

Log of the “Dutillet” as [presented to the Gaelic Society of Inverness in 1904](#)

4th FEBRUARY, 1904.

*On this date Mr J. L. Robertson, H.M.I.S., read a paper entitled
LOG OF THE “DUTILLET.”*

INTRODUCTORY.

In 1901 there was published at Nantes (Imprimerie, Emile Grimaud et Fils) a remarkable collection of Jacobite correspondence discovered during a ransacking and classifying of papers in the archives of the Chateau of Serrant, France, the family seat of the Comtes de Serrant.



Figure 1 - [Château de Serrant](#)

The collection is entitled “[Une Famille Royaliste, Irlandaise et Francaise, et Le Prince Charles-Edouard](#)” ([English translation of the book](#)). On the frontispiece the period is given as 1689-1789.

In editing and arranging these archives, a number of letters, says the French compiler, were found addressed to a M. Le Grand, and signed Douglas, generally “J. Douglas,” sometimes “J. D.” The mysterious air and the friendly tone, which, however, became occasionally imperious, of this correspondence quite puzzled the patient editor of the archives, until the discovery of a letter addressed by Prince Charlie to; M. Antoine Walsh solved the enigma "Henceforth," wrote the Prince, “you will address me as M. Douglas, and bear in mind that you are always and for everybody to be M. Legrand.” The proof was therefore absolute that the correspondence, which

began in 1745 under the fictitious names of “Douglas” and “Legrand,” was a correspondence between Prince Charles Edward Stuart and M. Walsh.

Who was M. Walsh? Antoine Walsh was a wealthy merchant of Nantes, of Irish descent, and was born at St. Malo in 1703. His ancestors in Ireland were of some distinction. In the narrative of letters patent of French nobility granted to Walsh in 1755 by the French King, the family had apparently satisfied the King that they were of an ancient noble house, “laquelle remonte à leur dix-neuvième aieul, Phillipe Walsh, surnommé le Breton (en Irlandais, Brenagh), qui en 1174, tua de sa main l'amiral de la flotte danoise qui avait envahi le pays”; and the family papers in the archives contain a duly authenticated nomination by Queen Elizabeth, dated 2nd January, 1580, of Walter Walsh of Mountayne as Vice-Lieutenant of the County of Kilkenny, and some formalities of heritable transference and succession occasioned direct reference later to James I.

Walsh was devotedly attached to the cause of the Pretender¹, and had the highest credit at the French Court of Louis XV. The prestige of the French victory of [Fontenoy](#) (1745), the support promised by Louis, and other circumstances combined to reanimate the hopes of the Old Pretender, and to induce the fateful resolve of his son, Prince Charles Edward, to attempt a descent on Britain in the cause of his father. It was certainly to the best interest of France that the Pretender's cause should succeed, and Louis XV, in order to give substantial aid to the hazardous venture, had ordered a number of warships to rendezvous at Dunkirk, and had ready eighteen battalions of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry as a landing corps for the coast of England. Maurepas, the Minister of Louis, was entrusted with these arrangements, and to Antoine Walsh was given the full direction and disposal of this French fleet. A memorandum of instructions to Walsh bears the Royal sign-manual of date 16th November, 1745. But with all this ostensible sympathy on the part of the French Government, it must be borne in mind that the more fervent and importunate Jacobites in the inner circle of the Pretender became seriously disappointed with what they regarded as the dilatory and inconclusive aspect of these negotiations prior to the departure of Prince Charlie for Scotland. Chafing under the delays, and to start the enterprise, however, Walsh, along with the Prince and others, embarked in the armed brig, the “Dutillet,” Friday, 2nd July, 1745, for the memorable voyage to Scotland. The “Dutillet” was a mercantile brig owned by Walsh. She was specially rigged and armed for the expedition, and carried a large amount of military stores for the future service of the Prince. A Government frigate, the “Elisabeth,” mounting 60 to 64 guns the accounts vary was to convoy the “Dutillet” from Belle-Isle-en-Mer to Scotland. The “Elisabeth” was nominally in the employ of Walter Rutledge, an Irish merchant of Dunkirk, to whom the French King had granted letters of marque for the ship as a privateer, on condition, as was not uncommon in those days, that Rutledge should bear the running expenses of the ship. She was heavily laden with all kinds of stores and munitions of war for the Prince, and also carried his main war chest. As the log of the “Dutillet” will show, Walsh returned in her via Holland to France, after safely landing the Prince at Lochnanuagh (Loch nan Uamh), and it is interesting here to quote a short valedictory letter from the Prince to Walsh, when the latter was just about to leave Lochnanuagh for France, and had presumably gone on board the “Dutillet”:

“Boradel 16 Aug. (O.S.) 1745.

