papers, I directly quitted the gardens, returned home, and shut myself up to read them over, and consider them. The first I found was the original instructions to *Dumont*, signed *d'Arcy*, in *September 1759*, requiring him to sail for the coast of *England*, and to reconnoitre that coast, and the landing-places; to fathom the waters, to examine the harbours for landing the *French* troops, &c. and placing the flat-bottomed boats out of danger of being attacked or molested, &c. The next was *Dumont's* answer or report, which you will hereafter find at large. And the third was the chart of the harbours, coast, and towns, where the descent was to be made. Having read them over, weighed and considered them more than once, I could not

avoid being filled with surprise and consternation; my thoughts started and flew from me like sudden lightnings.

It was, in truth, for a considerable time, before my mind was free from agitations; and as soon as it was composed, I began to think at last, that *providence* had some particular blessing in store for me; that she had reserved me, by her secret decrees, to make me the instrument, not only to punish the perfidy, ingratitude, and tyranny of certain persons, but to defeat and ruin those bloody designs, formed by the enemy against his majesty, his crown, and his kingdoms; and that it would now be completely in my power to perform the important service of defeating all their schemes, if I could get out of the kingdom, which I was determined to do, or to perish in the attempt, notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers that opposed it. To compass this object, I was resolved to pursue my own politics, which I flattered myself in the end would surpass those of the ministers, by an assured success; that of theirs being now in my hands, and in my power to disappoint or delay; at least, I was using my best endeavours for that purpose. I found they had forgot *Richlieu's* political testament, where he desires and directs ministers to render justice to honest men employed in the state; and found likewise, that they had not better remembered the fragment of *Titus Livius*, thus mentioned by their celebrated *Rollin*. “Ne scais tu pas que les grands arbres sont long tems à croitre et qu’il ne faut qu’une heure pour les arracher? Que le lion sert quelquefois de nature aux plus petits oiseaux? Que le fer malgre sa durete est consume par la rouille? Qu’en fin, qu’il ne rien de se fort que les chose les plus foibles ne puissent détruire?”

Thus translated.

“Know you not, that the lofty trees, which for such a series of years are growing, may in an hour be levelled with the earth? That the lion serves sometimes as food to the smallest birds? That the iron, notwithstanding its hardness, is consumed by rust? That, in fine, there is nothing so strong, but what can be destroyed by the weakest things?”

My plan, therefore, was now founded, consisting of two articles, like that which the *French* ministers had concerted for themselves. The first article of theirs was, to exterminate the Jesuits; the second, to ruin *England*, if possible, by an invasion. The first of these articles they effected; the design of the last I defeated. The first article of my scheme, therefore, was, to get these papers copied, and then properly concealed. The second article was, to get to *England*, to ruin the designs of the enemy, and save my king and country from the dangers that threatened both, and render the whole troops, to be embarked, the victim of the enterterprize.

I was resolved to copy these papers myself, knowing it to be too dangerous to confide them to any amanuensis at *Paris*; which I did with great hazard; but the chart was much beyond my skill or abilities, to do it as it ought to be done. Therefore, my landlord's son-in-law, being a clerk in one of the offices at the *Hôtel Dieu*, I applied to him early next morning, telling him, I had a chart of a landscape, and should take it as a favour if he could get it well copied for me, in order to send the copy to a friend in the country by the next post. This man was always willing to oblige me: he told me, he could get it done, he believed, in two or three hours, by some of the youth of the house, where he was going, who were all taught drawing. In fine, he took the original with him, and returned it to me in a few hours, with a copy very

well done. According to promise, *Dumont* came to me the second day, as soon as he had brought his sister home. He seemed in a hurry, and said, he could not stay a minute with me, having been sent for by the ministers the night before. He took his papers, which I had ready for him, and went to *Versailles*, promising to come to me at his return, and to bring me all his news.

My next step was, to conceal my papers; which I effectually did, by placing them as family-papers in the hands of a trusty person, who carefully locked them up, as papers only concerning my private affairs. I had now to solicit the passport, and to conduct; myself so, as to get away by some stratagem, which accident or industry might present. I considered the impressions made on me in childhood, as the weaknesses and prejudices of superannuated relations of ancient date, whose family had suffered for those of the ungrateful *Stuarts*. I considered my eyes were now opened to their wickedness and tyranny; that I was become a proselyte, a proselyte upon conviction, detesting the person, principles, politics, and tyranny of the pretender, his agents, tools, and ministers, as much as any man living. Where I expected to have seen and found honour and virtues shining in the transactions of great men (falsely so called by some) I saw and found nothing, but low and mean actions, with every species of deceit and perfidy to cheat and defraud for trifles, such as would make a poor man blush, if detected in them, I reflected what malice might perhaps insinuate against me, on account of that family, in order to prejudice me; as there are many, who say and do evil, for the sake of evil; knowing, and being fully convinced, that I should have for everlasting enemies all those of every denomination, who have any

attachment to the pretender and the *French*. I knew what they would wish and say; yet I was going to do more for my king and country, than all those evil heads and tongues together had ever done, or will ever be able to do, to serve either. I flattered myself, that the first might say, You that have sinned, sin no more; whilst the other should say, There is more joy in heaven over one sinner, &c. I considered, that, even if I had taken up arms in *Scotland* (where I never had been in my life) against the king and the nation, and that I had been, through ignorance or otherwise, as great a rebel as ever left that kingdom, I was now in the way of repairing my ignorance, and saving the nation, to extricate her from the evils intended against her. I considered, that, in pursuing my designs effectually, I was going to serve a generous and gracious monarch, who would not abandon, or suffer to be abandoned, a person, who, by his political conduct and labours, had obtained such knowledge, would make such discoveries, and furnish such lights and intelligences, as should frustrate and defeat so atrocious a design, as that of the enemy, then in agitation against his sacred person and kingdoms; and that I could not possibly doubt, but, from such a sovereign, to receive a recompence, adequate to the service; a service as yet unparalleled in this kingdom by any one individual; as no expence would be created, or blood lavished, on our part since I was able to point out the very place, or places, where the enemy was to land; by which they might have been all taken or destroyed, before they should be in a state of doing any mischief; by which their scheme must be defeated, and they obliged to beg a peace on their knees.

I therefore determined to pursue all such measures, as my own poor stock of knowledge and prudence should dictate to

me, assisted by that *providence*, that had detained me in *France*, in order to compass and bring to perfection my hazardous design. Under these considerations, I at length remained quite easy; observing their political motions; relying on his majesty's goodness, in case I should succeed; and the testimonies of a nation, distinguished throughout the globe, not only for the immense sums it grants for secret services, but for the particular acts of generosity and humanity it ever exercises towards those, who render them the smallest services. In my next I shall proceed to give you the rest of *Dumont's* conduct and intelligence.

LETTER THE FORTY-SIXTH.

DUMONT, after staying about three days and nights at *Versailles*, returned to me at *Paris*. He could not, I find, keep from me; and whilst he staid in town, he came every day to me; he told me, in those private conversations which passed between us, that the ministers had determined on the invasion, which could not be sooner than the winter 1762; that he had got orders, in the interim, to mark out a list of a number of the captains, such as he knew on the coast, fit for the intended service, and likewise second captains, and to send such list to the minister. He told me, that, by taking the advantage of a dark night, and favourable wind, it was demonstrated, concluded and agreed on, that the whole fleet of transports would (by lights to be erected for that purpose in one hour's time) sail from the several ports of *France* at the same instant, and in seven or eight hours get to their destination on the coast of *England*, and debark their troops, notwithstanding any fleet of men of war that might be sent

out to watch or oppose them. He said, the several flat-bottomed boats would or should carry lights upon the starboard side; that, of the whole compass, there were but only about three points, from which the wind could blow, so as to obstruct or be against them, to hinder their landing with ease and safety: that, on coming in with the coast, and the day-light appearing (they being then out of danger of being seen or attacked by the men of war) the flat-bottomed boats could form such a battery of themselves, on being drawn together, as would cover the troops in their landing for miles in length, and sweep the coast, in case any thing should offer to oppose them. He said, in fact, there is no troops of consequence to oppose us, at this time, in *England*; we shall be but three or four days march from *London* at our landing; and before they can collect and march such a body of forces, as to make any head, it will be all over.

This, and the like, were the informations and knowledge which I drew, and extracted, I may say, from *Dumont*; the execution of which, he assured me, were the ministers ultimate resolutions at his departure from them. He promised to write to me, which he did; and sent me from *Dunkirk*, on his going there, the paper writing printed, with the instructions; which was to shew me, that the young pretender had come from *England*, after visiting the coast, in a *Dutch* vessel or yacht; that he called himself, and signed himself *le Motte*, a *French* officer, which was to make him pass on the captain of the little yacht as such an officer. But *Dumont* being then stationed, as he told me, in an armed vessel to guard the entry of the port and harbour at *Boulogne*, where he examined all vessels coming out or going in, assured me of this fact, and sent me the paper before

mentioned, farther to convince me of the truth of what he told me. These matters I secretly treasured up; and I believe you will think they were very well worth remembring, and preserving. My further correspondence with *Dumont* was soon cut off by the young pretender's secret orders. For one day *Jemmy Stuart*, his valet de chambre, being then in *Paris* hunting about to find out Miss *Walkinshaw*, he learned that *Dumont* had been intimate with me, and frequently together: on which orders were sent to him not to write to me, which he punctually obeyed.

There was a great intimacy, whilst I was at *Paris*, between a gentleman, whose name was Sir *William Stuart*, and me. This gentleman had, from his younger days, spent most of his time in *Italy*; at *Venice* he married a *Venetian* lady, who was very worthy and deserving, as well as very handsome, and in all respects agreeable; they were now residing both in *Paris*. Sir *William* was a friendly good natured man, and we were seldom a day from each other. I had also, amongst many other friends and acquaintances, an intimacy with one general *Nugent*, commonly called Sir *Peter Nugent*, or viscount *Limerick*. We lived in the same neighbourhood. With one or other of those two gentlemen I was every day when in town. With the general I had a kind of affinity, I found, so old as to be almost worn out. I had much such another with old brigadier *Cusack*, formerly lieutenant-colonel of *Roth's* regiment. Madame la comtesse *de Sabatin*, before-mentioned, is his natural daughter. Sir *William* and I were continually walking in *Luxembourg* together, or with our other friends and acquaintance. He was intimate with *M---*, so well versed in the art and mystery of play, and who had been at *Brest* with the young pretender. This person, in his discourse with Sir *William*, and once or

twice before me, as we walked together, though I had no acquaintance with him, more than merely seeing him in the gardens, vaunted and boasted of his journey to *Brest*, and that the pretender had brought down the ministers of *France* to his own bow, had made them come to his terms, or that otherwise the king and nation would be ruined; and therefore they were now reduced to act *sur la bonne foy*, and do what, or as he desired.

When Sir *William* and I were alone, he often spoke of the bad opinion he, and indeed all the gentlemen of the *Scotch* nation, entertained of this person, and how much he was hated and despised by them in general. On one of those occasions, I asked Sir *William*, why he visited him, or received his visits at home, since he was such a man, as most people chose to avoid having any connections with? To which the knight answered, that it was for the sake of hearing news, and learning some particulars, which, he said, he could at times get out of him, otherwise he would not be seen with him, or have any thing to do with him; for even at this time it began to be whispered, that some particular persons had been undone by him at play. He had some scheme going forward with two Jesuits; one of whom he called *Pere Crookshanks*, a *Scotchman*; and the other *Pere Marie*, a *Fleming*; which gave Sir *William* much speculation, and an anxiety extraordinary to find out what the business could be; but without being able to make the least discovery: which he thought not so well of, as they had dined together at *M--y's* house, where Sir *William* observed great silence and ceremony in their behaviour, whilst he stay'd. Some few days had past, when Sir *William* coming to me, told me, he had the night before had a long conversation with this same

countryman of his. He then told me, that there was a gentleman come to town from *Turin*, who was on his road going to *England*, and that this person visited him constantly every morning, and that the traveller was to dine with him, and begged Sir *William's* company; to which he prayed to be excused. The next day, says Sir *William* to me, he came again, dined with me, and told me all his news. I believe the man is mad, continued he; for what do you think he says? I can't tell, I reply'd; for God's sake let me hear it. Well, says Sir *William*, by G—d it is well if he does not get into some da---d scrape; he says the d--- *de Ch-----* is is the most da---d rogue upon earth; that he would sell his k--- and his c----- to aggrandize himself, and raise his own fortune, which was but very small when he came into the m---y; that he has neither honour or honesty, and the p---- knows it; and by G—d Sir *William*, continues he, you will soon see how our friends will get forward on the other side the water; and that L--- *B----* will break the neck of that d----d rascal *P---t*. My answer to Sir *William* was, that I thought his friend or acquaintance was searching out a new habitation for himself, where he might continue a freeholder for life. In a word, I told him, that I thought as bad of this man as he did himself: that I looked upon him as a vile fellow; for that a man of any honour, or good principles, would not follow such a course of life as he pursued. I could not help saying, that, in my opinion likewise, he was a great scoundrel; that he deserved to be caned or horse-whipped; and that if the duke *de Ch----l* had known, or been informed of the calumny so plentifully bestowed upon him by this man, that it was more than ten to one but that he would pass the rest of his days in the *Bastile*, or at *Bicêtre*; adding, that it was a pity that he, or somebody, would not make the duke, or the lieutenant-general of the police,

acquainted with his impertinence, if it was for nothing more than to punish him for what he had done and said against other persons: in which opinion Sir *William* could not help joining, though neither of us would be the person to do him that office.

I happened, a day or two after, to repeat my opinion of this person in another company, where his conduct was much spoke of by a knight of *Malta*, for having plundered his relation of a large sum at play. This was about *July* 1761; my sentiments and discourse was (as I since learned) in a few days transmitted to the young pretender, which, no doubt, as a man, he ought to have applauded, if he had an atom of either honour or honesty in his heart or soul. No! these noble parts of the human structure, with good men the source and nursery of virtues, and of great and generous actions, were in him the receptacles of malice, overflowing with tyranny and inhumanity; through the rapid torrent of which I was to be (if possible) overwhelmed and destroyed, and which involved my unfortunate friend *Lewis* in suicide, a few days after. Of this my approaching sufferings and misfortune, I had not the least suspicion, knowing myself free from any crime or reproach, and still inclined to think, that men of honour could not commit base and infamous actions. My next will inform you of my farther endeavours to obtain my passport, and the fatal consequences that followed.

LETTER THE FORTY-SEVENTH.

I HAD called at times at *de Sartine's* upon the former subject, of obtaining the passport; and meeting *Duval* one

evening in his office with the marquis *de ----*, he said to me, in his discourse before him, these words. “Le ministre Monsieur seroit bien de vous mettre où vous serez bien nourre, bien blanchi, et bien chauffé. Comment Monsieur, repondis-je, il n’a que de me payer, et je ferai le reste moi-meme puisque je m’en irai au plutot; alors en s’adressant au marquis, Scavez vous, Monsieur marquis, que ce Monsieur là a une ête capable de bouleverser la *France*? Vous badinez, Monsieur, lui repondis je.” The translation of the above runs thus. “That the minister would do well to put me where I might have a good table, good lodgings, &c. To which I answered, that he had nothing more to do, but to pay me; I could do all the rest myself, as I should go away as soon as I could. Then directing his discourse to the marquis, Do you know, Sir, ‘says he, that this gentleman has a head capable to ove”turn *France*/ You are bantering, Sir, I replied.” These expressions, however, thus used by *Duval*, alarmed me, I own; as I instantly supposed, that the minister had some design to send me to the *Bastile*, and that something of that kind had been intended or intimated, otherwise *Duval* would never have expressed himself in such manner.

The week following, I called again on *Duval*, and asked him, if this same passport and money would ever come, or not? for my mind was exceedingly uneasy. His answer was, that he could not tell any thing about it. He then asked me, whether lord *Thomond* was in town? I told him, I believed he knew as well I did; that he was at *Montpellier* at his government. Pray, continues he, when did you see *Buhot*? I told him, I had not seen him for a long time. It would not be amiss, replies he, if you call upon him: for, if I don’t mistake, there has been some memorial or complaint made to count

St. Florentin against you; and *Buhot* has received orders to inquire into it. I did not believe a word of what he said, and told him, there could be no complaint against me, for the very same reasons I formerly mentioned. I asked him to tell me the name of the person, or persons, who had presented such memorial of complaint against me, and the subject of the complaint, if any such there had been: to which he answered, he could not tell. I then told him, I would call upon *Buhot*, and ask him what all this meant, and to inform me, whom I had offended or disobliged. But *Duval* then desired me not to give myself the trouble; adding, that he should see him in a day or two, and would himself speak to him; and that he would let me know what he said, the next time I called. Which prevented my giving myself any farther trouble touching the pretended complaint.

The public discourse for a long time past, and at this time, run much on the affairs of *Spain* and *Portugal*; for news, like the fruits of the year, has its season. Though there are a number of eminent politicians about the court of *France*, or such as think themselves so, the worst of which by far surpass me, in a profession and character, to which I never pretended; yet, with all the finesse and disguise they put on, I perceived, by the number of couriers, dispatches, and letters, continually going and coming to and from the ministers of these two crowns, or to their sovereigns themselves, that there was something extraordinary in the air, which, I doubted not, would soon shew itself on the tapis. *Spain*, in the livery of *France*, and subservient to her commands, when *England* is in question, only attended the orders of her mistress, and then to act conformable to her dictates. *Portugal*, whose sovereign, by the misfortune he met with, in

the base attempt upon his life, like that of *Damiens* upon his most Christian Majesty, was, by that blow, now dearer to *France* than he had been at any former time, and was not less devoted than *Spain* to the politics and directions of the *French* ministers: the wound was equally felt by both these sovereigns, and the cure required the same remedies and applications. The case of those two monarchs, considered with that of the young pretender, united them all together. Hence it was concluded and determined, that the several schemes concerted for their fall, were the productions of the same head, though executed by different hands. The cement of affection, arising from self-preservation in a common calamity, after suffering and escaping the perilous dangers of conspiracies, murders, and the like, fix on the soul the strongest ties and bands of friendship, and mutual interest: the same kind of danger, therefore, which had threatened all, had now united all in one common cause, and in one common interest. You cannot then be surprised, if *France*, in her deep and unfathomed politics, should play a new game, and carry on a political war, conjunctively with *Spain*, to deceive and impose upon this nation; to draw her troops abroad, and lessen her strength at home and still augment her debts and expences. This would be a great point gained; whilst her more secret object was effectually to destroy *England*, by a formidable invasion; to the success of which enterprize, nothing more assuredly could contribute, than by the national strength being drawn away and dispersed, or exhausted at home: the accomplishment of which most notable policy was one of the most assiduous labours in the cabinet of the *French* ministers.

These facts and circumstances, I say, considered, can any

rational man think or imagine, that *France*, secretly labouring, in concert with *Portugal*, to expel the Jesuits, and extinguish their power, whilst her other projects against *England* lay closer still at heart, would in earnest stand by, or contribute her efforts to have *Portugal* again involved, and again assassinated by the arm of *Spain*, in depriving his most faithful majesty of his dominions, and the peace and tranquillity, which his then melancholy situation demanded, even from *Turks* and Infidels; after his kingdom had been already rent, by the most dreadful earthquake ever known or felt in *Europe*, his country and subjects ruined, and his royal person almost tore to pieces by the shots and wounds of their common enemies. Seriously, Sir, think of these facts, and then judge, whether there be not all reason to believe and conclude, that the war meditating, carrying on, or to be carried on at that time, against *Portugal*, by *France* and *Spain*, was not a political war, settled by the ministers of those powers, or an amicable suit, calculated for the above purpose.

This scene, however, went on, and the family compact was ready to be delivered, of which they had been for a long time in private labour; but a compact with *England*, of commerce and friendship had been infinitely better for all parties. The *English* minister, however, was, in *September 1761*, at length removed, to the inexpressible joy of the *French* and their allies, and at the critical time, when the greatest dangers threatened his royal master and his country; and both in the greatest want of his service. My next will inform you of the cruelty I met with, the effects of the pretended complaint.

LETTER THE FORTY-EIGHTH.

ON the first of *October* following the change in the ministry of *England*, after taking a walk in the gardens in the evening, I returned home, and, about nine at night, as I was in my room reading, I heard a noise at my chamber-door, by persons who seemed to enquire for somebody. One of them, a gentleman-like man, dressed in black, and a tye-wig, at last opens the door, followed by two others, and asked, if that was my apartment: to which I answered in the affirmative. He then shut the door, and asked my name. By this time I perceived that one of the persons, who accompanied him was *Buhot's*, footman, and the other a man, who wrote for him occasionally, which made me conjecture that there was no good intended by the visit or question. On telling him my name, he told me I must go along with him. I asked him where, or for what purpose, as I did not know him. He answered, it was no matter; that he would tell me when we were abroad. I told him I would not go with him, unless he had some authority to oblige me to it. He said, that he had the king's order. I replied, I had never offended the king or his ministers; that I would obey his orders, if any such he had; but that I would not stir an inch without seeing them. He hesitated for some short time; and observing me to look towards a two-arm'd chair, in which my hat lay, and my sword standing on one end therein, and which was very near me, he imagined, I am sure, what was very far from my intentions; that is to say, that I was disposed to violence. Then assuring me that he had the order in his pocket, and that I had best be easy, and go with him; for that there was no

harm intended against me. I told him, I was sure I merited none from any body living; but that, nevertheless, I would not leave my room, but would be carried out, unless he shewed me his order. On hearing my resolution, he came close to me with a paper in his hand, and shewed me my name, and the king's signature, *Louis*, but would not let me see farther, assuring me again, however, that no kind of prejudice or harm was intended me, and that he believed it was an affair, which, for reasons, I ought to submit to, as it would rather be a service than an injury to me. I was afterwards vexed that I did not see by what minister the order was signed; to prevent my seeing it was the reason, I believe, why he concealed the order in such manner. I imagined, at that time, it had been signed by the duke *de Choiseiul*; but in fact his grace knew nothing of the matter, as I since found; and the king's order, as I was afterwards informed, was counter-signed by *St. Florentin*, or *de Sartine*, by his directions. My friend lord *Thomond* had, about five weeks before, departed this life, at his government at *Montpelier*, after a day or two's illness, which gave occasion to think that he had not had fair play. Had he been alive at the time this wickedness was plotted against me, I am convinced it never had been put in execution; at least it would have been soon inquired into, and unraveled.

Some compliments of civility having appeared in the behaviour of the gentleman in black, whom I found next day to be a magistrate, I quitted the chamber, and went down stairs with him, attended by the two scoundrels, who came with him. There were lights in abundance, as the house was alarmed. The very honest man *du Bois*, my landlord, and the honest woman his wife, being both in the secret with *Buhot*.

In no time of life did this last mentioned fellow, I believe, shew the least symptoms of modesty or decency, but on this occasion: a conscious guilt of shame, and horror alone, prevented him, I believe, from coming with the magistrate and his followers to apprehend me. Being come into the court of the house, I was conducted into a coach, which they had brought to the door on purpose. Entering the coach, I perceived, at a distance, some parties of men attending, which I afterwards learned they had placed there, in order to lay hold of me, in case I should offer to make any resistance, or attempt to escape. The magistrate and his followers having got into the coach with me, the coachman drove on according to directions previously given him. As the night was dark, and one of the windows of the coach drawn up, I soon lost knowledge of the street, and of the road and way we were going. The magistrate, however, then talked to me, and told me, he was sorry this affair should happen: that he hoped it would be soon over, and desired me not to be uneasy. I told him, as the truth was, that if I had any thing, to charge myself with, of a bad nature, I should be the most miserable of mankind; but that as I had neither said or done any thing to the prejudice and dishonour of the king or his government, and that I could defy the ministers to mark out an action of my life unbecoming a gentleman; therefore I certainly ought to console myself, as knowing I had nothing to fear where truth and justice presided. But pray, Sir, where am I to be carried? I suppose you are conducting me to prison. Are you carrying me to the *Bastile*? I can't tell you where you are going, replied the magistrate, but I believe it is not far. Whilst we were thus talking the coach stopped, and a man opens the door, and the magistrate, on getting out of the coach, behaved with great complaisance and good manners, shook

hands with me, begging I would not take ill the part he had been obliged to take in this affair; for that he only did his duty, in obedience to the king's order. Then telling me again that he believed it was an affair of no consequence, and that he hoped he should have the pleasure of seeing me soon; he told me I must go along with those persons, who accompanied me, and that we had not far to go: when, wishing me a good night, he quitted the coach, and went away.

