

A JACOBITE MISCELLANY

EIGHT ORIGINAL PAPERS ON
THE RISING OF 1745-1746

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
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*Prince Charles Edward
From a drawing by Giles Hussey
In the possession of the Earl of Rochester*

Engraved by W. H. Sturton del. sculp.

PREFACE

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION IN THE YEARS 1745 AND 1746, edited by Miss Henrietta Tayler and published by the Roxburghe Club, was issued to members in 1945. It dealt with the campaign from the Whig angle, although the anonymous writer appeared to have supplementary access to excellent information from Jacobite sources.

The new volume, *The Jacobite Miscellany*, planned and compiled as a sequel to the above, deals *per contra* with material culled exclusively from the other party.

To enable the Club to make this publication we are indebted first of all to His Gracious Majesty, King George, for two papers at Windsor Castle, suggested for publication by our member Sir Owen Morshead, and for two of the illustrations drawn from the same inexhaustible collection. Next, to Captain Michael Wemyss, for most kindly permitting the use of a portion of the very interesting manuscript in his possession, 'Lord Elcho's Diary'. Further, to Mr. Ion Munro, lately Press representative in Rome, for two papers in Italian; to Major Julian Hall for two letters from his family archives; to the French Military Archives for one document; and last, but not least, to the National Library of Scotland for permission to print Flora MacDonald's own personal account of the famous escape in June 1746. My own contribution is a portrait of Prince Charles Edward, by Giles Hussey, drawn in ink with a crow quill, which is said to have been bought by Anne, Countess of Upper Ossory, in Rome, about 1770. It is one of five or six similar drawings, in the same medium or in pencil, all slightly different in detail. Finally, we have again to thank Miss Tayler for one of the illustrations; for her translation of Mr. Ion Munro's papers; and lastly for her Introduction and notes, for suggestions for inclusion of several papers, and for editing the varied contents of this book. It is no exaggeration to write that, but for her willingness to undertake this further work for the Club, the volume, the 209th in our series, would never have seen the light.

ILCHESTER

INTRODUCTION

IN the year of the bicentenary of the failure of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's attempt to regain the throne of Great Britain for his father (1746), it seemed good to the Publications Committee of the Roxburghe Club to issue a volume of miscellaneous papers of great historic interest bearing upon this event.

The volume for 1945 consisted of one long manuscript giving the whole history of the Rising and the measures taken to subdue it, written exclusively from the Government side. The present collection of original papers aims rather at showing the point of view of Prince Charles's supporters and is derived from many different sources, and whereas, in the Introduction to the former volume, the editor endeavoured to pass in brief review all the early actual histories of the year and a half covered by the events in Scotland, here at page 71 an attempt is made to deal equally briefly with a number of romantic stories of which one is printed. There are also first-hand accounts describing various phases of events in the period.

The first item is in the form of a letter, or rather two letters, from no less a person than James Murray, Lord Dunbar, once the Prince's tutor. It gives, in great detail, the plans for (and the successful carrying out of) the romantic dash of Charles Edward from Rome to Paris in January 1744, without which there would have been no Rising. These letters, to an unknown correspondent, are in Italian, a translation being added by the editor, as described by the Publications Committee. They came to her hands under interesting circumstances which are fully detailed in the special Introduction to item 1 on page 2. The pamphlet is very rare—only this one and one in the British Museum being known.

This account was obviously printed as well as written before the expedition to Scotland, which ended so disastrously, had taken place. It is dated 1744.

As is well known, the Prince had to wait some time in retirement in Paris, and the formidable force with which the French King had proposed to send him to invade Britain, under the command of Marshall Saxe, was scattered by a storm in March 1744 and that

project was abandoned. More than a year later the Prince, quite unsupported, set sail for Scotland with the smallest band of followers ever known to undertake an invasion. Fortune at first smiled on him, and the second item deals with the brief days of his glory in Edinburgh. It consists of two letters, preserved in a Scottish household ever since that day, written by an enthusiastic young girl, the Whig traditions of whose family were not proof against the personal charm of the Prince. The third item is a racy story in French by Sir John Macdonald, one of the seven men who landed with the Prince. It covers the period from the departure from Nantes in June 1745 to the battle of Culloden, 16 April 1746. It is from the Stuart papers at Windsor, printed by permission of his Majesty.

The fourth item is from another Italian pamphlet, giving an account of the Prince's wanderings after Culloden, again with a translation.

The fifth, also from the inexhaustible stores at Windsor, is the personal account by the Prince himself of what happened to him after his final defeat until his escape to France. It was taken down from his own lips during the voyage to France by Dr. Archibald Cameron and Richard Warren. It is unfinished.

The sixth consists of a portion of the Journal of Lord Elcho, printed by kind permission of Captain Michael Wemyss.

A seventh item is a letter in French, directed to the Minister of Marine in Paris, from Captain Talbot, Commander of the vessel *Prince Charles*, sloop of war, lost at Tongue in March 1746. The money and arms she brought to the Prince might, if they had reached him, conceivably have postponed the disaster of Culloden. This document comes from the Archives Nationales in Paris and is printed with the consent of the authorities there.