Chevalier Walsh, notwithstanding what I have said to you in words, I cannot let you go away without expressly stating in writing the satisfaction your kind services have given me. Of this I have begged the King my father to bestow on you the most signal proof, and I myself would do so now if I were able. All the same, you may be quite sure that if I ever come to the throne to which my birth summons me, you will have as good reason to be satisfied with me as I am now with you. More than this I cannot say. Your true friend,

CHARLES P.”

On Walsh's return to France, the Old Pretender handsomely acknowledged Walsh's good services in “transporting our dearest son Charles Prince of Wales in to Scotland, through manifold risques and dangers,” and grants (in blank) to Walsh, “upon the request of our said dearest son,” three Irish “titles of honour and precedency” in a Royal letter dated 20th October, 1745, “to our Attorney or Solicitor general of our Kingdom of Ireland for the time being.” Several letters of later years in the archives some from Cardinal Henry emphasise the cordial gratitude of the exiled and distressed Stuarts to their devoted adherent. Well, so far as the Stuarts were concerned, did the Walsh family justify their heraldic motto, “Semper Ubique Fideles.” In 1753 Antoine Walsh was ennobled by Louis XV., and in 1755 the family estates on the lower Loire were consolidated by Royal letters-patent into the “Comte de Serrant.” The Walshes were henceforth Comtes de Serrant. The present head of the family is the Duc de la Trémoille.

The above explains the title of this interesting compilation of family papers, among which was discovered, by the Duc de la Trémoille, the log of the “Dutillet,” in the form of an autograph manuscript of 35 pages in 4^{to}, somewhat yellow with age, and in places obliterated by, it is conjectured, the vinegar of the ship's lazaretto. The

¹A caveat must be entered here. “Pretender” is retained in this paper to represent the French “Pretendant.” “Claimant” might be a more accurate translation, but it grates, and as for “Chevalier” a courtesy and frequently disregarded designation of lesser French nobility it won't suit. In the same entry in the log we find “S. A. R. Le Prince de Galles” and “Chevalier Scheriden.”

book was still very scarce in 1902, and was lent me for the purpose of this translation by Mr R. L. Thomson, of Eigg and Strathaird, from his valuable Eigg library.

A word, in conclusion, as to the chronology of this compacted and eventful stage in the early days of the Adventure of '45. The accounts show considerable discrepancies as to dates within the very limited period. One instance may suffice here: the "[Lyon in Mourning](#)," which follows the Old Style, or Julian Calendar, gives 22nd June as the date of embarkation of the Prince (at Nantes), and July 4th as the date on which the "Elisabeth" joined the "Dutillet" at Belle-Isle, while the journal of the latter, which follows the New Style, or Gregorian, throughout, gives Friday, 2nd July, as the date of embarkation (at Bonne Anse), and the 13th as the date on which the convoying frigate joined her. Here is a difference of one and two days respectively.

The most acceptable explanation seems to be that some of the leading narratives were given long after the events, and that the confusion and excitement of the stirring time were against accurate memory of details and the sequence of events, especially in the case of men who must so often have "bitterly thought of the morrow." I am inclined to think that the log of the ship "Dutillet," now published in English for the first time by the Gaelic Society of Inverness, is of outstanding authority on the vexed question of dates, and especially sequence in the opening of Prince Charlie's venturesome enterprise, and we shall see later that the undoubtedly trustworthy topographical information furnished by the log in the Hebridean section of the outward voyage does not accord with that of the generally accepted itinerary.

LOG OF THE SHIP "DUTILLET." (Friday 2nd July – 16th Sept. 1745.)

In the name of God and the most holy Trinity, Be this journal begun for my use, Durbé, commanding the frigate le Dutillet² of Nantes armed with 18 guns, 24 swivels, and carrying a crew of 67 men, for the purpose of a voyage to Scotland.