I perceived by the man, who shut the door, that there were others following the coach, or so I apprehended; and I observed, whilst the coach stopped, that I was near *Pontneuf*. Driving therefore over that bridge, as it leads directly to the *Basile*, I immediately concluded that my harbingers were conducting me to that dreadful place. The coachman who, on passing the bridge, turned to the right without my observing it, had not drove a time half sufficient to arrive at the *Bastile*, when the coach, which went at a smart pace, on a sudden stopped. The door of the coach was instantly surrounded by several persons, when two gaolers, or turnkeys of the prison, (for this was the prison-door of fort *l'Evêque* on the quay, not far from *Pont-neuf*) came also to the door and received me. The two fellows who had conducted me came into the lobby, or out room of the prison, which is but small, and between two prison doors, and whispered the gaoler, and then they, with the others who had attended, went away.

It was now after ten o'clock, and the prisoners all locked up in their chambers for the night. I observed the gaoler to write my name in a book, "*committed by order of the king.*" I asked for a chamber, and the gaoler conducting me up a pair of winding stone stairs, like those of a steeple, unlocked a room

door, on which were two or three locks, and put me in the room, saying, it was the only one I could have, and instantly locked me in. There was no light; but on my entering, by the gaoler's light I perceived several men lying on the ground half naked; and on one side of the room I observed a kind of guard bed, which was also covered with men.

One of these men, who had got a glimpse of me on coming in, had the complaisance and good nature to get up, and make room for me, either to sit or lie down.

Those persons, who were here confined, were most of them deserters. The prison is in itself a royal prison, where persons for debt, as well as for crimes against the state, and other offences, are confined. It was at this time very full; and amongst the large number under the misfortune of loss of liberty, there were counts, marquis, many officers, some from *Canada*, and others of different places, of tolerable condition, as I found next day. The further narration you will find in the following letter.

LETTER THE FORTY-NINTH.

YOU may easily believe that sleep did not once invade my eyes this night. As soon as the morning appeared, which I thought would never arrive, and that the room door was opened, I walked out in a wretched gallery, where numbers of people were going and coming to and from the prisoners and their apartments. I knew not what to do, who to speak to, or where to turn me. Whilst I remained all night sitting on the side of the guard-room bed, a thousand different thoughts and apprehensions revolved in my mind. I

began to think that this cruelty and injustice was a scheme of the ministers, to shut me up for life, to prevent my speaking or disclosing any thing touching the Jesuits; and that that *Providence*, on which I had so much rely'd, had now forsaken and abandoned me, leaving me a sacrifice to tyranny and oppression; and that my schemes for the service of my king and country were for ever destroyed and rendered abortive. My repentance for coming into *France* was truly sincere, and confirmed by some silent tears, which at times fell from my eyes in the dark, more like tears of blood than water. I was far from home, in a strange country; and, now I might stay, without acquaintance or friend; for there is no friend or acquaintance who will venture to approach a man, who is in gaol by the king's order; or whose crime is not known, but with the greatest danger and hazard; except he has the minister's permission, or that he secretly knows he may venture on such visit without offence. Is this, says I to myself, the recompence the king was to make me! Is this the care that his majesty himself was to take of me! No, no; the king knows not this cruelty and injustice: his royal name and authority is prostituted and abused to the arbitrary will and power of villains and murderers, who seek my life, and have thus sent me here to perish, or die *à petit feu*, slowly, or by inches, and who deserve my place as much as thieves, robbers, or assassins. Thus I reflected, and thus, in my first sorrows, I resigned all hope of outliving this unmerited and unjust oppression. But, alas! how greatly I was mistaken with regard to the secret decrees of Providence, will be seen by the event; and that when we think her smiles are farthest from us, we are just going to enjoy the greatest blessings she can bestow, and that we may truly say with *Dryden*,

*From such examples, then,
 Let mankind learn,
 That powerful villainy at last shall mourn,
 And injur'd virtue triumph in its turn.*

Again I began to comfort myself with the goodness of a divine providence; and as I had not in any respect offended, I still at times flattered myself to find a miraculous deliverance through the influence of her power, as nothing but a miracle, I thought, could deliver me. Walking in the wretched gallery, as I said above, a person in his night-gown walked past me, who, looking very stedfastly at me, suddenly turned to me, and saluted me, asking, if I was not such a person, whom he had accidentally seen the year before with a friend of his? I told him, I was the same person. My God! Sir, replies he, what are you doing in this place? I hope you are not a prisoner here, continues he; tho' he suspected I was a prisoner; for he easily perceived by my looks, that I was in trouble. I told him, I was arrested and brought thither the night before, and that I knew not for what. This person was one Mr. *Framacourt*, a merchant of the city, confined for debt, and who was much connected with a gentleman called *the count de Tesson*, then also a prisoner, for something he had threatened to do to marshal *Belleisle*, or something he had said to him, which was deemed a menace. *Framacourt* having brought me to his room, where I met the count, I related to them the manner in which I had been used; which much surprised them. They asked, if I was sure that I was put in prison by the king's order, and if I knew for what crime, or on what charge? I told them, I had committed no crime or offence, directly or indirectly. One of them went, and informed himself from the book, that it was by the king's

order I was confined. Their surprise, on this inquiry, still increased, to think or find out, why I, on being brought in, was not sent to the place called *au Secret*, and detained there twenty-four hours, or until examined by the commissary. But this formality being, by private orders of the minister, laid aside or omitted, with respect to me, for political reasons, they, as did all other persons, who had heard any thing of this affair, immediately concluded, that there was no crime laid to my charge; and that my confinement was some ministerial trick, to answer or favour some private purpose.

My anxieties were very great, lest some misfortune had happened by or from my papers; which made me request the favour of *Framacourt* to get me some person of confidence, to carry a note for me to my lodgings: which he did. I then wrote a line to my *gouvernante*, the person who had care of my cloaths and apartment, desiring her to come with the bearer. *Framacourt* had given directions for a bed for me in his room, where I settled, and the count joined us in providing for our table; so that we were to live and eat together.

The messenger being returned with the person to whom I had wrote the billet, I took her aside, and gave her a letter, with directions to go in haste, and to bring me my papers. My impatience to see them was beyond expression, as it is beyond belief. In about two hours the messenger returned, with the person I had sent for; and *Framacourt* leaving the room, as is the custom in those places, when any particular comes to speak to another on business, the papers (all which I had sealed up under covers) were duly delivered to me, untouched or unopened, to my unspeakable joy and satisfaction.

I then told my *gouvernante*, that those papers concerned my life, and the lives of many others; that my family affairs were also connected therein; and that my ruin, or happiness for ever, depended on concealing and preserving them: that they were all wrote in *English*, and that I would not have them seen by any of the *French*, who, out of curiosity, would perhaps have them translated, and inform themselves of my private affairs; which, though I did not value if they were known to all the world, was a disagreeable impertinence, I should be glad to avoid, if possible. I likewise added, that as it might probably happen, that I might be carried away from thence to the *Bastile*, or to some remote prison in the country, where I should be no more heard of, that, if such misfortune should happen to me, I begged of her to take the papers to *London*, at which place my *gouvernante* had been about three years preceding, and so long before I had known her; and that, on arriving at *London*, to deliver the papers to the king, or his minister, who would, on reading them, procure me my liberty, and cause me to be sent home; by which she might be sure to be provided for, and to receive a recompence, such as her service for me on this occasion should merit, in a most generous manner. These, and the like arguments, mingled with several other reasons, struck the mind with expectations, and made an impression on my *gouvernante*; who, concluding her fortune made, if I could obtain my liberty by any method whatsoever, promised all fidelity, and to dispose of, or conceal the papers, as I directed. I then sealed them up again, and sent them to be locked up and secreted in the hands of an old woman, who could neither read nor write, and who had every disposition I could wish to serve me.

LETTER THE FIFTIETH.

THE papers being thus secured, my mind was somewhat relieved from the fears that disturbed me on that head: and though I thought at the same time, that the risk I run, in committing those papers to the charge and care of persons not too well known to me, or perhaps not too much to be relied upon, was very great, it was then unavoidable, and the only expedient I could think of at that time for preserving them. Moreover, I flattered myself, that, by the precautions which I had taken, and those arguments above mentioned, there was a great probability of succeeding in my design, of having them effectually concealed. In the most perilous undertakings, we are often obliged to commit the most valuable things to chance and hazard: in my case, however, nothing (it is most certain) but the distress and necessity I was under, in such a precarious situation, could have prevailed upon me to confide these papers to any person living: in a word, I thought I was now entering on the tragedy of *All for Love*, or *The World well lost*; and as necessity, that knows no law, obliged me to submit to this precarious measure, I was stimulated by these considerations to sink or swim by the effects.

All my acquaintance at *Paris*, as well as at *Versailles*, were now alarmed with the news of my being conducted prisoner, by the king's order, to *Fort l'Evêque*. This imprisonment was much talked of, and became the common topic of conversation in most companies; but the cause thereof was a mystery to the public, as well as to me. The former was not wanting to suggest a thousand different judgments and

opinions on the occasion. The news of this misfortune was also spread to *St. Germain*, and had reached the ears of my unfortunate friend *Lewis*. He soon set out for *Paris*. On meeting our *gouvernante*, they came together to my room; at which time there happened to be several gentlemen in the chamber with me. On entering the room, and seeing me, he stood amazed and aghast. I observed the tears in his eyes, and all the muscles of his face instantly convulsed. I immediately drew near him, and asked him what was the matter with him, but he was for some time before he would speak; and when he did, it was only to say, Ah! the villains, what murder is this? I consoled him as well as I could, and told him, he knew as well I did, that I had nothing to fear. He had known, for about five years past, all my actions, and all my thoughts, except the affair of *Hamilton*. As far as any man could know another's, he knew mine; and that I had not, in thought, word, or deed, I may venture to say, wilfully or knowingly offended any person whatsoever; that I had always a pleasure in doing good, if in my power; and that I hated to do ill to those who acted badly. This ever was, and ever will be; I hope, my true and natural disposition, which I can boast of without vanity. I, therefore, again comforted him, by telling him this trouble would soon be over; and that I looked upon it as a state trick. He replied, it was a trick, he believed, of the pretender and *Bertin*, because I asked for money. I begged of him to be easy, assuring him privately, that it would be the happiest accident of my life, if I once got my liberty; and that I feared not but to have it soon, for that I was determined to write to the king, and many great men, to make the injustice, by one means or other, known to his majesty. I likewise told him, there was a memorial going to be presented to *St. Florentin*, and that I did not doubt but he

would order me my liberty in a day or two; for I suspected at this time, that this cruelty and injustice proceeded entirely from the duke *de Choiseiul*.

My friend was somewhat appeased with these arguments, and my discourse. Promising to dine with me, he went to take a walk whilst dinner was getting ready; but, being come into the street with our *gouvernante*, who was going to market, he said he could not bear to return to that dreadful place, to see me in such a situation, from whence, he said, he feared I should never be released; and, full of this notion, of which, I own, there was the greatest appearance, he returned, loaded with trouble, to *St. Germain*, persuaded I should never be set at liberty.

A memorial for *St. Florentin* being prepared, setting forth the injustice I laboured under, by being imprisoned without any crime alledged or laid to my charge, and praying him to order my releasement or discharges was delivered to that minister at the *Louvre*, on the first audience day at that place, after I had been confined; and I was fully persuaded in my own mind, that he would have sent me word that he would inquire into it, as I then imagined that I was confined by order of the duke *de Choiseiul*, and that he would interest himself for me with the said duke, to prevail with him to give me my liberty, and a passport to go home. I little suspected at that juncture, that this conspiracy formed against my life and liberty, was the industrious project of his own and *Bertin's* political ingenuity, contrived by the young pretender, or at his request, and by his direction.

This upright, *worthy* minister, as soon as he had read the memorial, turned upon his red heel (and high ones he wears, to make him appear tall) and, with a surly look and haughty

tone, said to the person who presented the memorial, He has nothing to do but to pay his *debts*, and go away. When this was reported to me, by the person to whom he had thus spoke, I answered, Lord bless me! you know as well as I, that I do not owe a shilling to any one, except the trifle I owe *Du Bois*, my landlord, and which is by their own order, and to be by them paid. Why did you not tell him so? He would not give me time to speak, replied the person; and continued, You must teaze him, and apply again and again; though he seemed very angry. Well, thinks I, this is extraordinary indeed; but it does not come from thence; there is something more than *Du Bois* in the clouds. However, an inquiry was necessary, I thought, touching *Du Bois*: in making of which, I found that I had been watched and observed for a long time; that there being no pretence to be found for throwing me into prison, nor crime, or pretended crime, to be alledged for such a proceeding, an expedient was thought of to supply that want: for which purpose, *Buhot*, the tool of ministerial wickedness, was employed to make *Du Bois* sign a certificate and a memorial, that I owed him money, and was going away without paying him; and on *Buhot's* promising to get him the money from the minister, *Du Bois* thereupon signed such memorial and certificate, as *Buhot* prepared and desired, which served as the pretended foundation for *St. Florentin* to issue the king's order to cast me into prison. But *Du Bois* never got a shilling from them, I believe: for, when he went afterwards to *de Sartine* to demand the money, and finding no encouragement, or expectation of any performance of the promise made to him by *Buhot*, he began to make a noise, and to expose this transaction? on which he was ill used, turned out of the house, and threatened. Such were the mean and wicked schemes made use of to form a pretended legal

pretext to ruin me. These particulars came to my knowledge a day or two after I obtained my liberty.

Some time after, *Buhot* having determined to torment and mortify *Lewis*, and to load him with new affliction, as well as to prejudice the minds of my acquaintance against me, he gave out, that I was put into the *cachôt*, or the dungeon, loaded with irons, by order of the minister. This being communicated to *Lewis*, it strangely alarmed him, and struck him with such an insupportable dread and affliction, that, on the morning after he had heard this news, as he called it, as soon as he was dressed, he cut his throat, in his apartment at *St. Germain*. The wound not being mortal, he fastened his handkerchief round his throat, and went down stairs. His landlady meeting him at the street-door, as he was going out, asked him, what was the matter, and the cause of so much blood being on his coat? He told her for answer, that as he had been shaving, he had cut himself. The woman was frightened, knowing he never shaved himself; and seeing him look troubled, she desired him not to go out till he had first breakfasted. He replied, he would only take a little turn in the wood (which was before the door) and then return. As soon as he got into the wood, he went to one of the little rivulets, of which there are a number, running through that delightful place, about the depth and breadth of gutters, used in a bleaching yard, undressed himself, and having settled his cloaths in a regular manner on the bank or edge of the rivulet, he thrust his head down into the mud and water, and suffocated himself, before any person could come to his relief. The motives of this rash and unfortunate action were the terrors he was under, at the usage he saw me receive, with the apprehensions of his meeting with the same fate. The

town was soon alarmed with his misfortune, though to no other purpose, but to do the last offices, which death, in such circumstances, exact and require. I have spoke of this gentleman's principles and sentiments in another place: it is not, therefore, necessary to say any thing farther of him here, except what friendship and gratitude demands of me, and which I shall confine to a very few words; that is to say, that, living, I esteemed him for his virtues, friendship, and sincerity; that, dead, his memory will be dear to me; and that I shall never think of him but with sorrow; wishing, as in a similar case he would do (if living) that God may pardon those who were the cause, or the authors of his unhappy end.

Providence, which I thought had abandoned me, began now to give me some glimmering hopes of her secret power and good intentions in my favour, whilst I was sinking under anguish and despair, by raising me a friend, to whom I had not the honour to be at that time known; who, as it were, inspired by heaven, undertook my cause, in order to work out my deliverance when I least expected it. I was advised to write to the countess of *Chately*, and to make her acquainted with my complaints, the injustice I laboured under, and to pray her to interest herself for me with the ministers, that I might obtain my liberty, being unjustly imprisoned and oppressed. Before I enter further on the detail of this business, it will not, I hope, be disagreeable to you, that I should say, in this place, a word or two touching the character of this lady and her spouse, and of the true motives which induced me to apply to her, preferable to any other person.

She is daughter to the marquis *de Rochoire*, and married to the count *da Chately*, who was nearly related to the late emperor, and of one of the first families amongst the nobility

of *France*, and who was actually, at this very time, ambassador extraordinary at *Vienna* from his most christian majesty, where the countess, who was the first lady of honour to the dauphiness, was with impatience expected by the empress as ambassadrix, as well as by her worthy and beloved spouse. The great abilities of the count *da Chately*, as well in the cabinet as in the field, with his extensive knowledge in the liberal arts and sciences, and his constant studies therein after the most liberal and refined education, in which he made the greatest proficiency, are known to all the literary world; as well as the great and incomparable talents of the late countess *da Chately* his mother, whose learning and writings not only placed her as a member of the royal academy at *Paris*, but also gave occasion to that learned society to wear a deep mourning for her death, to testify their sorrow for the unspeakable loss of so great a genius and benefactrix, who had, by her writings, laid them under the greatest obligations. Nor was his majesty of *Prussia* less attentive, by his care and personal visits to the count *da Chately*, after this nobleman had been found amongst the dead, in a bloody battle fought in *Germany* last war, (where the count then acted as one of the generals commanding in the *French* army) to have him cured of his several dangerous wounds, which were at that time thought mortal; thereby to testify his regard and esteem for such a distinguished personage. With respect to the countess his lady, (being more than happy in each other) there are few of her sex who equal, and a much less number that surpass her, in all the virtues and amiable qualities that are worthy either our imitation or admiration in this life. Her graceful and lovely person; her religious practices, freed from every tincture of hypocrisy; her charity to the needy and necessitous, where the widow

and orphan are her first care, without shew or ostentation: her generosity equal to that of a sovereign princess; her unbounded humanity and greatness of soul; render her the delight of all who behold her, the felicity of her acquaintance, the unblemished, and at the same time one of the brightest ornaments of the court where she resides, without a single enemy to disturb her. The brilliant equipage and retinue, which conducted her as ambassadrix to *Vienna* in *June 1762*, where she then went by his most christian majesty's orders, to join the count her spouse: the great condescension of the empress queen, in coming to meet her on the road, and welcome her to the imperial capital; with the rich presents made to her by the empress, have been at times, but in part, made known to the public, by all the foreign papers; nor should I mention those things here, but as testimonies to prove to you, the high esteem and merit of her illustrious qualifications, as well as those of the count her spouse. You will not, after this true and faithful picture of this *happy pair* (free from adulation or expectation of ever seeing the faces of either) be surprized that I should address myself, under such distressed circumstances as I then was sinking under, to a person adorned with such accomplishments, and possessed of such transcendent virtues, from whence interest, power and influence, must consequentially appear with certainty to flow, which were the motives of writing to her; the success of which I shall relate to you in another letter.

LETTER THE FIFTY-FIRST.

THREE persons, whom I had never seen before, richly dressed, came to the prison and enquired for me, two or three days after my letter had been received and considered? the motive of which was to be farther informed and satisfied of my case. I had no difficulty in making it appear that I was unjustly imprisoned, and cruelly wronged and distressed, without any real cause or foundation for such inhuman treatment. This, and all I had said on this subject, was duly and faithfully reported to this lady, as well as to some other persons of eminent rank at the court, who also began to make farther enquiry about me, and the cause of my imprisonment; amongst whom was the count *d'Herouville*, whose face I had never seen, and to whom I never wrote or applied. He had heard something of my character, and that I was confined as above: but desirous to be confirmed in the truth, he wrote to *de Sartine*, desiring to know the cause of my being in prison. An answer to this letter not being sent to him within the proper time, and as soon as he expected, he was much offended thereat, and threatened, as I was well informed, to go to *de Sartine*, and serve him as the duke *de Richlieu* did *Berrier*, if he had not an answer in twenty-four hours, and directed one Mr. *Dennie*, his secretary, to go early next morning to *Duval* for *de Sartine's* answer, and to intimate his resentment for this neglect. In a few hours after, the count received a most complaisant letter from *de Sartine*, making several apologies for not writing sooner; adding in these words: “quant à monsieur *Mac Allester*, il n'y a rien de grave sur son compte.” (That is to say) “with regard to Mr. *Mac*

Allester, there is nothing of consequence that concerns him.” This answer did not fail to exasperate the count, who, as I was also informed, damn’d the scoundrels of the police, and all their tricks; saying, why the d---l do they keep a man in prison, who has not been guilty of any offence! He was determined to pursue this affair directly and warmly, as I was well assured; but being ordered away to the coast the next day, I heard nothing farther from that quarter; nor could I expect it, as the court and all the ministers were now gone to *Fountainbleau*. My imprisonment made daily more noise; and though many secretly pitied me, and condemned the injustice done me, with some execrations on the authors, not any of my former acquaintance or intimates would visit me, or send to me.

I was in my own mind persuaded, that Sir *William Stuart* did not sleep two hours in the twenty-four with content, or free from fears for several weeks: and I was not without apprehensions, that, from the like dreads, which affected *Lewis*, he might have gone the same road. I had sent (amongst others) to general *Nugent**, with whom I daily past

* I was descended, by my mother’s side, from *Oliver Plunket*, lord *Lowth*, the prolific branches of that ancient house, which spread much in *Ireland*, whilst the civil wars drove and dispersed them; many of whom went into *Germany*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, or *France*, which gave me sometimes an opportunity of meeting some family relations abroad, though distant and remote. My grandfather, by my mother, was nearly related to the *Cusaks* of *Regare*, which cemented a friendship between me and old brigadier *Cusak* of the same family, though born in *France*. My uncle, *Owgan Dungan* of *Castletown*, near *Dublin*, forfeited that estate; but *Walter Dungan*, the last earl of *Limerick*, of the same family, and who had been governor of *New York*, claimed that

some hours, and who, after the duke *Fitz-James*, since lord *Thomond's* death, was, and very justly, one of the first of the *Irish in France*; but I might as well have sent to general *Braddock*. I sent to several others, who, I thought, would have been ready to break the prison doors or walls, to release or rescue me: but I might as well have sent for help to the antipedes. *George Kelly*, who went the summer following to the other world, to answer for his conduct in this; and who, at this time, began to be suspected and hated by his most intimate friends; and whose artifice ---- but here I must stop, to follow the maxim, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. He had taken

estate in trust for my uncle's children, *John, Thomas, and Walter*; the eldest of whom refusing to marry his daughter, he sold the estate to Mr. *Connolly*, a worthy good man, who was seventeen times, I think, one of the lords justices of *Ireland*, a friend to the family ever after. The best part of the purchase-money was, by old *Limerick*, remitted to *France* to general *Nugent's* father, whose wife or mother was a *Dungan*, and daughter of the family; but Mr. *Connolly*, in his usual prudence and wisdom, would not pay the whole of the purchase-money till the seal was confirmed by my cousins *John and Thomas*, who were, by the old fox lord *Dungan*, starved, I may say, into a compliance, and who confirmed the seal; but *Walter* being under age, his signing was past over. In consideration, however, of this act, his lordship settled all his acquisitions in *New York*, whilst governor of that province, or the greatest part of them, on his relations, *John, Thomas, and Walter*, who went from my father's house and settled there, where they or their children now enjoy that estate. This created another kind of relationship between general *Nugent* and me, or at least a particular friendship; but my regard for him proceeded more from his personal worth, merit, and bravery, than from any worn-out affinity.

care, with *Wolf*, his, and one of the pretender's collectors and bankers for *English* affairs, privately to poison every body of their acquaintance against me, insinuating that I was confined for life, and that I would perish *petit à petit* (by little and little). Thus my friends, or nominal friends and acquaintance, were intimidated from coming or sending to me; and my hopes of their serving me with their interest, solicitations or otherwise, and every other resource, were lopped off or removed, by the tyrannic politics of the young pretender and his agents.