The eighth and last item has been provided for this collection by the courtesy of the Authorities of the National Library of Scotland. It consists of two letters from Flora Macdonald, under whose care the Prince escaped from the Outer Isles, back to Skye, and was thus able to regain the mainland of Scotland and three months later sail to France. This, the best-known incident in the whole of his wanderings, is here told with great simplicity by the chief actor in it; incidentally, it shows the lack of foundation for much of the

romantic legend which has grown up round the name of the heroine.

The second letter describes the real tragic later life of this heroine and her husband and children.

A full introduction is given to each of the items as they succeed one another and explanatory and historical notes are added.

There are four illustrations.

The frontispiece is from a pencil drawing of the Prince by Giles Hussey, from the collection of Lord Ilchester. There is further a contemporary plan of the Battle of Culloden, kindly lent to the editor by the Misses Kerr and now deposited in the Museum of Inverness, and two pictures from Windsor reproduced by gracious permission of His Majesty the King. One, an oil painting by David Morier, military painter to King George II, represents the Highlanders attacking the men of Barrel's Regiment at Culloden; some of the unfortunate Jacobite prisoners having served as models.

The last is a view of Culloden by Thomas Sandby, 1715-98. Of this artist, the following statement is made by Antony Pasquin (John Williams) in 'A Liberal critique of the present exhibition of the Royal Academy 1794', p. 141.

The development of his ability occasioned him to be appointed as draughtsman to the Chief Engineer for Scotland, in which situation he was, at Fort William in the Highlands, when the Pretender landed and was the first person who conveyed intelligence of the event to the Government, in the year 1745,

Thomas was a professor of architecture and brother to the more famous Paul Sandby, the water-colour artist. They were the sons of a Nottingham weaver. Thomas was born in 1715 and died in 1798.

As stated above, Thomas Sandby claimed, or it was claimed on his behalf, that he was the first person to send to the British Government news of the landing of Prince Charles Edward in Moidart. The date of the communication is not given nor is it stated to whom it was addressed, but the manner in which the news first reached the Lord Justice Clerk and the Duke of Argyll, who were together at Roseneath (the residence of the Duke) on 6 August is

known, and full details were given in an article by Dr. Walter Blaikie in the *Scottish History Review* for April 1926.

The actual day the Prince actually landed on the mainland as known from the log of the vessel *Du Teillay*, and the other contemporary accounts, was Thursday, 25 July (old style), and local gossip-mongers were soon busy.

The Rev. Lauchlan Campbell, Minister of Ardnamurchan, in which parish Arisaig lies, a strong Whig, makes, in a letter still extant, dated 21 May 1750, the following statement:

Rev. Dear Sir,¹

In obedience to your desire to know how I came to be the first who discovered the Pretender's landing and gave the first notice of it to the friends of the Government, take the following short account—[*which account may be compressed as follows.*]

On Sunday, 4 August, Campbell preached a sermon on 'obedience to Kings', and found his congregation very restive; and one man warned him not to preach in that style again.

Subsequently he remarked to a Whig friend that from the temper of his people 'I can take my oath upon it that the Pretender is in my parish', and was told that such indeed was the case. That same night the minister told his news to the Duke of Argyll's Baillie, Donald Campbell of Achindoun, who seemingly took or sent a message through the night of Sunday the 4th to another Donald Campbell (of Airds) the Duke's factor in Morvern, who on Monday morning sent the news on to yet another Campbell (of Stonefield), who was the Duke's Chamberlain at Inverary as well as the Sheriff Depute of Argyleshire. This message was received on Tuesday evening, 6 August, before 6 o'clock as the Sheriff Depute's letter is dated Aug. 6, 6 at night and addressed to the 'Lord Justice Clerk at Roseneath'.

This letter was transmitted by the Lord Justice Clerk to Sir John Cope in Edinburgh, where it arrived on the evening of the 8th and was by Cope forwarded to the Marquis of Tweeddale in London. In dispatching this news to London on 9th August, Cope adds that he had that morning had a visit from Lord President Forbes giving him the same news, forwarded to him by Macleod of Macleod.

¹ The name of his correspondent is not known.

The first military news of the landing was received by Cope on 13 August in a letter from the officer commanding at Fort William, dated 9 August.

It may have been this information which was conveyed to the officer by Thomas Sandby.

Cope also received on the same day, *viz.* 13 August, an 'informer's' letter, forwarded to him by the Duke of Argyll, which gave actual details about the landing and subsequent movements. This again might have been the work of Sandby, but priority in dispatching the news belongs unquestionably to the quarter of dutiful Campbells.¹

¹ The dates given below are in the New Style. The Prince's landing at *Eriskay* is given in the accounts in *The Lyon in Mourning* and in the *Itinerary* as July 23, and at *Arisaig* on July 25, Old Style.

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VIII

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