FRIDAY 2 JULY 1745 at 5 a.m. I weighed from the anchorage of Mindin³ in company with the Dryade, the⁴, the Fauvette, His Majesty's frigates, six transports of His Majesty & 84 barges convoyed by these three frigates for the coast of Brittany, the wind being steady from the East. I came to anchor in Bonne Anse to await there my passengers who arrived one after the other in small parties in boats. At seven o'clock in the evening I sent a boat ashore to take off three who had remained behind, these being H.R.H. the Prince of Wales⁵, the Chevalier Scheriden, M. Walsh. Also arrived in boats M. O'Kelly, chamberlain; M. Macdonald, colonel; M., colonel; M., Captain of the Guards; M. Touliann, Captain; M. Macdonald, banker in Paris⁶.

SATURDAY 3 JULY at 5 a.m. I ordered the anchor to be weighed, and set sail from Bonne Anse in order to get to the open; at six o'clock I was abreast of La Chapelle Saint Marie. At 10 a.m. sighted a fleet close by of 140 sail, convoyed by three of his Majesty's frigates, on the way from Nantes to the Brittany coast. The Pilier⁷ bore by compass S.S.E., distant 4 leagues: at noon the wind veered to the west, and I was obliged to tack up to 5 a.m.

SUNDAY (4 JULY) when I let go anchor in the roadstead of Belle Isle. My bearings were, the fortress of Belle Isle W., the point of Taillefer N.W., the point of Locmaria S.E., and the Teignouse N.E.

²La Doutelle in English texts.

³Lighthouse and battery (Loire Inférieure). Bonne Anse, near St Nazaire, mouth of the Loire.

⁴Elisabeth; see later.

⁵Charles Edward.

⁶The Prince's companions in the embarkation were:

1. William Murray, attainted Duke of Atholl.
2. Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the French service.
3. Sir Thomas Sheridan, the Prince's tutor.
4. Colonel Strickland, said to be an Irishman.
5. Captain O'Sullivan.
6. Æneas Macdonald, banker in Paris, brother of Kinlochmoidart.
7. Rev. George Kelly, an Irishman.
8. Buchanan, for many years assistant to Macdonald, the Paris banker.
9. Anthony Welch (Walsh), owner of the Dutillet, and others, among whom were Michel, the valet of the Prince, and Duncan Cameron, servant to "Old Lochiel at Boulogne," who was hired for the expedition, "to descry the Long Island for them," as he said.
10. Durbé must have known the main purpose of the projected voyage, but the identity of all his passengers was not yet revealed to him. To ensure secrecy they had reached the coast by circuitous routes and in detached parties. The Prince had disguised himself by growing his full beard, and otherwise.
11. The Irish element is conspicuous: indeed. Æneas Macdonald declared to the Privy Council in his examination later that the expedition was entirely an Irish one.

⁷The island of Pilier, outside Noirmoutier.

THURSDAY 8 JULY passed two Dutchmen making for Nantes. At midday three frigates passed through the Teignouse, convoying about 100 boats for the coast of Brittany.

SUNDAY 11 JULY. Two ships hove in sight coming by the Pointe des Poulains, and heading for the sound⁸ of Belle Isle. I prepared for action. When the two vessels were within range and a half of my guns I hoisted my flag and saluted it with one blank round. Both the ships ran up a white flag, but did not salute it, and as I did not care to trust myself too much to them, I fired a round shot in their direction to bring them to, and make them send their boat to inform me who they were. As they did nothing, however, I fired another round. The shot passed between the masts of Captain MacCarthy, who put his ship in the wind, and came on board to report himself. The enemy's vessels are daily cruising close in to Belle Isle, and one must keep a sharp lookout on all craft in that neighbourhood.

TUESDAY 13 (JULY). His Majesty's ship, The Elisabeth, came to anchor in the roadstead of Belle Isle at 11 a.m.

THURSDAY 15 (JULY). I weighed anchor and left the harbour of Belle Isle in company with the Elisabeth, Captain Deau, about, I should say, 5 a.m.⁹ At 8 p.m. Groix was to my N.E., and Les Glenans N.