The court being at *Fountainbleau* for some weeks, the countess *da Chatelet* had accompanied the dauphiness thither, and her ladyship, from a kind and tender affection, like that of a mother, which she had bestowed on a fine boy, my son, who was at that time accounted very handsome; and tho' but four years old, his little address and figure had not only captivated her heart and affection, so that she took him with her wherever she went, dressed and attended in a princely manner, as all *Paris* knew; but also the little innocent had likewise gained the affection of the duchess of *Gramont*, the duke *de Choiseiul's* sister, and several others of the first nobility of the court; in so much, that the surest way to make their court to the countess was through him; and by this accident I began to have a powerful and irresistible party in my favour, by which I hoped to vanquish the designs of my enemies, and, in the end, to carry my point. I saw clearly the wonderful and miraculous hand of *Providence* extending itself for my relief, and that an honest man, acting upon just and honest principles, should never despair of a divine assistance, however hidden or remote it may appear to our short-sighted views.

The good and beneficent countess had not been long at *Fountainbleau* before she attacked *St. Florentin*, and demanded the reason of my confinement, and an order for my liberty. The answer he gave her, on this application, so shocked her, that all hopes for my deliverance vanished. The court had returned to *Versailles*, and the countess, after some short stay at *Versailles*, returned to *Paris*: and though I had been now about three months imprisoned, I would not make any application to the duke *de Choiseiul*, I was resolved to die there sooner than humble myself to a man, whom I looked upon as my unprovoked murderer, and who had used me with such cruelty and injustice, not doubting but that the vengeance of heaven would pursue him for my blood.

The duchess of *Gramont* being frequently with the countess, and both importuned by the prattling and amusing tongue of my little advocate, as yet undefiled with falsehood or deceit, who not knowing how to tell a lie, the two ladies determined to open the matter to the duke, whom I had entirely wronged in my thoughts of his being the person who had issued the order for my being committed to prison. I had learned, that *St. Florentin* and his agents had given out, that the reason of my being confined was, that he had discovered, that I had carried on a secret correspondence with the ministers of *England*; and this, I believe, was the answer he gave the countess at *Fountainbleau*. There is never wanting a feasible or legal pretence for a wicked action, when men in power have done what is unwarrantable, or are resolved to do it. The truth was, that I had no correspondence with any man living; nor had I wrote a letter to *England* since I had left it. I knew, therefore, that this pretext was a sample of a new falsehood, to sanctify this infamous action. On my affair

being first mentioned to the duke, he said he was surprised, declared, upon the word and honour of a duke, and peer of *France*, that it was the first time he had heard of it, and desired a few days to inquire into it. I had also learned thus much, and begun to be sorry for having entertained such an opinion of him. My next will inform you of the manner in which this business concluded.

LETTER THE FIFTY-SECOND.

B EING determined to make use of, and improve every advantage in my power, towards my deliverance, that fortune should throw in my way, I changed my resolution, and wrote a letter to the duke, acquainting his lordship, that I had been informed of the report raised against me, to prejudice me in the minds of those, who were, or might be, disposed, from the love of justice, to serve me; praying his lordship to give directions immediately to the king's attorney-general to make out a process against me, that all *France* and the world might see the injustice and oppression, under which I then lay, and had so long suffered. Having finished my letter, I inclosed it, and sent it open, to be perused by the countess, who was much surprised (as I was soon informed) at the boldness of this desire or challenge; which gave her, and the duchess also, new courage to solicit for my deliverance with new resolution; knowing in their own minds, that a man guilty of so dangerous a charge, as that which was then pretended to be alledged against me, would rather delay and avoid the examination and punishment of his crime, than to hasten and urge the execution of both, if he had any guilt upon him. This letter, however, carried its own

weight, and gave such satisfaction, that it drew tears from the tender eyes of my noble and illustrious advocates. A *French* gentleman, who had a considerable charge at court, and who had likewise interested himself for me, being to sup with the duke the night following, put the letter in his pocket, and took it with him to *Versailles*; which he delivered to the duke as soon as supper was over; and, after introducing my name, and my complaint as the prelude, the duke, on this application, and reading my letter, again expressed his surprise, and declared he had neither known or heard of my being imprisoned, as above. Being touched with the justice of the demand made by my letter, which was, in a day or two following, heartily seconded after supper by the representations and solicitations of the two ladies, my guardian angels, the duke promised in a few days to inquire particularly into it, and that, at all events, I should have my liberty.

This news was soon communicated to me, which I received with infinite pleasure, you will easily believe. Yet my deliverance did not come so soon as I expected; for, in about five or six days after, being called to come to speak to a gentleman (as I was told) who was waiting for me in the parlour belonging to the prison, whom should I meet there but *Buhot*. Several gentlemen of the prison knew him; and at his departure told me, that he had passed through all the low stages of this life; that he had been a common soldier, and a bailiff's follower, and the like, without speaking of his mother's occupation; in a word, that he was a man capable of every thing that was bad: which greatly astonished me, to think why such a man should be thus employed. The deceitful hypocrite paid me, however, some compliments, and then

told me, he was; sent to me by Mr. *de Sartine*, to let me know, that if I would write him a letter, or a billet of two or three lines, importing, that if he would procure me my *liberty*, I would leave *France*, he would, in a few days, obtain an order for my enlargement. This was all I wanted, as my own politics dictated to me, that my getting out of the kingdom was better to proceed from them, than by any farther requests of mine, after the many applications which I had formerly made, without any effect, for that purpose; left my perseverance therein, at that juncture, might raise suspicion, and prevent it. Returning directly to my room, I wrote the letter as desired, and sent it to *de Sartine*: it was now the month of *January*, and notwithstanding the weather was very severe, I was ready, however, to embrace it, if it had been much rougher. Though money was short, I was ready to relinquish any demand I had upon the court; and I would have signed any conditions, though ever so hard, to travel, as *Hannibal* says, “*through globes of ice, and fleaks of solid snow*” for to get safely out of the *French* dominions, in order to pursue my own plan for defeating their designs.

Hearing nothing farther for about twelve days, I wrote to Mr. *Goudin*, to beg of him to put the duke in mind of my affair: who sent me word, that he was surprized at my letter; for that he thought I had been abroad long ago, as he had sent an order, signed by the duke, for my enlargement ten days before. The order, I found, was to pass through the channel of the police; that is to say, through *St. Florentin's* office, and from thence to *de Sartine*; the order being signed the twenty-fourth of *January* by the duke, for my enlargement simply, without any condition annexed, was sent, as above-mentioned, where it was detained till the fourth of

February following; in which time they, at the foot of the said order, inserted a new and further order of their own; whereby I was commanded to leave the king's dominions, on pain of being charged with rebellion. I must here observe, that this order, so tacked to that of the duke's to oblige me to leave the kingdom, was another stroke of the refined politics of the young pretender and his tools, to prevent my going to *Versailles*, and exposing my complaints to the king in person, from whose justice and goodness I had every thing to hope.

It was on the fourth of *February* 1762, that I received the answer from monsieur *Goudin* above-mentioned, which caused me to send directly to *de Sartine*, to know why the order was kept back, or not sent to me. His toad-eater *Duval* pretended he could not find it, but said he would look for it, and send it the moment he had found it. In fine, about seven at night this double order arrived, which was immediately communicated to me, to my (you may say) inexpressible joy and satisfaction, after four months and four days close imprisonment, without the least visible cause or foundation, except what proceeded from the unmerited tyranny, cruelty, injustice, inhumanity, and caprice of the young pretender, *St. Florentin* and *Bertin*. As soon as I had perused the pleasing object, I immediately took leave of my acquaintance, paid the fees and expences, and went to new lodgings, which I had caused, that very day, to be taken for me, in the *rue St. André des arts*, near the *Comedy*. My health being much disordered, and my legs swelled by so long a confinement, I wrote to *de Sartine* next morning, to know if I might be indulged with a little time, in order to be bled, and to take a few medicines for the re-establishment of my health, and to prepare me for my journey in that bitter season; the weather

being then come in excessive cold, accompanied with a hard frost. *De Sartine's* answer was, that I might take eight days. He would not have stinted or limited me to such a short period, if he had known the anxiety I had to get away, and the motives of that desire; but this time being too short to answer the intended purposes, I wrote to monsieur *Goudin*, to desire him to speak to the duke; for I determined never more to write to *de Sartine*, or to any of the *gang* of the police. *Goudin*, instead of speaking to the duke, called on *de Sartine*, who sent me word, that I might stay a week, or longer; in which time I recovered so well, as to be able, though not free from danger, to undertake my journey.

Thus, without receiving a shilling for the services, or false imprisonment, which deprived me of my liberty, under pretence of my holding a correspondence with the ministers of *England*, with the loss also of 200*l.* by the tricks of a *French* banker at *Lyons*, from whom I had never received to the value of a shilling, and who I was then suing for the recovery of that demand; on the 17th of *February*, after paying the compliments of thanks and acknowledgments due to those who had interested themselves in my favour, I set out from *Paris* in the coach for *Brussels*, and arrived the 20th at night, much disordered in my health, and fatigued, it being as yet far from being re-established; but greatly charmed in my own mind, to think and know that I had (I might say) the means to secure his majesty's crown, and to preserve the happiness of the *British* nation in my hands or power.

Whether the young pretender, who with his agents sought my life by this cruel wicked scheme, may not be thought as bad, and as criminal in his intentions, as *Ravilliac*, *Damiens*, or *Maligrida*; and whether the private assassin does not as

well appear in him, as it has done in either of those persons, I leave the world to determine: as also, whether my deliverance from the above danger and oppression, was not by the unforeseen and particular hand of providence, most miraculously brought about, to make me the instrument of defeating the bloody and formidable designs projected or concerted in his favour, and warmly ripening for a speedy execution, which gives us at this time, and I hope for all others, a new occasion to recal to our remembrance the dreadful malediction of *James* the First on himself and his posterity, if in that posterity he can be presumed to have any part. Nor can I help mentioning, in this place, that, whilst I was on this journey, the account given to me concerning him, by lord *Clancarty*, came often to my mind; which I found fully verified in what I had so woefully experienced. Upon the whole, you will clearly see, how well he has profited by this political piece of skilful ingenuity, founded on injustice, tyranny, and oppression; and that prosperity does seldom attend mens actions, that are not founded on good principles, though they may be ever so secretly concerted in the cabinets of the ministers of *France* or *Spain*, or of both together.

LETTER THE FIFTY-THIRD.

THE evening before I left *Paris*, I caused my papers to be brought to me, which I found in the same plight, as when I put them into the hands of my confidant; I then distributed the most material into small pacquets, two of which might be conveyed by the post, without suspicion. I sealed them, and directed them so as to be forwarded according to the address I should send on my arrival at

Brussels; for I was afraid to take any papers with me, except a duplicate of what related to lord *Clancarty*. Two days after I arrived at *Brussels*, the weather became so severe, and such a quantity of snow continued to fall for a few days, that no carriages could travel; nor did any person go abroad, whose business would permit them to stay at home. I wrote, however, a proper letter to the above-mentioned person at *Paris*, and ordered those letters, inclosing the above papers, to be addressed to me at the *Hague* by a different name, and sent by the post, about the time I intended to be there, which was as soon as the weather would permit.

The first sentence or edict for banishing the Jesuits had been published a short time before I left *Fort l'Evêque*, and the last, a few days, I think, before I left *Paris*. Though these edicts could not effect the Jesuits at *Brussels* in their liberty or riches, it greatly affected their peace and honour, as I was told, and made them stoop their heads lower than ever had been seen, or observed, till that time. The ministers of *France* having finished their great scheme against these reverend fathers with such uninterrupted success, by the means of the great secrecy observed in their proceedings, were in the same manner pursuing their designs for executing their plan against *England*, wherein they silently and smoothly were gliding before the most propitious gale of secrecy, for their desired port; for which purpose, the *Irish* brigade, the *Scotch* regiments, destined for an embarkation in the autumn or winter following, with other troops, had received actually orders to prepare to march for *Germany*, to begin the campaign as early as possible. Several officers of the brigade, on receiving these orders, came at this time to *Brussels*, and laid out their money, of which they had but little to spare, in

buying up horses, such as they best could find, for this *German* march; whilst others of the same corps were doing quite as much in several parts of *Flanders*, fully convinced of taking the field, and making this summer's campaign upon the *Rhine*, or in that district.

It so fell out, that some of these officers had taken up their quarters in the same inn where I lodged: and at that time, as we dined and supped together at a public table, I had not only the opportunity of seeing some of the horses bought and paid for, but of hearing all that was said on the subject of the supposed march or journey, but which was far from being the real intention of the ministers. When in company, I could not help joking and bantering them about this march; and on telling them their money was thrown away, for that they would not see *Germany* this year, I had like to have brought a quarrel upon my hands with a captain of *Bucclys* regiment one night, who had bought that day a little *Hungarian* horse for nine guineas: for, on telling him, that he would have the pleasure of keeping his *Rosinante* two months or thereabouts, and then selling him again to loss, he d---d himself, and asked me with strong emotions, whether I pretended to know more than the ministers themselves? and offered to lay me a wager of twenty guineas to five, that all the *Irish* and *Scotch* regiments would be on their march to *Germany* in one and twenty days. To compromise this, I promised, if at *Brussels*, to give him a dozen of *Burgundy*, on the orders arriving for the march of the first *Irish* or *Scotch* regiment, that year, into *Germany*.

Having received a satisfactory letter from *Paris* touching what I had left in charge, I wrote an answer, directing my letters to be put into the post for the *Hague*, and began to

prepare to set out. The weather beginning to change much for the better, and my health much improved, invited by both, as well as the ardent desire that lay burning in my breast, I set out from *Brussels*, on the 4th of *March*, in the evening, for *Antwerp*; from thence to *Rotterdam*, and on the 7th arrived at the *Hague* by dinner-time.

I went to the best *English* house in that magnificent place (then kept by one *Fitzpatrick*) a man sincerely devoted to his majesty's interest, and who had a particular attachment to his ambassador, Sir *Joseph Yorke*. I would not let any one know my name, and at darkening I took a walk to his excellency's house, which I soon found by inquiry and having inquired if he was at home, and visible, his *Swiss* answered me in the negative. I was obliged next day to return to *Rotterdam*; and on my coming back to the *Hague* a few days after, strolling by the *French* ambassador's (the count *d'Affry*) I inquired if he was at home, or Mr. *Prevot*, the secretary to his embassy resolved to touch his excellency's pulse, if possible, in order to discover whether he had any knowledge of me, or whether what *Duval* had formerly told me, *viz.* that I would have been well satisfied and contented by this gentleman, if I had gone to *Holland* when the passport for that purpose was given me, was true or false. The *Swiss* informed me they were both at home, and instantly sent a person to conduct me to *Prevot*, who received me in the most genteel manner. I told him my name; that I had just arrived from *Paris*, where I had been employed by one of the ministers, who had used me ill, and that I would be glad to have the honour of an interview with his excellency, to communicate to him the particulars. *Prevot* appeared sorry to hear what I had related; and, unable to refuse my request, he went to the count, and informed him of

what I had said and demanded. He staid not long, and at his return told me, his excellency desired me to come to him, being then in his bed-chamber; to which place I was conducted by *Prevot*, who immediately retired, and left us together. I then told the ambassador, that I had been employed by those I have already mentioned, and sent away without being paid; and that the treatment I had received was most infamous and scandalous: that I was sure, that, if the king knew it, some of them would pass their time but badly. And, going a step farther in this discourse, I asserted, that some persons deserved to be treated like common highwaymen. He lifted up his eyes, and raised his shoulders several times, as if with surprise, whilst I continued my narration; told me, he would write to court, and desired me to let him see me again. I then took my leave of his excellency, but never saw him afterwards. I was however, very uneasy in my mind till I could see Sir *Joseph Yorke*. I had called at his house two or three different times, but it happened that he was at those times engaged or abroad, which was no small mortification to me. From those disappointments, I at length thought it was unnecessary farther to seek such opportunities, which were attended with so many difficulties of access to his excellency; wherefore I did myself the honour to write to Sir *Joseph* the following letter, and sent it to him the day it bears date.

LETTER THE FIFTY-FOURTH.

From *Oliver Mac Allester*, Esq; to his excellency Sir *Joseph Yorke*; wrote at the *Hague*, the 26th of

March, 1762.

SIR,

THOUGH I have not the honour of being known to your excellency, it is with ardour I endeavour, and desire it, for the service of his majesty, and the preservation of his crown and kingdoms, against the secret designs of the common enemy (without mentioning at present, but which may come in its proper place hereafter) the lives and fortunes of some of the first dukes and lords of *England*, and others at greater distance, but among whom none a more particular object than the noble earl, your excellency's father.

That I should have a knowledge of these particulars may at first view, seem difficult of belief, I own; however, the means by which I had it will be very clear and obvious when the secret is revealed.

Nothing is more certain, than that the court of *France* has been, for a long time past, and still is, carrying on, with all vigour, the necessary preparations for executing their designs of invading *England* and *Ireland*.

I have so far penetrated into the business, and, by divine providence, so far made myself master of the whole, by the opportunities I had, and by the precautions I used; that, I think, I may venture to say to your excellency, that, by the lights I can give, the whole will be rendered abortive, and the embarked troops become the victim of the enterprize, whenever they attempt the project.

I flatter myself, that a service, so important and salutary, will not be looked upon with indifference by his majesty, and those he will be graciously pleased to communicate it to; and I doubt not but, from his royal bounty, I may receive 20,000*l*.

down, and a pension of 2000*l.* a year, as a recompence and gratification for so important a service as the principles of candour, truth, and probity, have ever governed, and shall ever govern me, what I have the honour to advance to your excellency I promise to fulfil, on no less penalty than to suffer any death, the most cruel that can be invented, and all I have, or can pretend to, confiscated as an impostor, cheat, or villain, epithets detestible even to the most wretched and miserable of mankind; therefore, Sir, as no artifice, chicanery, deceit, or imposition whatsoever, has any part in what I have the honour to write you, I doubt not but, from the general character which you bear, to have your protection, friendship, and all due encouragement.

It Is, with great submission, that I take the liberty to say, that the greatest secrecy should be observed in this business; for on it much, if not every thing depends, as you will find; in so much, that I would be glad it could be alone communicated by the noble earl, your excellency's father, to his majesty and the minister; for this more particular reason, that I have all room to believe, that, before the death of his late majesty, a certain person, who lies concealed, but who has made several trips to *England* in different disguises, has had early intelligence of matters that could only come to him from persons near the throne.

I have the honour to send to your excellency's secretary a packet, containing some letters and passports, in order to be laid before you, and which, I hope, will be returned me. It is, in the first instance, to shew, with candour, to your excellency, the confidence I repose in you. Secondly, to shew that I was employed, and great confidence placed in me. Thirdly, that as I had always the good fortune, at home, to be

esteemed by those of the first rank; so, in *France*, I was esteemed by the two first earls of *Ireland*, as they are called, though neither of them were born in that kingdom. I was also, in the best light possible, with count *St. Florentin*, cardinal *Bernis*, before his exile, and since, with the marshal *Belleisle*, the duke *de Choiseiul*, Mr. *Bertin*, formerly lieutenant-general of the police, but now comptroller-general; as also with Mr. *de Sartine* his successor. No one received greater promises, nor more politeness; and I will confess, that marshal *Thomond* had, in all appearance, more regard and affection for me than any other gentleman of the kingdom of *Ireland*.

But all this, after some time, was not able to stand against the resentments of *Bertin*, on account of my disobliging him in refusing to accept some money, and giving a receipt to his secretary, which I thought was dishonest and fraudulent, as he would not specify therein any particular sum.

The marshal, who I have just mentioned, and with whom I was a great favourite, took a great deal of pains on this occasion; and though I never acquainted him with the particular reason, had the kindness for me to say, a few days before he set out upon his last journey, upon some hints I gave him, :Well, I believe Mr. *Bertin* has mounted on your shoulders; take care he does not fall upon you, and do you some prejudice." This precaution was enough for me and, I hope I may say, a happy one for *Great-Britain*. We were both at this time at *Versailles*, in the summer before the last, where I walked and talked with the duke *de Choiseiul*; as I continued there for three months, I lost no opportunity to penetrate into affairs of the greatest consequence. I afterwards found means to copy some papers of the utmost

importance, relative to what I have had the honour to mention in the first part of my letter, which I secretly concealed in the hands of a person at *Paris*, of trust and confidence; and who has a dependance on me, foreseeing that a storm would break out in the affair of *Bertin*; and knowing that if these papers were found, I should be put to death, or at least shut up for my life; therefore I thought it adviseable to confide the papers to this person, who I can soon bring away from *Paris*; and as I had some difference with Mr. *M---y*, lord *E-----*'s brother, I thought I could not take too many precautions.

I must observe here to your excellency, that the permission given me to remain in *France* was not at my request or solicitation. I never had seen Mr. *Bertin*, or heard of his name, at the time I was brought to him; nor had I been above seven or eight months, at that time, at *Paris*.

Being brought to Mr. *Bertin*, which, I suppose, was by order of the person who lies concealed, he treated me with the greatest politeness and friendship, and engaged me to the utmost secrecy; adding, that I was to be employed in an affair of the last consequence, and that, if I betrayed or discovered any thing, I should perhaps be murdered by persons I little thought of, that it would not be in his power to prevent, or even find out, so that I would have no body to blame but myself; concluding, that I should meet him on the *Sunday* following at *Versailles*, (this was performed) at count *St. Florentin's*. I stayed there till twelve of the clock at night, and then returned to *Paris*: about ten days after I set out for *Rochelle*, by their order, where I had every thing I could wish, with the best company in town. In *June* following I received orders to return to *Versailles*.

In *November* following, I was given to understand, I was to go on some business, and indeed was decoyed into a coach, to a place called *Bicêtre*, of which I never had heard at that time any mention. On getting out of the coach, I asked the gentleman, who was with me, where we were going, and what place this was? he told me, You must not go by your own name here; if any body should ask you your name, say it is the same that you will hear me mention when we go up stairs. This place, continues he, is called *Bicêtre*; and crossing the great court on foot, where there are handsome buildings, In yonder place, where you see the great iron gates, says he, is a sort of hospital, and a place where disordered persons are in prison; perhaps you may step in there, as for curiosity; or, if you stay a day or two, it may be the making of your fortune, for you are the only man in *France* to whom the matter would be confided; you may see a gentleman, and discourse with him. Put this paper in your pocket, says he, as we were going up stairs to a handsome apartment in the out-buildings; but don't open it, or read it, till we come down; it will inform you what to say to this gentleman, and what conduct to be observed. We then entered the apartment, where he gave another paper to a gentleman, who received us with great politeness, and, after reading it, said to him that was with me, This is the gentleman, then, mentioned here, whose name is *Philip Grandville*? Yes, Sir, says the other. Soon after, he ordered a person, who came in, to take care of me, and to conduct me, and shew me the place. I cheerfully went, imagining I should come back in a few minutes, but soon found myself shut up in the most dreadful prison in the world, and that the above paper was *Bertin's* committimus, whereby I was detained, under the above name, for purposes hereafter to be mentioned. This was the 16th or 18th of

November, 1758. I there remained till I received, the letter addressed to me in the packet, which I have the honour to send to your excellency. I have more to say on this subject than my paper contains. At my return I had all the compliments that could be expressed. *Bertin*, I am persuaded, profited of this; for, not many months after, he was made comptroller-general. I did not fail to murmur, and now and then to speak to particular friends against him.

I forgot to mention to your excellency, that the summer before last when I was at *Versailles*, one *Jenet*, in the duke de *Choiseul's* office, and who was at *London* with Mr. *Bussy* on the late amusing negociations (as they were called by one in the secret who spoke to me) and which gave the count de *Herouville* an opportunity of going over twice to *England*, *incog.* to view and observe with his own eyes the place or places for landing the *French* troops, and to execute the plan of which he is at the head; *Jenet*, I say, shewed me a machine, of which I may have the honour to give your excellency a particular description, by which, and by a certain method, he knows where every ship of the whole navy of *England* is or may be found in about eleven days after she sails; and what ships are at home or abroad, and in what ports of *Europe* they are: this advantage may be easily defeated.*

* The method practised, and the machine made use of at *Versailles*, for to know what men of war we have at home or abroad, &c. is as follows, *viz.* they have a house made of pasteboard between two and three feet high, in the form of *Ranelagh* house, round which are four outside galleries, for *Europe, Asia, Africa,* and *America.*

In each gallery there is a door, as if going into a chamber of the edifice, for every port frequented by men of war; over which door is

To come towards a conclusion for the present, by returning to Mr. *Bertin*, I complained, last summer, to some friends about him, after the marshal's death, at his government at *Montpelier*, which happened last *August*: however, on the first of *October* at night, as I was preparing to go to bed, I was carried away by a letter de cachet, and sent to *Fort le Evêque*, where I remained till the fourth of *February* last, and should have, perhaps all my life, if not for the countess *du Chatelet*, whose spouse is ambassador at *Vienna*, who so far interested herself for me, as to procure me my liberty; but *Bertin*, by under-hand means, would not let it be, but on condition I should leave the kingdom. I was glad to embrace the occasion for the present purpose, which I have long had in view; and

wrote the name of the port. For example: in the gallery of *Europe* there is over these little doors wrote *Gibraltar, Cadiz, Texel, Portsmouth, Chatham, &c.* and in this manner the rest. They have a list of the navy of *England* at all times; and the name of these ships are neatly wrote upon small cards cut in halves. When a ship sails (as for example) from *Plymouth* to *North-America*, they take the card which contains the name of the ship from the door *Plymouth*, and lays it flat on the floor, facing the harbour of her destination, to signify that she is on her voyage or cruize. When they know by their intelligence from consuls, agents, or spies, of the arrival of a ship, they put the card which bears her name, in at the door that bears the name of that port she is arrived at; and when she leaves it, they take it out and leave it flat till they hear of her arriving in another; and thus they conduct the names of all the ships of the navy. The whole care of this science is in the hands and management of *Jenet*, who, when they want to know any thing about the fleet, immediately on being sent to, gives them an account what ships there are at home or abroad, on a cruize or voyage: other improvements were to be made in this edifice.

the rather well knowing, that if the smallest circumstance should be discovered, of my having any paper or copies of the things in question, I was a lost man.

Many other things have I to relate; but at present I must suspend them. All that I shall have the honour to say, and and persist in, at present, is, that I am ready to prove and perform what I have the honour to mention to your excellency, in the most effectual manner; and doubt not but your excellency will have a due attention for me in this, and every other respect, as I act with candour, virtue and probity, in what I propose.

I have the honour to be, with all respect,

Your excellency's most humble, and

Most obedient servant,

O. M'Al.

This letter was addressed to his excellency Sir *Joseph Yorke*, his *Britannic* majesty's ambassador at the *Hague*, which being sent away to lord *B----* immediately, in a few days afterwards, his excellency having considered it, as I was well informed, I received the following answer from his excellency's secretary.

LETTER THE FIFTY-FIFTH.

From Mr. *Delaval* to Mr. *Mac Allester*, in Answer to his addressed to his Excellency Sir *Joseph Yorke*, dated the 31st of *March*, 1762.

SIR,

“I HAVE laid before Sir *Joseph Yorke* the several letters and papers which you have sent me for that purpose, and am ordered to return you the following answer:

“His excellency had not heard your story; and as your private adventures have nothing to do with the affair you have started, he desires not to enter into them.

“As to the secrets you have given him hints of, his excellency says, that if you are honest and sincere in what you propose, and have a real desire, and the power of giving lights that may be really important and useful, you will without any more ado, and without further bargaining, write him a detail, which may answer the expectations you seem to be willing to raise; *and you are not to make the least doubt of the liberality and generosity of the king and his ministers in your recompence*, though you must not imagine, upon any account, that the enormous terms you propose can ever be complied with. If, on the other hand, your view is only to hold out a bugbear, and seek to terrify people with vain apprehensions, and the tremendous menaces of invasions, Sir *Joseph Yorke* thinks you had better let it alone. It is a scheme that won't do you the service you may suppose, and his excellency has had so much of that sort of mysterious intelligence, he does not chuse to plague himself or others any more in the same manner. In either case, if you don't chuse to open yourself frankly to him, his excellency bids me tell you, that the method of conveyance by the post being open and free to you as well as to others, you are master to address yourself to any body else on the subject you have hinted. This, Sir, is what I am ordered to write to you, and to return you the papers you sent me yesterday; which you will find here inclosed. I have the honour to be,

“SIR,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“D. D’L.”

On receiving the above letter I immediately wrote the following answer to Mr. *Delaval*.

LETTER THE FIFTY-SIXTH.

Mr. *Mac Allesters* Letter to Mr. *Delaval*, dated 1st of
April, 1762.

SIR,

I HAD the favour of yours last night with the papers inclosed—As to my being honest and sincere in what I have had the honour to write to his excellency, he may count upon them as the most real and solid truths; and as to my disposition to serve his majesty and the government, it cannot be doubted of; since it was with that view alone I came to this place.

Permit me, Sir, to tell you, that I have sentiments of honour and truth as great as most men, and from which I shall never depart; and that it shall never be an action of my life to hold out a bugbear, to enter into any imposing scheme, or to intimate invasions and their dreadful consequences, with a view of procuring money, as, perhaps, some may have done. No, no, Sir; I will suffer death before I will embark in such iniquitous, low enterprizes, which must end in the confusion and shame of the projectors: He that attempts the like, must be very ignorant and weak, to imagine he can impose on

ministers in such ridiculous designs; my affair hath nothing of this sort, not a tincture of such a complexion. I believe it may not be denied, but that persons, who have a real intention of rendering real and important services, will always expect real and advantageous recompences, in proportion to their service; and in my own poor judgment, I cannot see any injustice therein. Most kings, as well as their subjects, have their interests in view in the occurrences of this life, though it be but of a short duration to him who longest enjoys it; and I cannot help but thinking it a mark of truth, as well as that of the rectitude of a good intention, and of acting with candour and sincerity, when a man insists on terms of a just recompence for the services he proposes. Experience has often shewn, that when the exigence of states have been served, the merit of the service has been as soon forgot. I have as much honour and respect for his majesty's ministers as any man living; and believe there never were any of more real and distinguished merit and justice: nevertheless, it may not always be the case. Loss of life or employment creates great changes, and give rise to different interests; in which case one cannot apply to those, for recompences of past services, of which they may be unacquainted; wherefore I cannot help saying, that it is a sort of evidence of man's good intentions to form such demands, especially when a person has run the danger of life and death, or for ever being inclosed in a prison, to procure the means of rendering such services; therefore it is that I have said, and do, now repeat with resolution, that I shall be able to give the lights and whole discoveries to destroy the enterprise of the enemy, as I have had the honour to mention in my former letter to his excellency, for the doing of which it is necessary I should bring a person from *Paris*, to whom I confided some

papers of the greatest consequence, and who only waits my letter to come away.

If I thought after this, that his excellency would entertain any notion of my deviating a tittle from what I have advanced, it would be giving me a mortal wound, and I would perish before I would presume to trouble him or any person farther on the subject. I am,

SIR,

With the most perfect esteem,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

O. M'Al.

This letter being also sent over by his excellency, as I was further informed, I received the *Tuesday* se'nnight following the following billet, *viz.*

COPY of the BILLET sent by Mr. *Duval* to Mr.
Mac Allester.

“Sir *Joseph Yorke* desires to see Mr. *Mac Allester*. At present his excellency is now at home, and will not go out till Mr. *Mac Allester* comes, but cannot wait very long.

“Tuesday, ten o'clock in the forenoon.”

On receiving the above billet, I did myself the honour to wait upon his excellency.

One *Macarty*, a subaltern officer of general *Rothe's* regiment of the *Irish* brigade, who having had the misfortune to have killed an officer of the same regiment in a duel, was obliged to quit the service of *France*, and to fly at this time to *Holland*. He was a stout, well made, enterprising man; and had come to the *Hague* to get a passport from Sir *Joseph Yorke*, in order to go to *Ireland* by the way of *Englan*; which passport was refused him. He lodged at *Fitzpatrick's* above mentioned, where we often dined together; and made an acquaintance with one *De le Pont*, then at the *Hague*, who was principal agent and director of the *French* spies, and employed in paying and advancing them money, and communicating to them such instructions and orders as he from time to time received from his court. A plan was formed by him for *Macarty's* throwing off his uniform, putting on burger's cloaths, and persuading *Fitzpatrick*, whose affairs were then in a tottering way, to enter into trade; to buy wines and provisions, &c. to go to the *English* army as suttlers; the profits of which were to be divided between them, by a sum to be advanced by *De le Pont*. This scheme was secretly carried on between *De le Pont*, *Macarty*, and *Fitzpatrick*: And the latter (not in the least suspecting their design) engaged in the

business of the trade, which he had at times followed in former campaigns; assured to have both passport and protection in carrying on an honest, fair commerce, as he usually did; tho' his detestation of the *French*, and his affection and attachment for his *Britannic* majesty's service were equally well known.

Macarty however, through fear or other considerations, had had doubts upon him; and did not well digest this scheme in his moments of retirement. Coming into my room early one morning, before I had got out of bed, he sat down on the bed-side; and telling me he had something that lay heavy on him, engaged me to secrecy, and begged my advice. He then communicated the affair to me; I told him, that of all trades, that of a spy was the most contemptible and dangerous; that it might pass amongst a certain class of people, who were above scandal; or whose business in the state authorises it. That if I was in his place, I would not for ten thousand pounds a year engage in such a dangerous and scandalous employ that he was running the risque to be hang'd; and to involve an innocent man in the same misfortune. That therefore as he seemed to rely upon my advice, I gave it to him to avoid such a dangerous enterprize, and resolved to communicate the whole to Sir *Joseph Yorke* and lord *Granby*, who was then every day expected at the *Hague* from *London*, in his way to *Germany*, and to command the army. The unfortunate man was so affected with this remonstrance, that he drew up a discovery of the whole; and having wrote two of them, one of the originals he sent to his excellency, and the other (which I then little expected to have occasion to publish) is now in my hands, of his own writing, and in the words following, *viz.*

“Mr. *Macarty*, formerly of *Roth’s* regiment, having come to the *Hague* in the month of *March* last, became acquainted with one monsieur *De le Pont*, an agent for the court of *France*, then and still residing at the same place. This acquaintance increasing into an intimacy and confidence, and *De le Pont* imagining to take advantage of *Macarty’s* circumstances, after having made him some advance of money, to the amount of about twelve guineas, proposed to him, to go up to the *English* army, in company with some vivandier (or sutler) of character and substance; and that he would advance him a sum of money to put into trade with such person, the better to mask the design; and by which means, the said *Macarty* would be enabled to render to him, to prince *Soubise*, and other generals, according to the secret instructions that are to be given him, such intelligences and accounts of the motions of the allied army, and what should pass therein, as should come to his knowledge; for which he is to use all possible endeavours, and to spare no expence in entertaining such acquaintance as he should make, to procure the best intelligence; for which money is to be supplied, even in case the fund deposited should not answer. That the better to assure himself of *Macarty’s* services and integrity, he promised to procure him a company, after the campaign, in *Soubise’s* volunteers; together with his protection, and that of the prince *d eCondes*: which *Macarty* has since seen confirmed by prince *de Conde’s* letters; the said *De le Pont*, having often since shewn them to the said *Macarty* and others, from the aforesaid prince; which mentioned, that the success of the campaign depended on the integrity of *Macarty*, and the due execution of the plan, which was not only greatly approved of by himself, but also by prince *Soubise*, and some other general officers.

“That *Macarty* having pretended to agree to, and approve of all the said *De le Pont*'s proposals, communicated the same immediately to a gentleman of his acquaintance; who, having consulted thereon, resolved instantly to lay the same before general *Yorke*, and the marquis of *Granby*, at his arrival, in hopes that some important advantages may result therefrom for his majesty's service; and the said person, having intimated this business to his excellency, said *Macarty*, by the same person's advice, continued and continues to amuse the said *De le Pont*, with assurances of embarking sincerely in the enterprize.

“That by the aforesaid means, and the conduct that *Macarty* has pursued with *Del Pont*, he has obtained such an entire confidence in his affairs, and on this subject in particular, that *De le Pont* has not only shewn him his secret instructions from his court, but also the particular letters relative to the project, which he has received from prince *de Soubise*, and prince *de Conde*; and whereby the remittance of the money for *Macarty*'s use is assured in a few posts; together with their full approbation of the project, which they greatly applauded.

“That in the secret conferences which daily continue between *De le Pont* and *Macarty*, he has mentioned to him a correspondence of importance, which he carries on with some person in *England*; and by which he expects to receive intelligence the first or second post; which *Macarty* communicated to his friend to lay before his excellency, in order that the same may be detected.

“*De le Pont*, in order to encourage the said *Macarty* in the enterprize, has communicated to him the names of several persons now employed by him, in consequence of his orders,

and who are dispersed in different places, some of whom are *French* officers, who have procured themselves commissions in the allied army; and who, according to their instructions are to correspond with *Macarty*; and even to come to him: others who are also to come, and, upon producing a certain token, are to receive such letters as *Macarty* writes, to send them to the *French* army.

“*De le Pont*, who appears in this town in a mean dress, and obscure manner, is nephew to baron *de Bon*, who is major-general, and charged with such affairs of intelligence. It would be unnecessary here to enumerate other particulars about him.

“As *Macarty*'s ambition and zeal, to render service to his majesty, is the principal motive of laying this business before his excellency and lord *Granby*; not doubting but a due consideration will be had thereto; he humbly proposes to act, by their approbation and direction, such part therein, as they may judge proper for the aforesaid service; in which he proposes, not only to give such lights as will discover the whole chain of correspondence carried on, during this campaign, by these secret intrigues; but also to give such accounts in writing as his lordship may, from time to time, judge proper, in order that, on any event, the common enemy may be deceived and defeated in their projects and designs, which, he humbly apprehends, may be of the greatest utility and consequence for his majesty's service, and be securing victory and success to his arms upon every event. For the due and sincere performance of which, and for his faithful conduct therein, he is willing to forfeit life, if he deviates, in any instance, from what he has the honour to disclose to your excellency and his lordship; not doubting hereafter to receive

such recompence as may be thought worthy of the merit of the service." The effect of this memorial or representation you will find in my next.

LETTER THE FIFTY-SEVENTH.

SIR *Joseph*, who had perused the foregoing representation, easily imagined, that *Macarty* had made it by my advice; and therefore, I believe, upon that account sent for me. On my waiting on him, in pursuance of the billet above recited, and speaking of this affair, he asked me what knowledge I had of *Macarty*. I told his excellency the fact; that I never had seen the man in my life till I came to the *Hague*; that I looked upon him as a resolute, daring, enterprizing man; and that he had, of himself, communicated the matter to me, for the reasons before-mentioned; though I had not been without suspicions, for some days past, that something particular was going on between him and *de le Pont*, as they were often in private with *Fitzpatrick*. He then asked me, if I thought *Fitzpatrick* had any part therein. None that was bad, I replied, as I was fully persuaded; for they kept him in the dark, intending to make a convenience only of him. Lord *Granby* was expected every hour at this time, and did actually arrive in two or three days after, as I best remember. Whether any use was made of *Macarty's* discovery, I cannot tell: it became, I think, useless; I coming soon after to *London* with such discoveries and informations as put an end to hostilities and campaigns; which you will find by my following letters.

LETTER THE FIFTY-EIGHTH.

THE interviews I had the honour to enjoy on the subject of my letters, were much more interesting than the affair of *Macarty*: and his excellency asking me, on one of these occasions, how it was, by what means, or in what manner I proposed to defeat the designs and schemes of the *French*. I answered, I would do every thing I proposed by my first letter, or give such lights that it might be done, or suffer death. He then desired I would write down something particular, that might convince that I had such knowledg or ability, and give it to him, and which might prove satisfactory to his majesty, his ministers, or to himself, and which he might also transmit to *London*. Returning to my lodgings, I wrote, “that I would have the honour to lay before his majesty and his ministers, the destination of the troops intended to invade *England*, the names of the ports, towns and harbours where they were to land, measured and marked for that purpose, so that they might, or should be all taken or destroyed, whenever they should make the attempt; and which would ruin them for an age to come, or oblige them to beg a peace on their knees.”

Next day I had the honour to wait on his excellency with this paper, and to deliver it to him. It did not, it is true, disclose the particulars, I believe, which he expected; for, before any other person living should know any thing more particular of the matter, I was determined to give the preference to his majesty and his minister, lest, through any accident, or unforeseen misfortune, the interesting secret should transpire. At this interview, his excellency was pleased

to say to me, that, in the course of business, many persons had been with him, on projects and proposals relative to the most secret affairs; that there never had been any one with him, before this time, however disguised they conducted their affair, but what he could penetrate into their business or design, *except me*. Which I really believe: for, in my poor opinion, there are but few men better qualified for the high station he is in, or to fill one of the highest posts in the state, than this gentleman; if great abilities, and the utmost politeness, give a claim. He added, that I was so buttoned up, or some such expression, that he did not know what to make of me. I had then the honour to tell his excellency, that I should be more explicit when we heard from *England*, or before I should set out for *London*. He then talked of the greatness of the demand in my letter as too large, assuring me, nevertheless, that I should be *generously* and *liberally* recompensed by his majesty and his ministers, if I gave such lights, and made such discoveries as I proposed. In answer to which, I took leave to observe, that I made no demand by my letter of any particular sum, and that I had only mentioned these words therein, *viz.* “that I doubted not, from his majesty’s bounty and generosity, but to receive 20,000*l.* and a pension of 2000*l.* a year, for so important a service. Whereupon I said, that that sum was a trifle for such a service as that of defeating the designs of his majesty’s enemies, against his crown and kingdoms, by making a discovery, and giving such intelligence as would render it abortive; and that if it should be only the foundation of a peace, by putting an end to the war, it would be such a saving to the nation of so many millions yearly; that what I mentioned, and hoped to obtain, from his majesty’s justice and liberality, might be well looked upon as a mere trifle, a real bagatelle. His excellency

listened with patience, and, as I apprehended, that my reasoning made a good impression on him, which, I dare presume to say, it could not have failed to do on every other honest, generous mind; I asked if he then thought whether such a sum would be exorbitant or unreasonable. He replied again, if I performed all I proposed, he could not say much to it: but this did not prevent my seeing his assent and approbation in every feature and movement of his countenance; or at least I imagined I fairly and clearly saw it, and more,

Four or five days after the above interview, I had the honour of waiting on his excellency again; and, in talking of the conduct of the *French*, he was pleased to say, that he was now pretty well convinced that they had some design upon *England*; but, continues he, there is a providence for us as well as for them. It gave me pleasure to hear his fair and candid acknowledgment, and to think that what I had said had made a due impression. I have depended and relied, I then thought, as much upon providence, and with as much justice and reason as any man; but without my assistance, thinks I, (which I had then in my pocket, having had the papers touching the invasion duly transmitted to me) that providence, on which we so much rely, may disappoint those expectations, and refuse that aid and support, with which delusive hopes are often flattered and deceived. It brought to my mind the saying of a *French* general (I think the great marshal *Turenne*) which I had formerly heard, and which I will here venture to recite, though the marshal may appear more upon the profane than the pious strain, at the time he expressed it. The *French* army being in a few days to give battle to the Imperialists, who were thought superior in

number; the *French* general demanded, one morning, why the troops were not under arms at exercise (according to custom, and to prepare for action) was told, that they were at their devotions, by order of the chaplains of their respective regiments, offering up their prayers, that *providence* might give them the victory in the approaching engagement. D---n the bou---rs, says the marshal, let some of them go to *Versailles*, and persuade the king, by their prayers to the throne, to send me twenty thousand men more than those of the enemy, and if his majesty complies, I will give *providence* leave to take which side he pleases. I mention this, to shew, that *providence* is not displeas'd at being seconded by our best and honest endeavours, and that human assistance is of necessity required, in which morally speaking, our security and happiness principally consists; thereby inviting *providence*, by proper applications, to favour such endeavours, and which, I flattered myself, had delivered me out of the hands of my enemies, and guided all my steps for the accomplishment of my great design.

We were now in the month of *May*, which brought several officers of the *Irish* brigade to *Holland*, for their amusement, or other affairs, instead of marching into *Germany*, as they had in the spring expected. All expectation of these, and of the *Scotch* regiments making that campaign, as they had done all the former campaigns since the war, were now entirely vanish'd; but the true motives of their being countermanded were to them unknown. Some of these officers, however, came to the *Hague*, and, under pretence of going to *Ireland*, sollicit'd passports from his excellency, and in vain tried other methods to get over to *England* by trading vessels; but being refused the passports, the project of their

getting over by the traders was rendered abortive by the vigilance of his excellency. This refusal was communicated to those who had not applied; and further applications on that subject being ceased from that quarter, those regiments began immediately to prepare to draw down to the coast. The regiment of the late unfortunate count *Lally*, which had been reduced to a handful of skeletons, was recruited and made complete, and was well officer'd nor did any regiment in *France* make a more brilliant and martial appearance, with respect to uniform, drums, music, and officers. Most of these officers were old veterans, who had made their retreats, after serving many campaigns; but now were re-entered into the service again, with hearts full of joy, in hopes of seeing once more their native soil, and leaving their old mangled carcasses at home; for the whole brigade, and all the other troops designed for the expedition (all *France*, I may say) saw at this time, that a formidable invasion was to be made, tho' the destination, place or places for their landing, were not known; so inviolably was this secret preserved. *Lallys* regiment, with others, was come to *St. Omers*, for the convenience of being near *Dunkirk*; to which place the other *Irish* and *Scotch* regiments were by degrees marching; whilst the other troops, destined also for the descent, were assembled, or assembling, at *Havre*, *Dieppe*, and other parts of the coast, for the same purpose. My next letter will continue this material detail.

LETTER THE FIFTY-NINTH.

SPEAKING on another occasion to his excellency on the above subject, I took leave to ask him, what he thought of the war then carrying on by *France* and *Spain* against *Portugal*, and whether he did not think It a *political war*? He appeared, I thought, a little surprised at my question, and said he was not of that opinion for there was reason to believe, that the war between those powers was *real*. I replied, that I believed it was quite the contrary, and that it was carried on by the politics of *France* (which nothing surpasses) with the view of drawing the troops out of *England*, and to lessen their number at home. He then was pleased to say, on hearing me thus express myself, that he had never met with any one with such refined notions of politics; and a few days after, on some further discourse, I found his excellency was not so strenuously attached to his first opinion. Whether the fact touching the war with *Portugal* was such as I suspected, from the reasons before mentioned, or not, I must leave to the judicious in politics to determine, on considering the reasons and appearances herein before recited, from first to last. The conclusion of this interview was, that his excellency soon expected an answer to the letters he had wrote to *London* touching my affair; and to assure me, that I would be *generously* recompensed by his majesty and his ministers, if I did what I proposed.