SATURDAY (17 JULY), NOON TO SUNDAY 18. Sighted at midday in the N.W. 7 sail, "seemingly" standing to the S: we took them for some Brest ships.

SUNDAY (18 JULY), NOON TO MONDAY 19. Again sighted at noon the 7 ships seen yesterday.

MONDAY 19 NOON TO TUESDAY 20. We heard some heavy firing in a north-easterly direction: at five o'clock eight sail hove in sight, and we made out that they were giving us chase, and sailing free so as to run down on us from windward. Seeing that they were coming up to us, we hailed and had a talk with M. Dau (d'O.), commanding the Elisabeth, and at midday we cleared for action. One of the ships was to the east of us about a league and a half off, and she was crowding all sail to overhaul us. We made her out a two-decker, with guns on foredeck and quarterdeck, and probably English.

TUESDAY 20 (JULY) NOON TO WEDNESDAY 21. Being ready for action, and the chaplain having given absolution, at 1p.m. M. d'O and I hauled close, in order to have a talk. M. d'O told me that he was to clew up his lower sails. M. Walsh, with the consent of the Prince (Charles-Edouard), told me to wait an hour yet, and meanwhile to carry on our voyage. M. d'O was quite willing, and we agreed with him that if he were forced to engage, we should come up alongside him as soon as he had fired his first broadside, and that when he had grappled and fixed with the Englishman, we also should board him with about 50 men. This was the arrangement at 2 p.m. Seeing that the Englishman was steadily gaining on us, M. d'O clewed up his lower sails, launched his long-boat, and hove to. It was now clear to us that this ship only wished to make us lose way, so as to give time to the ships which we sighted in the morning to come up with us. We decided to bear away and keep our course, and so we did. The Englishman noticing this, and going through the water faster than we, also bore away, and cut his long-boat adrift, so as to give himself further advantage over us, and to give himself a freer deck. At half-past 5 o'clock evening he was abeam of the Elisabeth; all of us had shortened lower sail. The Englishman fired one of his port guns, and to this Mr d'O replied with his full starboard broadside. The Englishman holding the weather-gage of the Elisabeth, smartly clewed up his foresail, and hoisted his standing jib: the Elisabeth was rather slow in the same manoeuvre, and so the Englishman forged ahead, until he was able to place himself so as to rake the Elisabeth from stem to stern with his full port broadside. This, of course, must have killed a lot of her crew and disabled her badly, and so the Englishman got right between both our ships, and gave me three rounds from his starboard guns, the shot passing between my masts, tho' my sails were pierced by his grape shot. We did not reply, as the range of our small guns would not cover him. The two ships now altered course and headed S.E. They had placed themselves abreast of one another, so that the Englishman fired his starboard and the Elisabeth her port batteries. We were always waiting till the Elisabeth had boarded, as had been agreed upon, and were following her closely, so as to throw some men aboard of her in case of a boarding attack. Other assistance we could not give her, seeing that the Englishman's guns, which were 33 pounders, did not allow us approach. We had great fear that keeping a S easterly course we should sail right into the men of war of the morning. We continued to follow close in the wake of the Elisabeth, in order to render assistance to her in the event of her boarding. At ten o'clock in the evening the fire had ceased on both sides, and we made for the Elisabeth to speak her. Mr Barr, her flag-captain, informed us that Mr d'O had been dangerously wounded, and that the ship had been more severely handled than he could tell us: he asked me to put out my cutter, and to send him some hands to refit his ship. I told him I would do so at once, and would keep my boat out, and asked him to bring his ship to the wind, so that I might be able to send her to him. He answered that he was unable to do so, and that I must follow him. As we were in constant fear of falling among the vessels sighted in the morning, we held a council,

⁸“Venant ... chercher les coraux de Belle Isle”: coraux is for coureaux, a local (Brittany) term for “canal, passe entre les îles.”

⁹The “Lyon in Mourning” gives the date as 5th July (O.S.): this would be 16th July (N.S.).

and it was resolved to ascertain whether the Elisabeth was in a seaworthy state, and whether it was worthwhile to follow her. I then asked Mr Bar, and he said she was not, and that it was absolutely necessary that he should run into Brest. Thereupon, as we did not wish to put back, we determined, by order of the Prince, to continue our course for Scotland, and this we did after having bid goodbye to Mr Bar. We set a course then to S.W., our latitude at the time being 47 deg. 5 min., and longitude 5 deg. 3 min.¹⁰.

FRIDAY 23 (JULY) NOON TO SATURDAY 24. At 1 o'clock afternoon the lookout sung out, Sail ahoy! She was dead ahead, and immediately after, ten came in sight, bearing N.N.E. from us. We thought that these ships were on a N.N.W. tack, and we put about on the other tack to avoid them, keeping our head to E. At 5 p.m. saw that these ships were in the same windward position, so I went aloft and made out that they were heading E. I came about to N.W. on a pretended course, for I feared they would give me chase.

SATURDAY 24 (JULY) TO SUNDAY 25. At 6 a.m. sighted a ship right ahead, making E. In coming up on her I was steering so as to cross her bows, but I was ordered to give her a wide berth, and this I did. At 10 o'clock made out another ship under shortened sail to the N. of the former: at midday they spoke to one another, and I believe they are really in company.

SUNDAY 25 (JULY) NOON TO MONDAY 26. At 4 afternoon I saw the ships of the morning bearing down on us: we took them for privateers. We clapped on all sail: high wind with rain, which lasted to 1 a.m., when it fell flat calm. The wind chopped round to N: took in our studding sails and stowed top gallant sails, and boarded the starboard main tack. Sighted at noon two vessels to windward steering E.

MONDAY 26 (JULY) at 4 p.m. I found myself above a shoal, which I clearly saw, of fine soft sludge.

TUESDAY 27 (JULY) NOON TO WEDNESDAY 28. Saw lots of birds, like gulls and divers, and feathers on the water.

FRIDAY 30 (JULY) NOON TO SATURDAY 31. At 4 a.m. sighted the land. It looked to me a big hill, very high, flat above like a plateau, and bore due S. There were other peaked hills to the number of 5 or 6 in the S.S.W., and a mass of others also, like small round hills, bore by compass S.E. I came on the other tack, the wind being shifty. The big flat hill did not, I noticed, alter its bearing which proves that the currents set very strongly to the east at the mouth of the channel in the N. of Ireland. As a matter of fact, I found myself more to the E. than my reckoning by 26 leagues. The French Neptune¹¹ is more S.S.E. than the Dutch charts by 30 minutes. This accounts for our error in latitude: we thought we were now sighting the S. of the Wice Islands¹², but this was not the case, the land in sight being the N of Ireland. The big head I saw I made out on the Neptune to be the island of Tores¹³, bearing S.E., distant 7 leagues, and the big stretch to the S.W. of Tores, and what looked like a chain of small round hills to my S.E., to be the small islands off Cape Scheeps Hawen¹⁴. The French Neptune is better than the Dutch charts: it agrees with the observations made with my quadrant.

SATURDAY 31 (JULY) TO SUNDAY FIRST AUGUST. No land insight at midday: this course is not a good one. I notice that I am N.W. of Tores Island, distant 12 leagues.

MONDAY 2 (AUGUST) NOON TO TUESDAY 3. I set a course N.E., so as to try to pick up the island of Bernera, which is the most southerly point of the island of Wice. At 6p.m. sighted Bernera, bearing E., distant about 9 leagues. These islands are very high, and are studded with small ones between. At daybreak I bore away to the

¹⁰This was a desperate fight, and both ships seem to have fought "to a finish." The English ship was the Lion, mounting 60 guns Captain Percy (afterwards Sir Percy) Brett. At the end of the engagement both ships had been completely disabled, and the last shot from the Lion mortally wounded the gallant d'O and his brother. It is said that the Lion struck to the Elisabeth, but it will, be noticed that Durbé does not mention this very visible incident. The Lion is said also to have rehoisted her colours when she discovered that the Elisabeth was so mauled that she could not send a boat to take possession. The Lion lost 45 killed and 107 wounded out of a complement of 400 men, and the Elisabeth lost about 200 killed and wounded. The ships drew off at the close of the fight in a terribly battered condition. The Lion's officers were Court-martialled on her reaching England, and one of them was shot a most unjustifiable sentence, but characteristic of the naval administration of the day. The Lion was splendidly fought and manoeuvred, as Æneas Macdonald testified at his examination before the Privy Council ("Lyon in Mourning," 1, 281).