Sitting at home a day or two after, a person came to me in the evening, and told me, he was sent by his excellency to acquaint me, that his majesty had been pleased to do me the honour to send for me to come over to *England*; and that

lord *B----* had signified it by a letter to Sir *Joseph*, who had likewise received his lordship's orders to pay my expences at the *Hague*. I waked on his excellency, and told him, that I was ready to go at a moment's notice but added, that there was a person at *Paris*, who had taken care of my papers, and who had still some others of consequence in keeping, which could not be with safety conveyed by the post, whom it was necessary to bring away from thence, and who would, in all probability, fall a sacrifice to the *French* ministers, when it should come to be known that I was in *England*, and had made those discoveries, which must defeat their designs; and that it would be an eternal dishonour and disgrace to leave a person to be sent to the *Bastile*, to pass the rest of their days perhaps in that dreadful place, or in one much; worse (if possible) whilst it was in one's power to bring such person away, and prevent their ruin; and that if he would. please to direct a sum to be paid for the expence of the journey, I would write a letter to the person, who, on receiving this money, would come away directly, and that I would instantly set out for *England*. Sir *Joseph* then told me, he had no directions for any thing more than my expences at the house, which, I own, much surprised me; but ask'd how much would do. I told him, about 100*l*. I believed, would do for the whole, and that neither honour nor conscience would suffer me to leave any person in danger or distress for serving me. His excellency could not be, nor was he displeas'd with my sentiments or way of thinking, and said he must then write again to *London*; telling me, on leaving him, that we should soon have an answer.

However, in some few days after, I received from his excellency a letter in the words following, the original being

still in my hands.

A Copy of his Excellency Sir *Joseph Yorke's*
Letter to Mr. *Mac Allester*, bearing Date
18th of *May*, 1762.

“SIR,

“If you would follow my advice, it should be, to set out without insisting any farther on your demands; as I cannot take upon me to go any farther, than to clear you at your house, without orders from my superiors. If it was an affair you had so much at heart, I wonder you made no mention of it to me, When you knew I was writing to *England*: it will be but a delay for a few days, and you may easily remit the money from *London*. The fewer terms and difficulties you make before-hand, you are sensible, will recommend you, better than the contrary conduct. You like to take your precautions; government has its forms too; and till you are known, and have made good what you advance, you cannot be surpris'd at little rubs. I can only give you my advice, and am,

“SIR,

Your humble servant,

“*To Mr. Mac Allester.*

“JOSEPH YORKE.”

You will please to observe, that the letter mentions, “if it was an affair you had so much at heart, I wonder you made no mention of it to me, when you knew I was writing to *England*.” The affair at heart was bringing the person from *Paris*. You will please to observe, that I mentioned it, in as strong terms as may be, in the letter which I first wrote; but I

believe, in the multiplicity of business and affairs, in which Sir *Joseph* might be absorbed, it might have escaped his memory, and it is plain to me he had forgotten it.

After receiving the above letter, I waited on his excellency, and had the honour to discourse and reason with him on the above subject, in which I was so happy as to receive his approbation on what I said. At last I begg'd leave to ask him one question: his usual politeness and good nature could not, I believe, but indulge my request, believing me, I hoped, incapable to ask him any thing improper. He then desired me to put my question. I then begged his excuse, and asked him to tell me (not as an ambassador or minister) what he would do, was he in my place; and whether upon such an important service, he would go over to *England*, without settling some terms with the ministers, or not. His excellency seemed to make a short pause, and then said to me the words following: "I tell you, Mr. *Mac Allester*, you ask my answer not as a minister but as a gentleman; which I will give you, and it is this.; was I in your place, I would go over without insisting on any terms, and rely on his majesty's generosity: it is true he is young, but he is generous, honest, and good-natur'd; and you may depend on being liberally and generously recompenced." And is this, Sir *Joseph*, says I, your advice? "It is," replied his excellency. On which I started from my chair, and laying my hand to my breast, replied with some warmth, Begging I your excellency's pardon, by G—d I will follow it from this instant. Please, Sir, to order an open boat for me directly, and four stout fellows, and I will go off this night; though I know I shall be too soon for the enemy, for that is my affair. To which Sir *Joseph* replied, "No; as I have wrote to *England*, it is better, I think, to wait: I shall receive an answer in a post or

two, and a few days will make no difference." None at all, Sir, said I, and took my leave. The satisfaction that I have at this juncture is, that Sir *Joseph Yorke* is too honest a man, and too much the gentleman of candour and veracity, (to say no more of him) not to acknowledge all the foregoing particulars which I have the honour to mention to have passed between us on this affair; if they have not been obliterated from his memory by time and other affairs.

Walking towards the dusk of the evening, under the shade of the trees, in that place at the *Hague*, where the troops assemble every morning to march from thence to mount guard; it was, I think, the 29th of *May*, about nine o' clock in the evening, when I perceived Mr. *Prevot*, before mentioned, coming towards me. When advanced, (after saluting) he told me, that his excellency the count *d'Affry* wondered I had not called to see him. I told him, he did me a great deal of honour, and that I should have waited on him often, but that I supposed my visits and compliments might have been disagreeable; and, therefore, that he would not have been visible: and that I was one of the last and worst in the world to be so troublesome, as to obtrude upon persons of rank. Not at all, Sir; for let me assure you, replies *Prevot*, that his excellency will be very glad to see you, any day or at any hour you come, unless at the time that he is writing his post letters. I did not in the least doubt, at this time, but that his excellency would have been more glad to have seen me in his house, than I would have been to have found myself there: as I had some time before received advice, that one of the ministers at *Versailles* had said to a certain person in private, that he would give a very large sum to prevent my going to *England*. And, adds *Prevot*, I must tell you, that the count

gave himself the trouble to write to court about you, and that he has received a very kind and obliging answer from the duke *de Choiseiul*; wherein his lordship says, he is very sorry for the unkind usage you received; and desires the count to assure you, it did not come from his department. I knew this very well, and that what I had suffered was from the young pretender, *St. Florentin*, and *Bertin*.

I returned my best acknowledgments to be communicated by Mr. *Prevot* to the count, and to be by him transmitted to the duke; assuring him, I was then sensible of his goodness, and convinced that it was owing to his justice and humanity, through the representations of my good friends, that I obtained my liberty, or that I was then alive. *Prevot* then pressed me to come next day, or as soon as it was convenient for me, to the count; telling me farther, that he had received orders to settle matters with me, which I would find to my satisfaction. I thanked him most heartily, prayed him to make my humble respects as due; but told him, that as my private affairs (which had been ruined by my long absence) called me to *England* and *Ireland*; and as I expected to set out on my journey for the former in a few days, I feared it would not be in my power to wait on the count as I could wish (here I was paying him in *French* coin); for that I had some little matters to settle at the *Hague* before my departure, which would employ most of my time; for which I was very sorry. He then pressed me again; on which I said, I own, Sir, that in good manners I ought to wait on him, to acknowledge the obligation I am under for the trouble he had given himself on my account, which demanded and required my waiting on him, to return him thanks; and likewise to beg he would be so good as to return my thanks and acknowledgments to the

duke *de Choiseiul*; that I would therefore have the honour to wait upon him for that purpose in a day or two, at least before my departure, (if possible.) I saw that the phrase if possible did not go down well; but as I could not nor would not mend it, we graciously parted.

Reflection instantly seized my mind. If I go, thinks I, what am I to do? How shall I get out, if the tender care they should have for my health and preservation should induce his excellency (pursuant to secret orders) to cause his servants to turn the key of the street door upon me, and keep me there till they could convey me to *Paris*, and probably lodge me at their grand hotel (the bastile) where I should want for *nothing*. The house of the ambassador is sacred, and who dare take me out? therefore I resolved; I will go none there, but I will go to Sir *Joseph*: my mind being full of that patriotic maxim, which is the reigning principle of every true lover of his country, *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica patria*. In my way to his excellency, I considered, that if I had been in *Asia* detained and reduced by the divan to be employed in their service; ill used, and unable to get away forced to play the *Turk* through policy and self-preservation; necessity would excuse my playing the *Turk*, which I might well do without being musselman or infidel; and that if I found them attacking my king and country, or even any other christian power, my vengeance would be justified and applauded in the eyes of all others, if I set fire to their country, levelled the seraglio, and overturned the mosques. I knew in my own mind, that their desire to prevent my going to *England* proceeded from their fear that I should publish *Hamilton's* affair: they had then no suspicion of my having any other matter to hurt them, or I should never

have got away.

As soon as I came to Sir *Joseph's* I inquired for him, but he was not at home; they told me, as I best remember, that he was engaged abroad with the marquis of *Granby*, (I think at the play,) and knew not when he would return, or if I could see him that night. I went however to Mr. *Delaval's* apartment, related to him the adventure with *Prevot*, and consulted with him whether it was proper for me to venture to go to monsieur *d'Affry*. He told me, he could not say any thing to it; that I might go if I pleased, and that he believed it was the same kind of answer Sir *Joseph* himself would give me, if at home. I replied, if I should go perhaps Sir *Joseph* would think ill of me; which is the reason I would have his advice and direction. No, replies Mr. *Delaval*, we should have no doubt about you; and you may go if you please. I then asked him, if I should be detained, how would he get me out. He answered, he could not say any thing to that. On which, I believe, I made some asseveration, that I would not go near him, or trust: myself with him; and so I left the count to condemn or excuse my want of good manners and respect. How others may judge of it, I cannot tell but submit it to their and your consideration, remembering the essential object of self-preservation.

De le Pont and his spies were now buzzing and as busy about the *Hague* as bees around a hive. Every step I made, I knew, was watched, which made me stay more at home than otherwise I would have done. On the thirty-first of *May* in the evening, one Mr. *Roworth*, one of his majesty's messengers of state, then stationed with his excellency Sir *Joseph Yorke*, as messenger I believe to the embassy, came to me, and told me, the post was arrived; and that he was sent by Sir *Joseph*

to acquaint me, that his majesty and lord *B---* had been pleased to direct that I should set out for *England* next morning; that the money was come, and that I must go with him to Sir *Joseph's* house to receive it. When I came to Sir *Joseph's* he was just gone out; but as he had left directions with Mr. *Delaval*, this gentleman paid me the hundred pounds, which had been sent over that post by his lordship; for which sum I gave a receipt to Mr. *Delaval*, believing it the earnest of my proposition, if I should do as I proposed. The greatest part of this money was in silver, and of consequence weighty. It was at this time about ten at night; and as the bankers shops were all shut up, I was at a loss to know how to remit part of it to *Paris*, to the person above-mentioned, in order to bring her away from thence: the bankers at that place, being very scrupulous in doing business at late hours. *Roworth*, however, thought of Sir *Joseph's* banker, and loaded with the silver, we set out for the banker's, whom we found in his night-cap, preparing to go to bed; and he seemed out of humour at being disturbed, and unwilling to receive the money: but *Roworth* prevailing, he paid him, by my order, fifty guineas, and I took his draft on *Paris* for that sum; which I inclosed in a letter that I had previously wrote, and sent it to Mr. *Delaval*, by *Roworth*, to be forwarded to *Paris*. *Roworth* went and delivered the letter, and then returned much fatigued, and brought me the rest of the money. This man who is a credit to, and a pattern for some of his brethren of the same class, would not be prevailed on to accept the least gratification or acknowledgment for all the trouble I gave him on this occasion, no not so much as a glass of wine: he knew only that I was going to serve his majesty and the nation; his honesty and duty had buried all avaritious views in that respect. I often wondered since, he did not

charge or stop from me one pound two shillings, in every two pounds seven shillings of this money, for his trouble of receiving, carrying, and paying the money: as another of his brethren, one, who has since had the honesty and conscience to do; and which I believe you, and all good men, will think is with as little pretension, being only for receiving for me, a trifle of two pounds seven shillings a week, allowed for my subsistence, till my recompence should be paid, of which he paid me but one pound five shillings a week; retaining the rest under pretence of fees or perquisites, as you will more particularly know in a subsequent letter.

LETTER THE SIXTIETH.

WHEN *Roworth* left me, he promised to be with me early next morning, telling me, he was ordered to attend me with a coach to *Helvoetsluys*. I sent immediately, though late it was, and paid every person who had any claim or demand on me, and prepared every thing necessary for my departure. About five o'clock next morning, being the 1st of *June*, *Roworth* came to me with a handsome glass coach; and there being a gentleman and his spouse in the house, who had come from *Germany*, and were going to *England*, I complimented the lady with a place in the coach; whilst *Roworth* and her spouse went in a cabroiler, or chair, and arrived that evening at *Helvoetsluys*, where we were obliged that night to wait, on account of the wind; which being somewhat favourable next morning, we embarked on board the packet-boat, and on the 4th of *June* we came in sight of *Harwich*, about two o'clock. We had extreme good company on board, lord *Down*, and other gentlemen; and as it was his

majesty's birth-day, and what rendered it omenous, that I was on that day landing in *England*, bringing the glad and secret tidings and means of defeating his enemies, and restoring peace to the nation, we celebrated the day with the noble lord in a joyous manner, his lordship's wine being distributed in abundance on the occasion.

Being at last come to an anchor, whilst I was in the cabin, a person came to me, and told me, there was a gentleman upon deck, who had just come off on seeing the vessel come into the bay, and who desired to speak to me. I immediately went upon deck: he advanced to me, asking by my name, if I was not such a person? I told him I was: he then said he was come, by order of lord B---, to make me his lordship's compliments, to congratulate me on my arrival in *England*, and to attend me to town, and take care that no harm should happen to me (with all which I could not but be greatly pleased, as coming from so great a man) and returned my best thanks for his lordship's kind attention. He then asked me if I had any luggage, which he said he would take care of, and told me his lordship would be very glad to hear of my arrival; for that he had, by his orders, attended at *Harwich* several weeks past, to wait for me. My trunk being put into the boat, we quitted the ship, and rowed to shore. I observed no other person was admitted to go with us, or to get out of the ship, till we were gone. On coming to a tavern at landing, instead of sending my trunk to the custom-house, this person went, and brought the custom-house officers with him to the tavern, to examine the trunk; who, out of ceremony, look'd into it, and then went away. My guide (for as yet I knew not his name) ask'd me, if I would not please to stay all night, that I might recover my fatigue, and ask'd what I would like for

supper; and appeared, according to his way, awkwardly assiduous, and as if he would endeavour to shew himself with politeness; but I soon perceived, that it was not the poor man's province nor fault, that he was not so well in that way as might be expected; for nature and instruction, I saw, were both deficient; and told him, I would not sup there, nor go into a bed, till I got to *London*; and desired a post-chaise to be got ready immediately, which, as soon as it came to the door, I got into, with my guide, and set off from *Harwich* about eight o'clock in the evening, continuing our journey the whole night, without stopping, unless to change horses, and arrived in town about five o'clock next morning.

I had learn'd on the road from my conductor, that his name was *Watson*, and that he was one of the messengers of state: he brought me to his house in *Crown Court*, neither commodious nor agreeable for a person who was come to *London*, even by his majesty's order and invitation, as well as under his royal protection, with those lights and intelligences, which, I was persuaded, would defeat the dangerous and formidable designs of his enemies, and after so many dangers and risks as I had run for that purpose. When bed-time approached, he made an apology, that he had not a bed, but what was engaged for his own family; but said, he had provided me one at a brother messenger's, within a few doors of his house: and accordingly conducted me to one *Blackmore's*, about an hundred yards from thence: where I was, I found, detained as a prisoner, not being permitted to go out; for fear, I supposed, that any attempt should be made upon me, or lest I should be so unguarded as to talk of this affair.

As soon as, I presume, it was thought I had recovered from

my fatigue, I was conducted by *Watson* in a coach to the secretary of state's office, then lord *B----*'s. I was shewn into a chamber, where I met a gentleman, whom I had never seen before, who told me his name was *J----*, and that he was secretary to his lordship, whose orders he had received to meet me, and to take down my intelligence and discoveries, according to the letters I had wrote; or to that effect. I saw paper, pens, and ink, on the table, with my first letter to Sir *Joseph Yorke*, and, I think, my second lay also by it. In a word, I saw a kind of apparatus, as if it was for to take an examination or information before a magistrate, which I thought was not the thing, or at least not the method, I apprehended, would have been used in my case; my intentions being first to have the honour of delivering my papers to his majesty in person, or to the minister himself; and my expectations being, that, after such delivery, I should be examined, and permitted to explain and recite all other particulars, and give all the necessary eclaircissements to the minister, or perhaps before his majesty in council, where I imagined the business might be immediately carried.

For these reasons I declined communicating any thing particular to this gentleman; but told him, I was ready to give the lights mentioned in my letters, and to do all I had therein proposed, but would not deliver my papers but to his majesty or his minister. We discoursed, however, for some little time, wherein I gave him such lights to communicate to his lordship, who, I did not doubt, but to have the honour to see and attend in a day or two, on this important subject, as would satisfy him of my integrity, and power to answer his most ardent expectations, in respect to the matter in question. This interview finished, I was reconducted back by

Watson, who attended for that purpose, to *Blackmore's*, where I was confined as before, not being as yet permitted to stir out.

His lordship being then made first lord of the treasury, in some few days after, I was again conducted in a coach by *Watson*, to the same office, and told, I was to go there before the honourable Mr. G----, who was just then appointed one of his majesty's ministers of state. On coming into the room to this gentleman, Mr. W---- was with him; but he leaving the room, Mr. G---- began, by telling me, he was come to the office to meet me, to be informed in the business I had mentioned in my letters. I replied, I did not doubt of his majesty's goodness and generosity in my recompence for the service I proposed, that I relied upon his royal bounty and liberality, and that I would now have the honour to give such lights and discoveries of the designs of the enemy, as would defeat their schemes and enterprize, and enable the minister to knock them all on the head, whenever they should attempt the invasion: that I insisted on no terms, but submitted myself to his majesty's bounty, and then took out of my pocket, and delivered to him the papers, of which the following is an exact copy, being the instructions given to *Dumont* for to examine the coast, towns, and harbors destined for landing the troops and making the invasion; with the report or answer of *Dumont*; together with a chart of the coast made in pursuance of the said instructions for landing the *French* troops, artillery, &c. of which chart I kept no copy, or otherwise should set it forth; but which still remains in the hands of the ministers.

INSTRUCTIONS pour le Sieur *Dumont*,
commandant *St.Esperrie*.

IL se rendra, en choisissant le tems le plus propre, (c'est à dire la nuit) par le vent le plus favorable, et l'heure de la marée pour pouvoir aller et revenir à *Beachyhead*, sur la côte d'*Angleterre*. Il examinera cette côte depuis ce point, jusqu'à *Arundel*, ou la partie qu'il en pourra faire avec le moins de risque, de vouloir tout reconnoître à la fois, pour ne faire courir le danger d'être pris.

Il paroîtroit devoir commencer par *Arundel*, pour qu'en revenant le long de cette côte, il put passer pour *Anglois*. Mais au reste, je laisse à la prudence du Sieur *Dumont*, ces arrangemens.

Les objects qu'il doit reconnoître, sont les differens, mouillages, de mesurer l'entendue des plages, en longueur, et largeur, de connôître les fondes en avant ces mouillages, pour savoir la distance aux atterages, où des frégates ou des vaisseaux ennemis, y pourroient venir troubler les batteaux, qui servent échouer sur ces plages; quelles sont les villes, ou ports qui confinent à ces plages; l'etendue de ces ports pour contenir les transports, et les mettre à couvert, après la decente; de connôître les routes et débouches qui conduisent du bord de la mer dans le pays: la nature de l'interieur, s'il est possible: si ce sont des marais, des prairies, des terres labourées, des communes; si ce sont plaines, ou rideaux, si coupés de ruisseaux, si couvert de bois, en fin le plus de détail possible, sur ces objéts; les dunes, les fallaises, les forts, et les batteries, qui defendant cette côte; et qu'après avoir pris ces connoissances, il les ecrive; et qu'il entance les figures, sur le champ; aussi tôt fait, il reviendra à *Boulogne*,. s'il se peut, si

non, à tout autre port, jusqu'à *Dieppe*; compris estapes, estapes *St. Valory, &c.* si par hazard. il tomboit entre les maines des *Anglois*, il aura attention de jeter ses papiers, pour que l'ennemi ne connoisse pas, quelles sont les points qu'il à reconnu.

Qu'il pense sur tout, qu'il ne doit courir, ni après la gloire ne après le butin: son seul objét, est la reconnoissance indiqué cydessus, la vrai gloire, est de rendre des services, aussi essentiels, que l'objét qu'on lui confie, et non de chercher à combattre, mais en tout, de suivre exactement les ordres, de ceux qui le roi commet pour les commandemens: laissant entièrement au capitaine *Dumont*, de saisir le moment favorable, en consequence des ordres, que j'ai' reçu par les lettres de monsieur le compte *d'Herouville*; nous avons donné, les instructions cydessus fait à *Boulogne*, 13 *Sep.* 1759.

Le Chev. D'ARCY.

Je prie messieurs les commandans des ports, et villes de *France*, de no point inquieter le nommé *Laurent Vendenbos*, capitaine du batiment le *Jeune Glatty*, ayant été occupé par ordre du mareschal prince *Soubize*, pour le service du roy, l'ayant par le même ordre occupé. Signé avec paraphe.

Pris à *Boulogne* copie

le 27 *Sep.* 1759.

DE LA MOTTE officier *Francois*.

N. B. This is said to be the young pretender's order, and signed on his return from *England*. Sent from *Dunkirk* to *Paris*, to Mr. *Mac Allester*, by *Dumont*.

La REPONSE de Capitaine *Dumont*, aux Instructions des Ministres.

Parté de *Boulogne* le 20 Sep. 1759. Arrivé sur la côte d'*Angleterre* le 23, et parcuru depuis le point de *Beachy* jusqu'au travers la baye d'*Arundel*, faisant route à l'ouest; mouillage est depuis une brasse jusqu' à dix.

NOMBRE I.

Entre la point de *Beachy*, et les *Sept Fours*, se trouve une muraille et une porte, avec une descente large et spacieuse; les terre et l'interieure font incultes, communes entre les habitans : il y a une belle plaine, bien propre a conduire l'artillerie. Le long de *Sept Fours* la côte est rapide, et fermée d'une muraille par la nature ; les terres sont couvertes de landre.

NOMBRE II.

A la pointe, de l'ouvert de *Sept Fours*, est une ance, de la longueur d'unquart de lieue, dont la côte est caillouteufe, les terres y sont incultes, et par leur pante vers la mer, elles se decouvrent à environ deux lieues: on voit de cette ance un grand chemin qui conduit à *Newhaven*.

NOMBRE III.

Aprés avoir doublé une chaine de montagnes, d'une demi lieue de longuer, on trouve la baye de *Newhaven*, d'une lieue et un quart de long; dont la côte est caillouteufe. Le terrain n'offre aucun obstacle, et l'on y peut échour en tout tems. La ville de *Newhaven* est un petit port, assés peu commode, on peut cependant y mettre 70 batteaux plats.

NOMBRE IV.

D' autre distance de six lieues de la ville de *Newhaven* est celle de *Shoreham*; on trouve une anse, de la longueur d'une demi lieue, dont la côte est de facile abord, les montagnes sont rapides, enferment l'entrée du païs: cette baye est à 3½ lieues de *Newhaven*, et a 2½ lieues de *Shoreham*.

NOMBRE V.

Shoreham a un port qui peut contenir 100 batteaux plats: sa baye a deux lieues environ de longueur, la côte est chargée de gravier et cailloux: elle permet d'y échouer un grand nombre de batteaux; la terre est en partie inculte, et en partie mis en valeur.

NOMBRE VI.

Shoreham est séparé d'*Arundel* par une haute terre rapide, à couvert de la quelle se decouvre la baye d'*Arundel* ; cette baye est tres belle et tres favorable, a un de barquement.

La l'ennemi s'est montre et la découverte a disparu.

** The above figures have reference to the chart which Dumont made of the coast, towns and harbours, the copy of which I gave to Mr. G-----

INSTRUCTIONS for Mr. Dumont,
commander of the St. Esperries,
translated from the French.

WHEN he shall sail, let him choose the most proper time (that is to say, in the night) with the most favourable wind, so as to be able to go to Beachy-head, on the coast of *England*, and to return from thence. He shall

examine that coast from this point, as far as to *Arundel*, or such part of it as he may be best able to do, with the least risk; and let him endeavour to reconnoitre or examine all the premisses at one time, provided that he does not run any danger of being taken.

It should seem most advisable to begin at *Arundel*; so that, by returning along the coast, he might pass for *English*. As to the rest,. I leave to the discretion of *Mr. Dumont* what steps to take.

The objects which he must chiefly attend unto, and reconnoitre, are the different anchorings; for which end, he must measure the extent of those bays and waters as to length and breadth; he must find the soundings before these anchorings, and the distances from the landing-places, where the frigates or vessels of the enemy might be able to molest the flat-bottom'd boats employed in landing the forces, &c. in those waters. He must inform himself of the towns and ports next joining to those landing-places, the capacity of those ports for containing the transports, and-whether they can lie safe, and out of danger from the enemy, after the descent. He must also make himself acquainted with the roads, and the openings that lead or conduct from the sea side into the country; so as, if possible, to find the nature of the inland part thereof, whether it be marshy, meadow ground, arable, or common; whether it be plain or craggy; whether interrupted by rivulets, or covered with woods: in fine, let him procure the most exact description possible of the downs, the beaches; the forts, and the Batteries (if any be) erected upon this coast. And after having taken the. most exact account of these particulars, he must write them down immediately, and make a plan or map of the premisses. When this shall be

done, let him return to *Boulogne*, if he can; if not, to any other port, as far as *Dieppe*, comprehending *Etapas*, *Estepes*, *St. Vallery*, &c. If by chance, he should fall into the hands of the *English*, he must be careful to throw his papers over-board, that the enemy may not discover the business upon which he has-been sent.

Let him, above all things, know; that he must not run after glory or booty; his sole object is the knowledge of what is above commanded. True glory is, to perform the service with that diligence as the nature of the object requires. He is not to seek an enemy, but in every. thing to follow exactly the orders of those, to whom the king has given these commands. Thus I leave entirely to captain *Dumont* to seize the favourable moment, and, in consequence of the orders which I have received by the letters of the count *d'Herouville*, we have given these instructions. Done at *Boulogne*, this 13th of *September*, 1759.

(Signed) The Chevalier D'ARCY.

This is to desire all the-commanders of the several ports and towns in *France*, not to molest *Lawrence Vandenbos*, captain of the vessel called the *Young Glatty*, having been employed by order of the marshal prince *de Soubize*, for the king's service, having by the same order employed him. Signed and certified,

DE LA MOTTE, a *French Officer*.

The copy of the above taken by captain *Dumont*, 27th *September*, 1759. Sent to Mr. *Mac A----* to *Paris*, August 1761.

Dumont was stationed at *Boulogne* with a ship, at the entrance of the harbour, to examine all that went in and out,

and said that *De la Motte* was the adventurer.

Captain *Dutnont's* Report or Answer to the said
Instructions. Translated from the *French*.

Parted from *Boulogne* the 20th *September*, 1759. Arrived on the coast of *England* the 23d, and run from the point of *Beachy-head* across the bay of *Arundel*, making course to the west: the anchorage is from one to ten fathom.

NUMBER I.

Between the point of *Beachy* and the *Seven Ovens* is a wall and a gate, with a large and spacious descent. The lands and interior parts are uncultivated, and in common amongst the inhabitants. There is a very fine plain, very proper for conducting the artillery. Along the *Seven Ovens* the coast is high, and secured by a wall formed by nature: the lands are covered with heath.

NUMBER II.

At the point, on opening the *Seven Ovens*, is a creek a quarter of a league long, the coast of which is of flint stones. The lands here are uncultivated, and, by their declivity towards the sea, they discover themselves about two leagues. There is to be seen from this creek a great road that leads to *Newhaven*.

NUMBER III.

After having doubled a chain of rocks half a league in length, there is the bay of *Newhaven*, a league and a quarter long, the coast of which is covered with flint stones. There is no obstruction in this bay; one may here run ashore at any time. The town of *Newhaven* is a small port, not very commodious yet one may find place here for seventy

flat-bottom'd boats.

NUMBER IV.

Six leagues farther from *Newhaven* is the town of *Shoreham*. Here is a creek of half a league; the coast of easy approach: the mountains are high, and inclose the entrance into the country. This bay is three leagues and a half from *Newhaven*, and two and a half from *Shoreham*.

NUMBER V.

Shoreham has a small port that will contain a hundred flat-bottom'd boats. The bay is about two leagues long, the coast covered with gravel and flint stones. Here a great number of flat-bottomed boats may run on shore. The lands are in part cultivated, and in part common.

NUMBER VI.

Shoreham is separated from *Arundel* by a high land, at the opening of which is seen the bay of *Arundel*. This bay is very fine, and most favourable for a debarkment.

The enemy appeared, and the discoverer went away.

** I must observe here, that the date in *Dumont's* report was a little defaced, which may make a difference of a day or two in his sailing.

N. B. The above figures have reference to the chart which *Dumont* made of the coast, towns, and harbours, pursuant to the instructions; the copy of which Mr. *Mac Allester* gave to Mr. *G----* with the other papers, and which were given to Mr. *W----* to take care of them, after they had been considered by the *k---*, &c.

Mr. *G----* having read the said instructions and answer, and examined the said chart, I gave him such other lights and

discoveries, as seemed highly satisfactory to him; who being struck and alarmed therewith, immediately rung his bell; and a person coming to him, he ordered him to go directly to lord *Egremont*, and to desire his lordship not to stir out till he came to him. Before this person was down stairs he rung again, and said to him that entered, "Order my coach instantly to the door, for I must go directly to the k---;" then asking me some other questions, he told me it was very well, saying, "You shall hear from us in a few days. On leaving Mr. *G----*, I went into the next room to Mr. *W----*, then under minister of state in that department; and had the honour to confer with this gentleman on the above subject. At my leaving him, I found myself without my guide; that is to say, that *Watson* was gone, and that I was entirely at liberty; I went home, and from thence where I pleased.

Next morning I waited again on Mr. *W-----* and had a long conference with him, wherein I related all that *Dumont* had communicated to me, and every thing that occurred to my mind, that I knew to be necessary or essential in this business for his majesty's service, which gave this honourable gentleman the highest satisfaction. Upon my getting up from my chair to go away, he did me the honour to ask me, if I was well, or contented where I was. To which I answered, thanking him for his kind attention, that I was content for the present, till my recompence was paid, or better provision made for me. You are not, Sir—to consider yourself as a prisoner: you are no prisoner at all, continues he. You are your own master, to live where you please. No, Sir, I reply'd; I do not consider myself in that light, tho' I had found myself quite the contrary, affairs being now in this situation, I may tell you freely, that I imagined in myself that I saw troops

marching towards the coast to lie in ambush; and Sir *Edward Hawke*, once and for all, again triumphant over the *French* flat-bottom'd boats, as he had been over their formidable fleet off *Brest*; and an end to all *French* projects of invasion for ages to come. The *French* troops, *Irish* brigades, and *Scotch* regiments in the service of *France*, destined for embarkation and invasion, having then actually marched down to *Dunkirk*, *Berg*, *St. Omers*, *Calais*, and to other sea port towns and villages on that part of the coast of *France* opposite to *England*, to the number of 50,000 men and upwards, as well cavalry as foot, to be ready for embarkation, and putting the said project of invasion in execution the winter following, or on the first favourable and convenient opportunity; and who then lay at the mercy of the minister, by my discoveries as aforesaid.

Patently waiting the recompence of this important service, I went one morning (about a month after I had made those discoveries, and delivered the papers above-mentioned) to the secretary of state (my cash being out) and spoke to Mr. G---- on that subject; who told me, he would order Mr. L--- to pay me 50*l.* till my affair was settled. L---- next day paid me that sum, and took my receipt for so much received by Mr. G----'s order. This served me for my then emergencies, not doubting but when the hurry of business, which then seemed to engage the attention of the ministers was over, but mine would have been settled. I went in *August*, for the first time, to wait on lord B----, who I had the honour to meet coming through *St. James's*. Having made my respectful address to his lordship, and told him who I was, he did me the honour to tell me, that his majesty would *generously* and *liberally* reward me, and that his lordship would never be against it. I

returned his lordship my humble thanks; telling him his word was so dear to me, that I could not doubt of what he said, and that I was happy in having this gracious promise, or to that effect and his lordship was likewise pleased, at two or three different times after, when I had the honour to meet him at *St. James's*, to tell me, my affair would soon be settled, and that he would speak to Mr. G---- for that purpose.

In *August*, at which time I quitted *Blackmore's* house, and took lodgings, and went and lived at my own expence, the person whom I had sent fifty guineas to at *Paris*, arrived at *London*, and brought the other papers which I sent to Mr. G----, pursuant to his billet, for that purpose.

Negotiations for a peace being set on foot, in consequence of my discoveries, the duke of *Nivernois* arrived in *London* *September* following; and as I walk'd one evening in the *Park*, one *Burk*, who I had formerly known at *Dunkirk*, as a merchant, came to me and having talked to me of indifferent affairs, begged me to drink a bottle, for he had something to say to me of consequence. We went accordingly, and a third person with us: the result of this invitation and business was (for this night) that he came, as he said, from the duke and Mr. *Deon*, then secretary to his embassy; and by their order to propose, that if I would come to the duke or Mr. *Deon*, the duke's intention was to make a very handsome provision for me, and to fix me with town-house, country-house, and equipage, with money to support them. I asked him, what service I was to do for all this; what they expected from me, and what connection he has wjth them? As to himself, he said, he was employed in buying and selling stocks for them; that he had sold out a large sum a day or two before to good advantage, and was next day to carry the sum of 1200*l.* to

them as the profits thereof. As to the business with respect to you, I know not any particulars, said he, but that they want you, and will make good what I propose by their orders. I instantly suspected it was a trick or a snare to kidnap me. Pray, said I, will the duke begin by paying me the money due to me from the king his master, for an affair I was employed in at *Bicêtre* by his minister in his majesty's name, and for his service; or does he think I am qualified to be a spy, and intends to employ me as such. If that should be the case, please to tell his lordship, it is a trade I never understood, nor never will learn; and that I would not engage in it for the kingdom of *France*. It may do well enough with some great men, with those who *Voltaire* calls illustrious spies; but it is above my cut. However, if his lordship has any good intentions for me; if he will, as I said above, begin, by paying me what is due, I will do myself the honour to wait upon him: we concluded to meet next evening, and he was to bring me the duke's answer.

Early next morning, being the 2d of *October*, I did myself the honour to write to lord *B---* and Mr. *G---* the account of this interview and proposal, not doubting but to receive some directions for my conduct therein, and sent the letters by a messenger of state. My next meeting with *Burk* (whom I was resolved to amuse, in order to find out or discover, whether it was my life, or my property (that is to say, my recompence) they intended, or were scheming to cheat me of) was a repetition of the former, which I again wrote to his l----p the 4th of *October*, and Mr. *G----*, in the same manner as is before mentioned. A farther meeting being appointed, and the ingenious, finding I was not to be caught in this noose, *Burk* wrote me a letter of excuse, a copy of which I sent to his

l-----p and Mr. G----- by letter dated the 5th of *October*, as aforesaid, the original being still in my hands; but I received no answer or direction what to do in the affair. It was in the month of *September* aforesaid, that, walking in *St. James's Park*, I met my guide *Watson*, for the first time since he had quitted me at the office, as above related. On talking to this man, he told me, that lord *B----* had been so kind as to give him directions, that I should want for nothing; and, Sir, continues he, if you call at my house any morning, I shall let you have some money. On *Monday* morning, the 13th of the same month, I went to his house, and found him. He then paid me fifty shillings, saying he had but little money, but would give share of what he had: and you know, Sir, continues he, we must have some little advantage in our way; but I shall always leave five and twenty shillings every *Monday* morning to be paid you, if I am not at home; it will be something in your pocket. In this kind of mysterious way of talking, I knew not well what he meant: I wanted not, 'tis true, for money, and I expected every day money from *Russia*, from *Ireland*, and in *England*, of my own, which had been due and owing to me at the time I had left *England*. On *Monday*, the 20th, I called again, and his wife then paid me fifty shillings more, which her husband had left for that purpose; and he continued timied to pay me thereafter twenty-five shillings a week, as he had mentioned. I gave myself little or no trouble to think of this affair, believing I should, from one week to another, be sent for, and my recompence paid, and a pension on *Ireland*, or otherwise, granted me; or other provision adequate to the service which I had the honour to render his majesty and the nation.

I knew the duke of *Nivernois*, and all those who are

secretly attached to the *French*, or to the pretender and his interests, would do all in their power to ruin me, by every scheme of iniquity, and every thing they could say or do (true or false) privately to oppose and prevent my receiving those recompences due to my service. My discoveries ruined their grand scheme to destroy this nation, which had cost *France* many millions. You will not then wonder at their resentment, and evil intentions towards me and I doubted not, but interest and applications, even from *France*, for that purpose, as soon as it was known that I was come over, and that my discoveries had laid the foundation of proposals being made for the preliminaries of that peace, which was, in a few months after, so suddenly concluded, would be employed against me. But all these designs and endeavours of the common enemy, more dangerous in peace than in war, more dangerous and deceitful the more they are mask'd and disguis'd, under the specious, false, and pretended cobweb dress of friendship and sincerity, and the efforts of the pretender's secret friends, I believed, could not prevail with a truly *British* ministry, to deprive a person of the payment for services actually rendered, and which were of so great importance to his majesty and the nation.

Many were the applications which I had made, in the most modest and respectful manner, to his majesty's ministers, by letters and otherwise, reminding them of, and setting forth the above services, in order to obtain that liberal and generous recompence and reward, which I always understood had been promised by his ambassador abroad, and by his ministers at home, both before and after the said services above mentioned were performed. But such representations and applications being without the desired

effect, through *French* influence, as I had all reason to believe; on the 23d of *August*, 1764, I took leave to write a letter to his lordship, and to inclose a petition to his majesty, setting forth those matters, and praying his majesty to be graciously pleased to order me such recompence, as in his royal mind he should please to think those services merited: which petition was, on the 3d of *September* following, returned to me from his lordship by Mr. ----, who told me, that his lordship desired me to wait on the right honourable the earl of H----, at that time one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, with the said petition, and that his lordship would settle it; which I did accordingly. I was not displeas'd with receiving this order, believing I should meet with no difficulty or delay, when my affairs should come under the consideration of a noble lord, who was not less renowned than his ancestors, for wisdom, honour, and justice, and who had so lately given the most memorable proofs of his generosity and humanity, in his prudent and respectable administration in *Ireland*, where he was, and always will be, honoured and esteemed. I therefore concluded my business as good as done; but, after some weeks attendance, his lordship was pleas'd to say, it was a work before his time, and seem'd, as I apprehended, unwilling to enter into it.

From this behaviour I imagin'd, that the justice I expected was stopp'd by some other influence than his lordship's own disposition. I then pray'd to have the petition returned to me which was soon after complied with.

Whilst I was thus solliciting, I endeavour'd to inform myself from what spring the twenty-five shillings flow'd, which *Watson* paid me every week; and being told that this

man had somehow detained almost half my allowance, being two pounds seven shillings a week, or thereabouts, I went to him, and ask'd him, am I your prisoner? to which he answered (with more truth than I expected) No, Sir, you are no prisoner of mine. I then ask'd him, if he could protect me from being arrested, as I had learn'd he had some warrant, either to protect me, or to get money for me? for, the warrant, I had been also told, was a kind of ministerial precaution, to prevent my being attack'd, or falling into the hands of my enemies, if any thing should have transpired, so as to come to their knowledge. To this last question *Watson* replied, No, Sir, you are no prisoner of mine, nor never was: I can't protect you, by my warrant, from any debt or arrest whatsoever. By which I was convinced, that what I had heard of the warrant was true, and that it was only to receive money for my use from the treasury.

In consequence of which, I concluded to inform myself of the *quantum*. I had never lain a night in his house, or din'd or supp'd at his expence, except the day I arrived in town; and perhaps he might have paid some trifle to *Blackmore*, for the few weeks I was there. I had received several considerable sums of my own money, lived at my own charge, which was not very small, and received not a shilling from him, but the several sums above mentioned: I went, therefore, to the proper office in the treasury, and treasury chamber, as I was advised, where he received money on such warrants and occasions, and found his quarterly bills and receipts relating to me, of which I took the copies; the first of which is in the words following. "To keeping *Oliver Mac Allester*, prisoner, from the 1st of *July*, 1762, to the 30th of *September* following, both days included, with diet, lodging, fire,

candle-light, &c. £. 30: 13: 4;" and that, every three months following, he had given the like bill.

I was much surprised, I own, at this discovery; and to think he should detain from me about two and twenty shillings a week of this trifle, which, I apprehend, was merely granted for my subsistence, till my recompence should be paid, and was by him received by virtue of the said warrant, which was only left in his hands for that purpose; and which money, I found, another messenger would have received for me, at a guinea a quarter for his trouble, as is usual in such cases: the arrears of which thus due to me from *Watson* amounted to near two hundred pounds. I reflected much upon this injustice and iniquity and thought it the more extraordinary, as he knew that I was sent for by his m----- and his minister; that I had with honour duly and faithfully acquitted myself of my proposals and engagements, and could not be considered, in any sense, as a prisoner; and that, if I had been one, I was discharged by the minister at the office; from which hour the pretended warrant ceased, unless to receive money for my use.

I then applied to *Watson* to pay the money due to me in arrears, which he refused, pretending it was his due for fees, at the rate of 6s. 8d. a day, and that the allowance he gave me of 25s. a week thereout, was what he was not obliged to do. To cover one iniquity by another, I thought was somewhat monstrous; and hoped it would not be countenanced, and that I should be able, in a proper time, by a legal course, in case all others failed, to make him refund my money, notwithstanding his pretexts and chicanery.

Having, on the 20th of *February*, 1765, sent back the petition, which specified also my demand on *Watson*, to lord

B----, I had the honour to write to his lordship, telling him that lord *H----* had done nothing in it; and to pray his lordship to lay it before his majesty, and to back it; but it was, I think, near three months after that I received the same petition from his lordship, by the hands of the aforesaid Mr. *J-----*, who, on giving it to me, told me, lord *H-----* would now settle it; and that I must go to him again, and carry the petition to his lordship; for that lord *B----* did not, nor would not meddle in public affairs. I then enclosed the petition, and did myself the honour to write to lord *H----* acquainting his lordship with the reasons of my sending the petition once more to him. I waited afterwards on his lordship's secretary, who, I always saw, was well disposed in the cause of justice; to whom I related what Mr. *J-----* had said to me, and who was so kind as to tell me he would speak to his lordship about it, or put him in mind of it, when he found a proper opportunity.

There was, in a short time after, much talk of a change in the ministry, who had a great deal of business to go thro'. I went, however, towards the latter end of *May*, to wait on his lordship; and meeting Mr. -----, who, I believe, had kept his word with me, in speaking to his lordship about my affair; he assured me, that they were at that time in a great hurry of business, and had more upon their hands than they could well dispatch; but, as soon as this hurry is over, said he, my lord is determined to settle both your affairs, meaning, as I supposed, my recompence and my demand on *Watson*. I thanked this gentleman for this obliging attention; and am satisfied, that if this noble lord had continued longer in office, he would have done me justice in both respects; but as a change was soon after made in the ministry, it left me where I

was, to begin again.

In this fluctuating and unsettled state, that public affairs seemed to be then in, - prudence silenced my necessities, and anxiety to get my demand settled. Having been now above three years waiting and soliciting thereof, which obliged me to expend a much larger sum of my own money on that account, than what I had received by the minister's orders.

The treatment I had thus received, carrying with it a full conviction, that justice was sported with, and *French* influence somewhere prevailed; yet I was persuaded that lord *B---* would have sent me any money, or agreed to any terms, had I not left the *Hague* and given up my papers, and opened myself upon bare expectations and ministerial promises; and as I doubted not to have the honour to render his majesty and the nation other services of great importance, by the reduction and taking of ---- in any future war, according to a plan formed for that purpose in my hands, and settled just before the peace was concluded; and farther, that as I could, on the penalty of my own life, lay down and prove that infallible system of sound politics, for his majesty's interest, and the happiness of this nation, that will ever baffle and defeat the whole united power of *France* and *Spain*, in any future attempt against these kingdoms, in favour of the pretender, whom they still countenance for their own purposes; finding, nevertheless, that his lordship, forgetting his promises, now neglected my repeated applications, though he had applauded my important services and integrity in the highest degree, in a letter to Sir; *J---* *Y----*, as I had just before learned; I thought it proper, on a supposition that the same public principles, for which he had deserved so well of his fellow-subjects, would never desert him; at least

common justice would have actuated the m----, as I was resolved to apply to the right honourable Mr. C----- for an order, that what remained due and unpaid of the money, directed by lord B-----, and received by *Watson* for my subsistence, amounting to 200*l.* or thereabouts, should be paid to me; but *Watson* being then out of town (as was alledged) though only for his own amusement, at his country house or lodging, my demand (it was said) could not possibly be settled as to the *quantum*, unless he was present; on which occasion this gentleman was, however, pleased to order Mr. *Larpent* to pay me fifteen pounds, and that I should sign a receipt for this sum, which I did; and which receipt was in the following words.

“Received, *August* the 28th, 1765, by g--- C----’s order, of *John Larpent*, the sum of fifteen pounds, to be allowed out of Mr. *Watson* the messenger’s bill, when that shall come to be paid.”

Hearing nothing farther of my demand on *Watson*, and being wearied out with fruitless sollicitations, after expending above six hundred pounds in the pursuit of, and attending the expectations of being paid a just demand, I determined to lay my cawe before his royal highness the late duke of *Cumberland*, by way of petition, and also by another to his majesty, which I begg’d, by my petition to his royal highness, he would present to his majesty; hoping, that when he saw the services I had rendered, and the injustice I had received, he would be so good as to obtain for me the recompence and reward due to the important services mentioned in the said petition. Which petition to his royal highness was as follows.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

William Duke of Cumberland, &c. &c. &c.

The PETITION of *Oliver MacAllester*, of
Westminster, Esq;

Most humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioner having been in *France* before the last war, and at the breaking out thereof, he, in the year 1761, found out and discovered, that very great preparations had been, for a long time before, and were then actually making and carrying on, with the utmost diligence, by that court, at millions of expence, for invading this kingdom, with a design, if possible, to deprive his majesty of his crown and dominions, and to place the pretender on the throne of these realms, to the ruin of this nation, and of his majesty's most faithful and * *considerable* subjects, as well as his people in general.

That, previous to the year aforesaid, the *French* minister, by instructions for that purpose fully given, directed one captain *Dumont* of *Dunkirk*, to examine that part of the coast of *England* where the intended descent was to be made; and to take the soundings, landing places, harbours, and ports; likewise to form an exact chart thereof, with this precaution, that in case of being attacked by the enemy, to throw his said instructions and papers over board, that the objects thereof might not be discovered.