The Dutillet of course stood by out of range during the action. The retreat of the Elisabeth was an ominous and most material loss to the expedition. The need of special precautions to ensure concealment from a watchful and seemingly ubiquitous enemy was now too apparent to the anxious occupants of the Dutillet. A deep-sea course was set, and, barring the faint gleam of the binnacle, all lights were dowsed at nightfall.

The fight was rather off Ushant than the Lizard, as the Supplement to the "Lyon in Mourning" states. The dates correspond 9 July (O.S.), 20 July (N.S.). The longitude is manifestly "Greenwich."

¹¹"Le Neptune Francois," a collection of French charts.

¹²Uist (Hebrides). Durbé thinks the whole stretch from Butt of Lewis to Barra Head has the same name.

¹³Tory Island, off Donegal.

¹⁴Sheep Haven, Donegal.

E. of these small islands of the island of Wice. On my starboard there were several islands, 5 or 6 leagues off, which are marked on the charts, and I found myself abreast of a big lump of an island, very high, deeply scored, and very perpendicular on all sides, behind which on the main island there are houses. I put out my small boat, into which got M. Macdonald, the Paris banker, and his servant, who went ashore to pick up information and get a pilot. This place is called Bara¹⁵. At 10 o'clock a large boat which was crossing from the mainland, to Bara came alongside: she had on board a horse, a calf, a woman, and children. We took the master of this boat to pilot us. At 11 o'clock my boat came back with a pilot. M. Magdonel brought back the news that the whole plot had been discovered, and that an English gentleman had been captured in these islands and sent to the Tower of London all which was to put us on our guard how to act. We made up our minds and stood for the island of Canay¹⁶. No sooner were our sails set and trimmed than we sighted a ship thrashing to windward, under close-reefed topsails. She was a big craft, and we take her for a man-of-war. We held a council to see what we should do, and it was agreed to alter our course, and make for a harbour which is between the island of Bara and the island of Uyst, and is very large, though one cannot get out by the west side. (One can recognise this harbour by a square tower which in old days served as a light-house: its top is now in ruins, and it is on the N. side of the entrance.) As we had a pilot on board, we came to anchor here.

TUESDAY 3 AUGUST at 2 o'clock afternoon. The ship that had forced us to put into this harbour, as soon as she saw us change our course, put about and gave us chase. She was doing her very best to come up with us in the harbour. Seeing this, all our passengers went aboard our pinnace and a native boat, and landed in Uyst at the house of the chief man of the place, a MacDonald (Magdonald)¹⁷ (15).

At 4 o'clock the English ship, not being able to make the harbour where we were lying, brought up in another harbour 1½ leagues off, farther to leeward than we.

In the belief that she was to anchor there, I sent a native boat with an officer to warn our party to come back, and to tell them that we might be able to slip out of port undercover of night. The weather got terribly dirty, and our gentlemen were not able to return to the ship. At 10 o'clock at night I despatched the pinnace to have a look into the harbour the ship had entered, and see if they could find her.

WEDNESDAY 4 (AUGUST). At 5 a.m. our boat came back alongside, and reported that she had seen no ship. We considered this a feint, that she had made a pretence of going into this anchorage, and had sailed out through the night with the purpose of capturing us if we had made for the open. At 6 a.m. I sent back my boat for our party, and they returned on board at 8 o'clock drenched to skin with rain.

At 9 o'clock we observed, at two leagues off the land, the same ship as yesterday with a frigate in company. They both tacked at their hardest to make our harbour, but they were not able, as the wind was strong ahead. Being always afraid of these vessels, we had a talk, and made up our minds to set sail as soon as night fell, without any stir, and favoured by the gloomy weather and the squalls. At half-past 9 in the evening I had the

¹⁵Bernera, sighted 22nd July, O.S. ("Lyon in Mourning"), 2nd August, N.S. On Bernera is the Barra Head Lighthouse. The islands to starboard, with Mull looming in the far distance, are Coll and Tiree, and the big lump of an island off which he lay-to to send a boat ashore is Mulldonich. About four miles off is the magnificent stretch of Castlebay, with the picturesque ruin of Caisteal Cisernuil, the old stronghold of the McNeills of Barra. Close behind is the village of Castlebay.