That said *Dumont* having proceeded to sea on the

* Those mentioned by *Hamilton*.

execution of said commission, he compleatly satisfied the objects of his said instructions; described the towns and places, with their proximity and convenience for landing the *French* troops and artillery by the flat-bottom'd boats, and formed a chart of the said coast and towns, destined for their debarkment, as by the copy of said instructions and answer annexed, more fully appear.

That in *June* 1761, the said *Dumont* being again sent for to *Versailles*, he was there privately lodged, in the hotel of the duke *de Penthièvre*, grand admiral of *France*, to facilitate his attendances and conferences; and to conceal as much as possible his interviews with the ministers; for which purpose he had a master-key to go in and out by a private door of the garden, at such hours as were appointed for him to attend them.

That your petitioner, by his conduct, industry, and address, got into his hands the said original instructions, answer, and chart; and not only at the hazard of his life, secretly copied the said instructions and answer, but also got the said chart privately drawn and copied, and then concealed the same in the best manner he could, with intent to come to *England*, as soon as he could find an opportunity, to lay them before his majesty and his ministers, to defeat the said formidable, dangerous design; and render the troops so to be embarked, together with the said flat-bottom'd boats, the victim of the enterprize, as hereafter purposed; not doubting but that the *French* would be thereby obliged to beg a peace on their knees, but also to put an end to any future attempts of invasion on this kingdom, from that quarter, for at least an age to come; and for ever, with regard to the family of *Stuarts*.

That your petitioner, on the 1st of *October*, 1761, being put in prison, (by *ordre du roi*) where he remained several months, tho' free from every species of crime, but that of displeasing, as hereafter mentioned, took some time before the best precautions he could to preserve the said papers, as he apprehended a storm gathering against him, and as he had been refused passports to return from *France*; wherefore sending for a person, in whom he thought he could confide, to come to him to the said prison, called *Fort l'Evêque*, early next morning, he informed said person that he had some papers that concerned his life and fortune, and the lives and fortunes of thousands besides to put into this said person's hands, secretly to keep and preserve for him; but that in case he should (as he daily expected) be transferred to the *Bastile* or other prison, to be no more heard of; that then this same person should come off to *England*, and deliver the said papers to his majesty or his ministers, when receiving all assurances of trust and fidelity, he confided said papers.

That in *February* following, having obtained his said liberty, by the sollicitation of a lady at court, he arrived in the month of *March* following at the *Hague*; where he duly received the said instructions, answer, and chart, according to the directions he had for that purpose given, to the person aforesaid, at the time of his departure from *Paris*.

That on his said arrival at the *Hague*, he did himself the honour to write to his excellency Sir; *J---* *Y----* a letter, dated *March* the 26th, 1762; whereby he purposed, on peril of his life, to give such lights, and make such discoveries, as would render this formidable project of the court of *France* abortive, and the troops the victim, whenever the enterprize should be attempted; not doubting, as he mentioned in his

said letter, but from his majesty's bounty to receive twenty thousand pounds, and a pension of two thousand pounds *per* year, as a recompence for so important a service: which letter was immediately transmitted by his excellency to lord *B----*, at that time one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

That in answer to said letter, his excellency ordered Mr. *Delaval* to write to your petitioner a letter, dated the 31st of *March*, 1762, whereby he says, your petitioner is not to doubt in the least of the liberality and generosity of the king and his ministers in his recompence; to which letter your petitioner replied, by another wrote next morning, the original being in the secretary's office; and having had the honour afterwards of several conferences with his excellency, he always assured him, that if he performed what he mentioned, or gave such lights as he hinted at, he would be generously and liberally rewarded; tho' your petitioner did not in any wise disclose to his excellency, the secret or particulars of the said important discoveries.

That in some time after, his excellency having sent *to* your petitioner to acquaint him, that *his majesty had done* him the honour to send for him, and that he had received orders from lord *B----*, to send him over and pay his expences at the *Hague*; he represented the necessity of bringing away the person above-mentioned from *Paris*, who had still some papers in keeping, which could not with safety be conveyed by the post; and that it would be necessary to have one hundred pounds remitted for that purpose, and the expences aforesaid.

That his excellency having thereupon wrote again to *London*, as he had no order but for the said expences) did your petitioner the honour to write him a letter, dated the

18th of *May*, 1762, who on the said letter and assurances which his excellency gave him, offered to come off in an open boat, if he pleased, before any money arrived; but as the above letter was gone, it was thought proper to wait for an answer.

That lord *B----* having concurred in, and agreed to your petitioners said proposals, and the said sum of one hundred pounds being arrived the 1st of *June* after, the said Mr. *Delaval* sent in the evening for your petitioner, and paid it to him; whereupon he went directly to his excellency's banker, and paid him fifty guineas to remit to *Paris*, to bring away the said person with the rest of the said papers; and after clearing his own expences, with the remainder he set out next morning at four o'clock for *Helvoetsluys*, and arrived at *Harwich* the 4th; where he was received by a person who had waited for him by lord *B----*'s order, and who complimented him in his name, and accompanied him to town; so that your petitioner, who stopped not at *Harwich* but to get a post-chaise, went post all night, and arrived at *London* the 5th of *June* aforesaid, about five o'clock in the morning.

That the person who so conducted your petitioner to town, is one *Watson*, one of his majesty's messengers of state; who having placed your petitioner to lodge at one *Blackmore's* (another messenger) your petitioner was sent for a few days after to the secretary of state's office to Mr. *J----*, in order to disclose the said matters to him; but your petitioner; not only declined, but absolutely refused entering on the subject with him, which has ever since rendered him his enemy.

That in a few days after, being sent for again to said office by Mr. *G----*, he made him the promised discoveries, and delivered to that gentleman the copies of the said

instructions, answer, and chart before-mentioned, and explained to him several matters on that subject, with regard to the enemy's designs, who might have been all taken (as deer in toils) if the necessary measures and just precautions had been taken for that purpose by those who had the power, as he humbly apprehended, and as he hopes will evidently appear, to the wisdom, sagacity, and penetration of your royal highness, as a prince and general, experienced and judicious in the science of war and military dispositions.

That Mr. G----- having read over the said papers, and inspected the said chart, (all which he carefully preserved) seemed a good deal surprized and alarmed; when suddenly ringing his bell, a person entered, to whom he gave directions to run in all haste to lord *Egremont*, and desire his lordship not to go out, till he called upon him; that before this person was well down stairs, he rung again, and said to him that enter'd, "Order my coach to the door immediately, for I must go to the king directly." Then turning to your petitioner, said, "Mr. *Mac Allester*, you will hear from me in a few days? Did not you leave *Ireland* for debt? Have you any friends or acquaintance in town?" Those questions so much surprized your petitioner, that he knew not what to say; as he apprehended they were, in the first instance, to lewwen the merit of his service, or to discourage him in his just expectations.

That your petitioner, in some weeks after, waited on lord *B----* at *St. James's*, who was pleased to tell your petitioner, that *his majesty would generously and liberally reward* him, and that his l----p would never be against it (these were his proper words) and your petitioner never doubted thereof. That at three or four times after, his l-----p was pleased to

assure him, his affair should be soon done, and that he would speak to Mr. G----- to that end. That a letter was also *wrote to Sir; J--- Y---* by the minister or his order, to acquaint him that your petitioner *had fulfilled his promises, and answered the most sanguine expectations, or to that effect*, as your petitioner has been well informed.

That on the 9th of *July*, 1762, your petitioner sent to Mr. G---- a paper-writing of that date, whereby amongst other things he proposed to break the interest of that tyrant, the young pretender, with *France and Spain*; which proposal he still holds firm to, and even to drive him out of *Europe*, of which he may be said to be the firebrand and common disturber, if your petitioner might be permitted to put in practice the necessary plan for that purpose, and which he knows to be infallible.

That the said paper-writing being afterwards lost by Mr. G---, he was pleased to send for another copy to your petitioner, which he sent him accordingly; about which time your petitioner received fifty pounds for pocket-money, whilst his *recompence* should be paid; which is all he has received since he was sent for as aforesaid; except that the said W-----, who was ordered to pay your petitioner about forty-seven shillings *per* week for his subsistence, and who pays him but twenty-five shillings only towards his present but mean allowance, and keeps and unjustly detains almost the other moiety, under pretence of fees and perquisites for advancing the same, ever since his arrival; and of which there is now due to your petitioner about two hundred pounds, which he refuses to pay him upon the pretences aforesaid. Wherefore your petitioner's said allowance being so poor and inconsiderable, he has been obliged to expend upwards of six

hundred pounds more for his and his family's support, waiting the recompences of the aforesaid services, and performance of the promises and assurances above set forth.

That in *August* aforesaid, the person who had charge of the aforesaid papers, (which related to *Ireland*, and to the pretender's conduct and true character) having, pursuant to your petitioner's directions, brought them over, together with some papers relative to the jesuits, whereby the said pretender would have it appear that they were employed to assassinate him, your petitioner, by letter, immediately acquainted Mr. G---- therewith, and sent them to him by his own directions.

That in consequence of your petitioner's discoveries and services aforesaid, he doubted not, by the measures and precautions which he thought would be taken on this important business and lucky occasion, but to see the whole embarkation of troops which consisted from *about forty to fifty thousand* men, and who had *then* march'd to the *coasts, towns, and villages* adjacent, to be *ready* for embarkation the winter following, or when opportunity offered, together with the cannon, stores, flat-bottom'd boats, &c. and the young pretender himself, who was to have been at their head, taken, killed, drowned, routed, or destroyed, when the descent should be attempted, as their destination was then so secretly and perfectly made known to the m----s by your petitioner, that no other person living had any knowledge or suspicion thereof. Thereby not only to reduce and humble *France* to a lower condition, than was *Spain* by the loss of her great armada: but also cured of every design of invasion on his majesty's dominions for ages to come; and the conquests, honour, and glory, which his majesty's arms and this nation

had at such a great expence of blood and treasure, so bravely acquired, at least preserved to *Great-Britain* for ever; and your petitioner's proposals fully accomplished for such surely must and would have been the case, had matters been managed as they might have been; as he most humbly judged and apprehended as unfortunately for this nation, as well as for your petitioner they were not. But on the contrary, to his great surprize, overtures for a negotiation for a *peace* were immediately set on foot; for the bringing about of which one person had a pension of a thousand pounds a year on the *Irish* establishment, for about thirty years; though the trouble he had therein, could not be more than the writing two or three letters, as your petitioner apprehends; whilst at the same time this favourable, happy opportunity and advantage, with your petitioner's said services, remained neglected, unnoticed, unrecompenced, and his family left to consume the little remains of his fortune for their support, or otherwise want the common necessaries of life.

That in a very short time after the said negotiation of a *peace* was purposed, the duke *de Nivernois* arrived at *London*; and in some days after one *Burk* came to your petitioner, in his grace's name, to solicit him to go to the said duke on affairs of great importance as he said; at each time assuring him of great advantages, and making him great offers in case he would comply; but he absolutely refused to accept thereof, nor would he consent to go, notwithstanding the said *Burk's* reiterated visits and importunities for that purpose: of all which your petitioner gave private advice to lord *B----* and Mr. *G----*, by letters every night during said transactions. What the views and designs of such attempts of seduction were, he cannot with certainty assert, but humbly

submits them to the consideration of your royal highness; his apprehensions then being, they were to cause him to be kidnapped and carried off to *France*, or a snare to deprive him of his recompence; be it as it may, no notice was taken of said *Burk*, and your petitioner's intelligence on this head served only to draw on him the m----'s anger and resentment.

That said negotiation having terminated in a *peace*, your petitioner cannot help saying in this place, with a heart filled with grief, at the injustice he has met with, that every person, who has had any part in bringing about or concluding the said *peace*, has been liberally rewarded, whilst your petitioner alone remains unrecompenced; tho' he apprehends, that he was the principal and only person, who gave those lights and made those discoveries for making a good and advantageous *peace*; or to defeat the designs of the invasion as aforesaid which gives him the strongest reason to think, and particularly for the reasons hereafter mentioned, that it has been owing to *S----* prevalence on one hand, and the arts and influence of the *French* ministers on the other, who would stick at nothing to destroy your petitioner, that your petitioner's said services are still unrecompenced, and he treated with such injustice.

First one *A----* *M-----* (brother to lord *E----*) being greatly connected and intimate with Mr. *M----* (lord *B---*'s b----r) whilst at *Paris*, on his return from *T----* through that city, which said *M----* had been with the young pretender *incog.* at *Brest*, to embark for the west of *Scotland* (as he boasted) in the descent to be made there, if monsieur *Conflans* had not been defeated. This same *M-----*, after entertaining said *M----* at dinner, came to one Sir *W----* *S----*, with whom he was intimate, and, amongst many ill things which he said of

the duke *de C----*, he said, Dear Sir *William*, you will soon see how our friends will get forward t'other side the water; and that by and by lord *B----* will break the neck of that rascal *P---t* by g—d; Sir *William*, who hated *M----* in his heart, as did most of his countrymen, knowing that *M----* could not endure your petitioner, tho' he had never spoke to him but in the public gardens, related to your petitioner what *M----* had said.

That, some time after, your petitioner happening to say in company, that *M----* was a bad man, and deserved to be punished, or to that effect, this came to his ears, and was also communicated to the young pretender. That your petitioner having, some time before, said something to disoblige Mr. *Bertin*, a scheme was formed by Mons *St. Florentin* and the rest, on which your petitioner was put in prison, as aforesaid and your petitioner has all reason to believe, that as soon as it was known in *Paris* that your petitioner had been sent for by his majesty, and made some discoveries for his service, *M----* employed all his interest with his friends to prevent your petitioner's receiving the just recompence of his said services, and is now protected by them in this kingdom; he having been chaced out of *France* about a year ago, by order of the duke *de C-----*, as your petitioner has been informed.

That, with regard to the secret arts and influence of the *French*, it is not only evident, by your petitioner's disobliging the duke of *Nivernois*, and the others above mentioned, for the causes aforesaid; but also, for that an agent of that party, and intimate of the count *de G----*, proposed to your petitioner an affair relating to Mr. *Deon*; but your petitioner looking on the same with indignation, rejected it; and soon after threatened him, which, he believes, was the occasion of

his leaving the kingdom soon after. However it may be, your petitioner cannot help observing, that at the time he so threatened him, he laughed at your petitioner, and desired him to go and acquaint the m----s therewith as soon as he pleased; then asking your petitioner, if he had not, some time before, presented a memorial to one of them, to be paid, repeated to your petitioner many of the particulars therein set forth, which filled your petitioner with great consternation; for, in truth, he had presented such memorial, concluding that a blue ribbon * was of more weight than twenty men's oaths.

This, with the disregard shewn in the affair of *Burk*, gave your petitioner reason to think, that any steps that he was desirous and ready to take on such occasion, might only serve to involve him, and render him the dupe of despotic power, and those, who prostitute their authority, and scruple not to strip a man of life; fortune, liberty, merit, and recompence, by every artifice and perfidy, if it answers their atrocious ends, or gratifies their vengeance. If such be m---s, permit me to say, Royal Sir, with *Hamlet*,

Angels and ministers of grace defend me!

And what must be the case of those who serve the crown, if they are abandoned by the patriots of the nation?

That your petitioner, under the mortifications aforesaid, having from time to time made several applications to l---- B---- and Mr. G---- to obtain the recompences of his said services, but always without success; and which services, after the great and glorious actions of your royal highness at

* C---- de G----.

Culloden, in saving this nation, he humbly flatters himself, might be regarded as the next important and essential for his majesty and the nation, since that happy period, had your royal highness, as he presumes, been consulted thereon, or even had a proper conduct been pursued by those who presided: your petitioner, therefore, on the 30th of *July*, 1763, sent a memorial to Mr. *G----*; to which he was pleased to say, that it was not he who sent for your petitioner over, and that he had maintained your petitioner ever since he came; which answer did not fail to astonish your petitioner, who was in want of money, but as he took it up, and expended his own.

That your petitioner finding himself so unkindly treated, his money exhausted, and unable to subsist on the small curtailed allowance aforesaid, without contracting debts, prepared a petition to his majesty, which he inclosed to l--- *B----*, praying him to lay it before his majesty, and to back it.

That, soon after, your petitioner received the petition from l--- *B----* by Mr. *J-----*, who saying that his lordship could not do any thing therein, that he did not meddle in public affairs, desired your petitioner to lay it before l--- *H----* which he did accordingly; but his lordship, after perusing the said petition, and papers relating thereunto, said it was a business before his time. That having a second time applied to his lordship, by the same directions, was informed by Mr. *S----k*, his secretary, that the demand was too large, though by his said petition he only prayed to be rewarded according to the merit of said service.

This your petitioner apprehended to be a cruel and unjust treatment, to a person who was sent for by his majesty, as

aforesaid, who had rendered such important services, who had the promises and assurances of his ministers at home and abroad, as aforesaid, and to whom I--- B----- would have sent any money, or agreed to any terms, were they larger, if your petitioner had not trusted to his majesty's goodness and generosity, and the promises aforesaid, without insisting on other terms; and who doubts not to have the honour to render his majesty and the nation others of great importance, by the reduction and taking of — in case a war was to break out again, according to a plan formed for that purpose in your petitioner's hands, before the *peace* was concluded.

That your petitioner, in *February* last, renewed his said applications to I--- B----, by sending him a memorial, containing most of the matters herein set forth, and praying him to strike out any thing he found inconsistent with the facts therein mentioned, and to return it by Mr. J----, which he did accordingly, without altering or objecting to any of them; but telling your petitioner to apply to lord H----, which he has done, with as little success as before, and which has only served to expose your petitioner, as one of the victims to his and Mr. G----'s unjust anger and ill-will; so that the avenues of royal bounty and liberality being by those means hitherto shut up against him, your petitioner remains without resource for obtaining the recompence of his said services, unless relieved by your royal interposition, equity, and humanity.

May it therefore please your royal highness to take your petitioner's case into your royal consideration and protection, and to recommend the same to his majesty, with his said petition annexed; to the end that he may obtain a recompence adequate to his said services, or

such as they merit; or to give such sanction thereunto, that he may obtain some order for relief therein, such as your royal highness may please to think fit, according to your accustomed and distinguished goodness, justice, and generosity

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c. &c.

Having, in the beginning of *September* 1765, had the honour to write a letter to the right honourable Mr. C---, and to send him the foregoing petition, with one addressed to his majesty, praying him to lay both of them before his late royal highness, as before mentioned, hoping to receive, by this application, and through this channel, the recompence due to my services: not doubting of the kind assistance of a gentleman, whose patriotic character had made him so dear to his country, and whose noble father, when alive, did honour to nobility itself, in (I may truly say) his princely munificence and manner of living, as well as in acting towards all with unbounded generosity, with whom he had the least concern; and a tender humanity for all, who wanted his assistance; and to whom I had the honour to be personally known. I therefore never imagined, that the descendent of this noble personage would ever suffer me to be wronged, who had never offended him; but, on the contrary, who must in his own mind have known, and been convinced, that I had rendered those services to his majesty and the nation mentioned in the petitions. But how great my surprise was, is not so easy to be expressed as conceived, when I (whose necessities, from so long and very expensive attendance for three years and upwards, pressed me hard, which were not unknown to him) was amused, as I quickly saw, by a declaration that he only waited for an answer from

Sir *J----* *Y----* from the *Hague*; and that, upon my applying to him again for such recompence, I was desired by Mr. *B----*, his s---- to come to the office to receive some money for that purpose. I went to Mr. *L----*, before mentioned, who is one of the principal clerks in that department, who told me, he had orders to pay me some money, and counted out to me fifteen pounds and ten guineas, producing at the same time a receipt ready drawn, in the words following; that is to say, "Received, *October 23d*, 1765, by g--- *C----*'s orders, the sum of fifteen pounds, to be allowed out of Mr. *W----* the messenger's bill, when that shall come to be paid; and also a further sum of ten guineas, which I hereby acknowledge to be in full of what I am to expect on the account of which the above sum was paid to me." Astonished at the proposal and receipt, I declined the signing of it; on which he told me, he had orders not to pay me any money, unless I signed it. I then desired him to let me take a copy of this extraordinary receipt, which he complied with; and, as I wrote, I thought it not the most honourable manner to insist upon my accepting of fifteen pounds for a just demand of near two hundred pounds; nor to balance the account of my services for a bounteous sovereign, and a generous nation, with ten guineas, by way of recompence to a man sent for from a foreign country, and who had run the hazard of his life to serve his king and the nation, in which, without the greatest danger, policy, and prudence, he never could have succeeded; who had performed all he had proposed for his majesty's service, and who had spent six hundred pounds, and lost, in attendance on the m----rs promises, upwards of three years of his time.

However, the distress I was then under (which the invisible well knew) and the hopes that some other virtuous and;

succeeding m---r would set all things to rights, prevailed with me to accept twenty-five pounds ten shillings from the said L-----, and to sign the receipt; apprehending that no person of honour and understanding could look upon such a receipt as just and equitable; and that it would rather be considered in my favour in law or equity, with respect to the two hundred pounds above mentioned, as by it I have been not only deprived ever since of that sum, or any part of it, but also of the recompences due to me, as aforesaid, and of all sort of subsistence from the m---, and totally abandoned to depend on friends, and the little remains of my own small fortune, after the promises and assurances produced in this work. Such, however, is the recompence I received, for the signal and important services I have had the honour to render, in defeating the designs of his majesty's enemies against his life, his crown, and kingdoms, with intended executions, by racks, torments, scaffolds, gibbets, *Smithfield* fires, and every other barbarous cruelty, that tyranny could invent, upon numbers of his faithful subjects; besides the desolation of the country, and overturning the laws, religion, and constitution of this kingdom, as was the intention of the *French* invasion: in the place of which, the pretender, popery, lawless and despotic power, would have been established, to the ruin of king and people, if the enemy had succeeded in their designs; which, I apprehend, my discoveries brought to light, and my intelligence rendered abortive. This is the oppression and injustice, Sir, which I now labour under, for rendering those services as aforesaid, and I beg leave humbly to submit my hard case to the consideration of the great and good. The worthy and disinterested patriots of *England*, whose names are here unnecessary to recite, but which, as they are already impressed upon the minds of the people,

will, to the latest posterity, remain in the annals of *Great Britain*. Let them judge, whether, for the honour of the nation, and the justice and benevolence for which it is distinguished throughout all other regions under the sun, an inquiry ought not to be made into the premisses, and into the merit of my discoveries? and whether such a recompence hath been paid me, as the nature of those services intitled me unto, and as is consistent with justice and equity, and the honour of the *English* nation; and as a fit example to influence others to run hazards, or to encounter and pursue dangerous projects, to serve their king and country? Which I must submit to the wisdom of others: not doubting, however, but that, as I have had the honour and merit of serving both in such an important affair, I shall not go unrewarded, but receive full satisfaction of my just demand; and that I shall have the protection of the laws against the wicked schemes of our common enemies, who have been known not to stop at assassination and kidnapping, to avenge themselves on those who discover and defeat their schemes, and whom they cannot otherwise destroy.

A P P E N D I X .

Referred to in LETTER the Fifth, VOLUME the
First.

GUILDHALL SUBSCRIPTION.

ON the 27th of *November* 1745, a subscription was begun at *Guildhall, London*, by Sir *Richard Hoare*, then lord mayor, several of the alderman, and other eminent merchants and inhabitants of the city; the preamble of which was as follows.

We, whose names are under-written, In commiseration of the particular hardships and inconveniencies which may be suffered by such soldiers as now are, or shall hereafter be employed in his majesty's service, during the winter season, towards the suppression of the present unnatural rebellion, do hereby voluntarily subscribe, and pay the several sums set by us against our respective names, to be applied towards the relief, support, and encouragement, in such manner, and in such proportion as shall be deemed to be most necessary and expedient, by a committee, which shall hereafter be appointed for that purpose by us, or the major part who shall be present at a general meeting, pursuant to an advertisement in the *London Gazette*.

Guild-hall, London, Dec. 10th, 1745.

At a general meeting of the subscribers, in pursuance of notice in the *London Gazette*, for the choice of a committee for making a distribution of the money, agreeable to the preamble of the said subscription, it was unanimously resolved and agreed,

1. That the right honourable Sir *Richard Hoare*, knight, lord mayor of the city of *London*, be of the committee.

2. That the right honourable the lord chief justice, the right honourable the master of the rolls, the right honourable the lord chief justice *Willes*, the right honourable the lord chief baron *Parker*, and the rest of the honourable judges, be of the committee.

3. That all the aldermen who had, or should contribute to the aforesaid subscription, be of the committee.

4. That Sir *John Bosworth* knight, chamberlain of the city of *London*, be of the committee.

5. That the mastery or prime warden of every company that had, or should subscribe 100*l.* or upwards, be of the committee.

6. That the deputy of every ward that had, or should subscribe 100*l.* or upwards, be of the committee.

7. That *Philip Carteret Webb*, Esq; Messieurs *John Payne jun. Samuel Smith, Jasper Manduit, William Hollier, John Hyde*, and *Samuel Chambers*, be of the committee.

8. That every person who, in his own name, or in the names of himself or others, had, or should subscribe 100*l.* or upwards, be of the committee.

9. That the committee sit at *Guildhall*, for the dispatch of business, and that any five constitute a quorum, and have power to adjourn.

10. That such committee, from time to time, consisting of not less than five members, have power to draw on Sir *John Bosworth*, chamberlain of *London*, for such monies as may be necessary to answer the purposes for which the

subscription was intended.

11. That the right honourable the lord mayor do communicate these proceedings to his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland*, and to marshal *Wade*, and desire their opinions how the subscription-money may be best applied for the relief, support and encouragement of the soldiers, and for the benefit of the service.

12. That thanks be returned to the right honourable the lord mayor for having begun, and so zealously promoted this useful and laudable undertaking.

The committee, thus appointed, made the following report of their proceedings to a general meeting of the subscribers at *Guildhall, London, January 28th, 1747.*

THE
R E P O R T
FROM THE
COMMITTEE.

THE committee appointed for making a distribution of the money subscribed at *Guildhall*, for the relief, support, and encouragement of the soldiers employed in suppressing the late unnatural rebellion, are in the first place to inform you, that the total of this subscription, accompanied with the actual and immediate payment of the money subscribed, amounted to the sum of 18,910*l. 9d.*

In order to point out the occasion of this subscription, your committee cannot help taking notice, that the late rebellion, in favour of a popish pretender, had, in its beginning, met

with such unexpected success in the north, as to prompt those who had been unhappily deluded into it, to make a near approach to this metropolis; to oppose whom, one part of his majesty's forces, under the command of his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland*, and another part under the command of his excellency marshal *Wade*, had then taken the field, exposed to the difficulties of a winter's campaign, and all the inclemencies of a rigorous season. At such a juncture this subscription was begun, first towards the relief of the soldiers, in case of sickness, or of being maimed or wounded; next, towards their support under the fatigue of so much extraordinary duty; and, lastly, towards their encouragement, in rewarding their bravery, or other signal acts of service: and your committee have been careful to apply the several sums of money left to their distribution, in such manner and proportions as might best answer each of these distinct and separate purposes.

To which end it being thought proper to receive the opinion of the commanding officer, Sir *Richard Hoare*, then lord mayor, and chairman to the committee, in pursuance of the resolutions of the general meeting, acquainted his royal highness the duke, by a letter, with the design of the subscription, and that the greatest regard would be paid to his royal highness's recommendation. His lordship, at the same time, wrote another letter, of the like import to marshal *Wade*; and, within a few days, was honoured with an answer from the duke, dated at *Wigan*, 14th *December*, 1745, intimating, that "His royal highness received, with the greatest satisfaction, that notice of the good affection of his lordship, and those other eminent citizens who had joined with him in that good work, so seasonably expressed in their

generous concern for the poor soldiers; and that his royal highness recommended shoes, stockings, caps, breeches and linen, as being of most immediate use, and of easy conveyance." And, by an answer received from marshal *Wade*, dated at *Rippon*, *December* 15th, 1745, his excellency concurred in the like thanks and recommendations.

Agreeable to the purport of these letters, your committee contracted for sixteen thousand five hundred pair of stockings, fifteen thousand pair of breeches, twelve thousand shirts, and ten thousand woollen caps; and, as an additional support, ordered one thousand blankets, twelve thousand pair of woollen gloves, and nine thousand one hundred pair of woollen ankle spatterdashes: but being apprized that his majesty intended, at his own expence, to supply the soldiers with a sufficient quantity of shoes, they deemed it unnecessary and improper to interfere in what his majesty had been most graciously pleased to make the immediate object of his own, royal bounty.

The committee assure you, that the utmost care was taken in contracting for these several articles, both as to the price and quality, part of which were to be provided in or near *London*, and part, particularly the gloves and stockings, in *Westmoreland*, and other counties In the north; and it was a great satisfaction to them to find, that by thus exerting their endeavours to assist the soldiers, they procured means of employment to the poor and industrious manufacturers, at a time when our common enemies are using every art and contrivance to destroy both our trade and our credit; and, injustice to the principal contractors for supplying these necessaries, it must be mentioned, that many of them were contented with the prime cost only, and all were punctual and

expeditious in the performance of their engagements.

Besides what was thus agreed upon for the immediate support of the soldiers, your committee came to a resolution, that the sum of 5000*l.* should be set apart, to be distributed amongst such as should happen to be maimed or wounded, which was intended as an encouragement to them to act bravely, as well for their relief, in case they suffered by so doing.

But, during the time that the necessaries thus contracted for were preparing, and the committee employed in consulting upon the most proper means of their being conveyed, part of the forces, under the command of his royal highness the duke, animated by so brave and gallant a leader, having, with the greatest activity and bravery, pursued the rebels to the borders of *Scotland*, returned back from thence, just as the supplies were ready, which were intended to support them in their march thither. Whereupon your committee determined, that what was before designed for their support should now be immediately distributed among them, as a reward for such signal services. Accordingly, as many of the necessaries as were then provided, were disposed of to the following marching regiments, namely, *Sawle's*, *Skelton's*, *Howard's*, *Douglass*, *Johnson's*, and *Handasydes*, and to such of the first, second, and third regiments of guards, who had been draughted out, and were returned from the north with his royal highness. And your committee being further informed, that there were upwards of five hundred of the regiments of guards, who went by permission as volunteers with the duke; out of the course of their duty, the like number of the necessaries, then finished, were delivered to each of them, and three hundred and ninety shirts to the

like number of soldiers belonging to marching regiments, who, in the same manner, had set out as volunteers upon that expedition.

These distributions being made to reward the bravery of such soldiers as had happily escaped the dangers they were exposed to, your committee were not unmindful of the other design of this subscription, in affording relief to such as had been sufferers; for the doing of which, an opportunity offered, which they cheerfully embraced, as it was intimated to them by a letter from Sir *John Ligonier*, That his royal highness the duke had determined to erect: an hospital for such soldiers as had suffered in the rebellion, and had commanded him to apply to the committee for some help out of this subscription. Whereupon they ordered, that the sum of three hundred pounds, part of the sum of five thousand pounds, appropriated for the benefit of the maimed and wounded, should be applied. as general *Ligonier* should direct; which sum was, according to his desire, paid to the right honourable *Stephen Poyntz*, Esq; who on that occasion was pleased to express the sentiments of his royal highness the duke by the following letter to the lord-mayor,

“My Lord,

“I have received his royal highness the duke’s command to repeat his thanks to your lordship and the gentlemen of the *Guildhall* committee, for the numerous instances of support and encouragement conveyed by their canal to the army under his command, particularly for the liberal contribution which they have appropriated to the good purposes of the hospital which he has lately opened for sick and wounded soldiers. His royal highness is sensible how much he owes to your lordship’s recommendation and assistance in helping

these good works forward; and such distinguished marks of zeal for his majesty and regard for himself have made so deep an impression on his own mind, as cannot fail to spread itself through an army acting under immediate influence and example, which must prove a fresh excitement to them to exert themselves to the utmost, in the important cause in which they are engaged, by labouring to answer the expectations of their benefactors, and to preserve the favourable opinion of so respectable a part of the nation as the city of *London*. I beg leave to lay hold of this opportunity of assuring your 'lordship of the particular respect, with which I have the honour to be,

“My lord,

“Your lordship's

“Most humble and

“Most obedient servant,

St. James's House,
March 18, 1746.

“STEPHEN POYNTZ.

It being also represented by Sir *John Ligonier*, that one hundred and fifty soldiers, who had been maimed and wounded at the action of *Preston-pans*, were arrived in town, your committee not only ordered them a supply of some of the common wearing-apparel, but gave to each of them a gratuity in money.

Thus far the committee have laid before you an account of the distributions that have been made in or near *London*; they are next to acquaint you of the services they were capable of performing to the soldiers that were quartered in and about *Newcastle*, where many of them being sick, the

sum of 300*l.* was remitted to the mayor of that place, to be employed in such manner as might be most conducive to their relief, according to the directions of their general officers, and one thousand pair of woolen stockings, with one thousand woolen caps, were likewise conveyed thither, and disposed of amongst those that stood most in need of such necessaries.

The committee now beg leave to inform you, in what manner they have extended their endeavours to support those soldiers, who, after the fatigue of a summer's campaign abroad, were marching in the depth of winter into the most northern parts of *Scotland*, to whose service they applied their utmost care and attention, and his royal highness the duke having been pleased to recommend that nine thousand of each species of the above-mentioned wearing necessaries should be sent after them, orders were given for nine thousand pair of breeches, nine thousand shirts, nine thousand woolen ankle-spatterdashes, and eight thousand nine hundred woolen caps, with one thousand blankets, to be shipped by sea from *London* to *Leith*; and for nine thousand pair of stockings, and ten thousand pair of woolen gloves, to be conveyed by land from *Westmoreland* to *Edinburgh*, and to be directed to lieutenant-general *Hawley*, the then commanding officer in *Scotland*.

For the better and more safe conveyance of what were to be sent to sea, your committee contracted for the hire of a ship of proper force, to proceed directly from *London* to *Leith*, under a convoy, which the lords of the admiralty, upon application, had been pleased to order; and an agent was appointed to go on board the vessel, and dispose of the goods at *Edinburgh* or elsewhere, according to such directions as he

should receive from hence; and instructions having been prepared for his behaviour, bonds were executed both by him and his sureties, for his fidelity and due observance-of the same.

About this time news arrived at *London* of the action at *Falkirk*, which made it necessary that his royal highness the duke should again appear at the head of his majesty's forces; whereupon your committee, with a view further to animate and encourage the soldiers, immediately came to the following resolution.

That the further sum of 5000*l.* part of the subscription-money already raised, should be set apart, to be distributed in rewards amongst such private soldiers and non-commission'd officers, who should, by their bravery and courage, distinguish themselves in suppressing the rebellion; and whose behaviour should be represented, by the general officers, to merit the same.

It was agreed at the same time, That 500*l.* part of the 5000*l.* intended to be distributed to such soldiers who should be maimed or wounded in suppressing the rebellion, should be remitted to the commander in chief of his majesty's forces in *Scotland*, for the relief of such soldiers as were sufferers in the action at *Falkirk*.

The duke having set out for *Scotland* the day after these resolutions had been agreed to, they were transmitted to him by the lord-mayor, at the request of the committee, in order that the soldiers might, as early as possible, be apprized of the rewards that would attend the performance of their duty: and his royal highness, by an answer from *Perth*, dated *February* 15, 1745, returned his thanks to the committee, for

thus offering what he was pleased to stile a liberal and beneficial method of encouragement; but the committee being afterwards informed that the number of maimed and wounded at *Falkirk* had not been so great as at first represented, they remitted only the sum of 300*l.* which was distributed in the most useful manner amongst such of the poor sufferers as were entitled to that relief.

The stores and necessaries sent to *Scotland* arrived at the army on the 26th of *March*, 1746; and your committee cannot but take notice of the great condescension of his royal highness the duke, in the obliging manner of his acknowledging the reception of them by the following letter to my lord-mayor:

“*Aberdeen*, *March* 26th, 1746.

“My Lord Mayor,

“As I have just received from *Edinburgh* the stores for the army, furnished by the liberality of the subscribers, I cannot help letting you know how seasonable and acceptable this supply in the present bad condition of the cloathing in general, from the extraordinary fatigues of this winter’s campaign; which the soldiers have gone through with the greatest chearfulness and alacrity imaginable. They are informed to whom they stand indebted for this relief; for which they are very thankful, and will, I am sure, by their behaviour shew themselves not unworthy of it. For my own part, I desire you will accept my hearty thanks also, for the great pains you have taken in promoting this affair, as well by your example as by your countenance; and that you would assure of the same all those who have taken any part in it. Besides the real kindness to the poor men, there has

appeared in the whole direction of this business, such marks of regard for me, as I cannot forbear to take notice of, and of which I shall always retain a just sense. I hope you will believe I am sincerely,

“Your very affectionate friend,

“WILLIAM.”

These necessaries were immediately distributed amongst the soldiers, and received with all the marks of thanks and gratitude, and greatly facilitated their march from *Aberdeen* to *Culloden* field; where, on the 16th of *April* following, they gained that compleat and ever-memorable victory which put a happy period to the rebellion.

Your committee having met upon this joyful news, came to the following resolutions, “That the lord-mayor should write to his royal highness the duke to congratulate him on the success of his majesty’s arms against the rebels, and to inform his royal highness that the committee desired he would be pleased to apply the whole, or such part of the 5000*l.* which had been appropriated for rewards as he should think proper; and that they would either remit the same to *Scotland*, or order it to be paid here, as his royal highness should direct.

And that the lord-mayor, at the same time, should acquaint his royal highness, that the sum remaining unapplied of the 5000*l.* appropriated for the relief of the maimed and wounded soldiers, was ready to be distributed according to the intention of that resolution; and that they desired his royal highness would be pleased to inform them, what part thereof might be necessary to apply immediately for those purposes.

The lord-mayor accordingly transmitted a copy of these resolutions to his royal highness the duke, with a letter of congratulation in the name of the committee, expressing their joy and satisfaction upon such an event as happy to this nation as it was glorious to his royal highness; and for which they presumed, from the concern which his royal highness had so constantly expressed on behalf of the private soldiers, that their paying a regard to them was the best compliment they could pay to himself.

His royal highness was pleased soon after to return an answer to this; which the committee cannot forbear doing themselves the honour of communicating to you as part of their report:

“Inverness, the 21st of May, 1746.

“My Lord Mayor,

“I am very much obliged to you and the committee for your congratulations and kind wishes, and feel the highest satisfaction in the favourable reception my endeavours in the king’s service met with. My good intentions will, I hope, preserve to me yours and their good opinion.

“I herewith send you a proposed distribution of a part of “the 5000*l.* intended by the committee as a reward for the non-commiffion’d officers and soldiers of this army, the remainder of that sum is proposed to be distributed in recompence of distinguished acts of bravery,. and of hurts received in the action, and amongst such of the non-commiffion’d officers and soldiers as were sent out upon parties, or were left sick by the way. These have equally undergone the fatigues of the service, and shewed the same good dispositions to share the danger of it; and were only

distinguished from their companions by the common course of the service, and accidents they were “ll equally liable to. If this proposed distribution is approved, I desire you will direct the remittance of the money to *Anthony Sawyer*, Esq; deputy pay-master of the king’s forces at *Edinburgh*, and it shall be forthwith put in execution.

“Amongst such as have merited, I can’t help having attention to their particular wants, and this leads me to the mention of the subaltern officers, upon whom this service has been particularly hard, by the extraordinary wear and consumption of their apparel and necessary equipage. If therefore, any part of the remainder of the other five thousand pounds could be applied to their relief, it would be of great use and, I am persuaded, fully answer the generous intentions of the subscribers.

“I return you my hearty thanks for the obliging manner in which you have gone through your part in this work, and for the particular regard shewn to me in the whole course of it. I am,

“Your very affectionate friend,

“WILLIAM.”

Upon this recommendation, your committee came to the following resolutions. That the 5000*l.* rewards, mentioned in his royal highness’s letter, be remitted to *Scotland* for the uses therein proposed; and that 1000*l.* part of the unappropriated monies, be remitted at the same time, to be applied as his royal highness should direct, amongst the subaltern officers; and that a draught should be made on the chamberlain for 6000*l.* payable to the lord mayor, to answer the before-mentioned purposes: with which resolutions the

lord mayor acquainted his royal highness by the following letter.

“May it please your royal highness,

“Upon the receipt of your letter from *Inverness*, I immediately communicated to the committee the manner in which your royal highness designs to divide the rewards amongst the soldiers under your command, and I am to return you our most sincere thanks for proposing so just and equitable a distribution. The concern your royal highness has, at the same time, been pleased to express for the subaltern officers, is another instance of that benevolence which is ever inseparable from true bravery: It is therefore with pleasure I am to acquaint you with the resolution of the committee, for-the immediate remittance of 5000*l.* for the former purposes; together with a further sum of 1000*l.* for your royal highness to dispose of amongst the subaltern officers, in any manner you may think most proper. I have accordingly sent to the bank of *Scotland* for their permission for me to pay these several sums into the bank of *England*, upon their account, subject to an order for them to pay the same to *Anthony Sawyer*, Esq; deputy-paymaster of his majesty’s forces, according to your royal highness’s directions. Whatever services I have been able to perform, on this occasion, I consider only as part of my duty to my king and country; and if I have given any satisfaction therein, I shall esteem it as the highest honour I can presume to deserve. I am,

“May it please your royal highness,

“Your royal highness’s

“Most obliged, and

“Most obedient humble servant,

Goldsmith's-Hall,
June 3, 1746.

“RICHARD HOARE.”

The proposed distribution of rewards, transmitted by the duke as above, after reserving 1000*l.* to be given away to separate parties, and for distinguished acts of bravery, was to apportion the remaining sum of 4000*l.* equally amongst all the regiments engaged at *Culloden*; which his royal highness, by another letter to the lord mayor, dated at *Fort Augustus*, *June 25th*, 1746, was pleased to signify had been accordingly divided, and the soldiers informed to whom they were obliged for such liberality.

His royal highness the duke soon after returned to *St. James's*, leaving the right honourable the earl of *Albemarle* commander in chief of his majesty's forces in *Scotland*; and no more applications being made for any further distribution of the necessaries then in *Scotland*, the committee came to a resolution to send them into *Scotland* for the use of the soldiers who were to remain there the succeeding winter, allowing a preference to the most infirm. And the lord mayor was desired to give directions for that purpose, and to obtain a list of the needy widows and orphans of the officers and soldiers killed at the battle of *Falkirk* and *Culloden*.

Accordingly one thousand nine hundred and forty shirts, two hundred and eighteen pair of breeches, and seven hundred and twenty two pair of stockings, being the remainder of such necessaries undisposed of here, were shipped to *Edinburgh*, and an account thereof was sent to the earl of *Albemarle*, who soon after acknowledged the same, expressing his thanks to the subscribers, with assurance that

they should be disposed of in such manner as might best answer their intentions. And at the same time his lordship transmitted a list, as desired, of the needy widows and orphans of the officers and soldiers, who had been killed at the battles of *Falkirk* and *Culloden*.

The committee could not help extending this relief to the widows and orphans of those who had lost their lives in the defence of their country, as the only acknowledgment they could bestow, in recompence for their past bravery; and therefore spared no pains, as well by personal applications, as by letters and advertisements in the public papers, to find out the proper objects to share that part of your charity.

Some other donations in money, and distributions of small parcels of the necessaries, have at different times been made to such objects as came properly recommended, either to be relieved or rewarded; which being of too minute consideration to be inserted in the body of this report, are specified in the subsequent general accounts.

Lastly, The committee, after having gratified their secretary, clerks, messengers, and attendants, and examined the several bills, receipts, and vouchers, and paid all other contingent expences, have set down the particulars and sum total of all their disbursements, amounting to the sum of 15,557*l* 13*s* 1*d*. which being deducted from the sum total of the subscription, there remains a balance of 3352*l*. 7*s*. 8*d*.

At the same time that the committee submit this remaining balance to your disposition, they take the liberty, in justice to the several hospitals in and about this city, and to the general hospital at *Bath*, of recommending them as instances every way deserving some share of your liberality, and to that

purpose hope for your concurrence to allow the sum of 1000*l.* to *St. Bartholomew's*, the sum of 1000*l.* to *St. Thomas's*, and the sum of 1000*l.* to the *Bath* hospital; as also the further sum of 500*l.* to be equally distributed between the infirmaries of *London*, *Westminster*, and *Hyde Park Corner*, for the assistance which they have so constantly and readily afforded to numbers of soldiers, who had been sufferers by the late rebellion; to whose relief a larger share out of this contribution must otherwise have been applied: and your committee are the more induced to be thus liberal to the *Bath* hospital, not only on account of the peculiar efficacy of the waters of that place, in recovering maimed and wounded soldiers, but also with regard that his royal highness the prince of *Wales*, who has been pleased to honour this subscription with his royal munificence, is the *patron* and *president* of that charitable foundation.

This distribution being agreed to, the remaining balance of 52*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* will be expended in the necessary charges which will attend the closing of all the accounts.

In this manner your committee propose, that the conclusion of this subscription should be agreeable to the design of its original institution, since every calamity you can remove, or every comfort you can bestow, on behalf of the private soldiers, will be giving them so much new strength and vigour to act in defence of our liberties, and support of our constitution, wherein both interest and duty, both public safety and public charity, may be jointly urged as motives to your benevolence. And as to what has already been expended, if relief under sickness, if support under fatigue, if encouragement under dangers, are to be esteemed acts of humanity or beneficence, by how much stronger ties were we

called upon to return such assistance to those, who, under the greatest hazards and difficulties, were protecting us in the enjoyment of every thing that was dear and valuable? And your committee flatter themselves, that the zeal which was exerted on this occasion by. the magistrates, merchants, and other inhabitants of this metropolis, contributed no less to dispirit the enemy, than it did to animate our own forces, until they obtained that complete victory over the rebels, which so happily preserved the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, the inseparable blessings of his majesty's government.

N. B. The author apprehends, it should be unnecessary to swell this subject with the other appendixes, which only contain names and sums; but cannot help observing, in this place, that the association subscription, entered into for the support of publick credit, by taking bank bills (an advantage and singular blessing to the peace, and tranquillity, trade, and commerce of the city of London, as well as to the kingdom in general, at that perilous and critical time, together with the seasonable resolutions, orders, supplies, and provisions, as mentioned in the foregoing report) were of such importance and utility, that those spirited and popular transactions struck the pretender and his party with terror and despair; spreading at the same time such a panick among them and their partisans, as not only intimidated others from taking off the mask, but obliged him to seek his retreat to Scotland, with more precipitation than he had advanced into England. The projector or projectors, however, of those useful schemes, whoever they were, cannot but be held by the city of London in grateful remembrance for such eminent services.

The like and worse evils the author flatters himself have been effectually prevented by his discoveries and intelligence, as clearly appears in the foregoing work; who cannot but observe, also, that the dangers he run in preserving the papers above-mentioned, were greater than can be conceived; for the person whom he entrusted with the said papers, not receiving the reward she expected, has often since declared, that if she had known their importance and consequence, she would have sold them to the ministers of France with the author's life.; and now greatly repents that she did not betray him and those papers into the hands of the French ministers, his enemies; which would have finished his ruin, and defeated his designs of rendering the above services to his majesty and the nation; notwithstanding the author's humanity has been such as to maintain and support this person ever since her coming into England.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.