¹⁶Canna. As regards Durbé's bearings generally, it must be remembered that in 1700 the variation of the compass at London was about 6 deg. west, and in 1800 about 24 deg. W., since when the drift there has been easterly. The variation in the Hebrides now is two points (22½ deg.) W.

¹⁷"Un port qui est fort grand, d'autant qu'on ne peut sortir par la partie O." This is undoubtedly An-t-Acarsaid Mhor, a spacious anchorage in the Sound of Barra, between the islands of Gighay and Fuday. This roadstead rapidly shoals towards the West, and there is no exit for a large ship through the Sound of Barra. Last year a number of men-of-war anchored here. Durbé wisely put in there, as he had to hold the suspicious stranger in observation, and be ready to slip out with a favourable change in the weather, now very threatening.

Coilleag a' Phrionnsa, the traditional landing place of the Prince in Eriskay on 23rd July. O.S. (3rd August. N.S.), is on the west of that island, and north of the position of the Dutillet, and the square tower in ruins on the north of the entrance to the "port" is Caisteal a' Bhreab-adair, a very conspicuous landmark. On the east side of Eriskay there is a long inlet, also called An-t-Acarsaid Mhor. The ground is very foul here, and quite unsuitable as an anchorage for a ship of the Dutillet's draught.

The stranger had evidently taken shelter to leeward, near Northbay.

Durbé's route to Cann could not have been by the tortuous and reef-strewn narrow Sound of Eriskay, as indicated on the conjectural tract issued with the Supplement to the "Lyon in Mourning."

Angus Macdonald was tacksman of Eriskay. His house was at Baile.

Durbé, in saying that the passengers landed in Uist, shows here, as he shows hereafter, scanty acquaintance with the topography of the Long Island. The Prince was visited in Eriskay by Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale, younger brother of Clanranald. Alexander refused to assist the Prince, and did all he could to dissuade him.

anchor hove up, and got under weigh with the spritsail the cutter ahead so as to let as little sail as possible be seen. We hugged the land on the N. of the anchorage as close as we could to get the cover of the land, and as soon as we thought ourselves between the land and the stranger, I crowded sail and coasted as near inshore as possible, steering N.E. I must actually have passed the ship about only one league off.

THURSDAY at 5 a.m. The island of Skye bore N.E., Canay S.E. (14), and Rum E.S.E. I came up between Scaye and Canay, and held my course to the E., as I had no intention to come to anchor in any of these islands, from a fear that these ships might come to look out for us there. When I had sailed past Rum and Canay, I got Eigg on the starboard hand and the mainland on the port. I stood S.E. In front of us stretched the mainland, and I held on my course to reach it. To the E. of me on the port hand I made out a low point of the mainland, and off this point a rock like an island. I steered to pass to starboard of this small island. M. Macdonald got into a boat which we had brought from the island of Barra along with his servant, in order to look up a brother of his in these parts¹⁸. When I got abreast of the little island I came on the port tack, and sailed round it, keeping a good offing. Ahead I saw two large bays: I then steered due east, and at 3 o'clock afternoon I came to anchor at the head of one of the bays. [All along these coasts the tides are every six hours.] A fine flat bit of country, with some poor-looking houses, and a lot of cattle about. The place is called Lochnanuagh. At 4 o'clock I launched my cutter, in which our chaplain, the Prince, and three or four other gentlemen went ashore, and up to the houses¹⁹. There they met Mr Macdonald, known as chief man of the place. We gave ourselves out as smugglers. Magdonoel's son came on board along with the priest of the place.

FRIDAY 6 (AUGUST). We began to find out how things were going on. Some of the leading men of the district came onboard, and we asked them for a place where we could land our arms. We cleared all our water casks of foul water, and filled them with fresh water, and shipped three tons of ballast.

SATURDAY 7TH. Several chiefs came on board, and returned straightway to warn the country.

SUNDAY 8TH. Went ashore.

MONDAY 9TH at 10 a.m. Set sail to anchor in another small bay called Loch-Aylost²⁰. At the entrance to this bay are three biggish islands: in entering we kept close to the south side, between the most southerly island and the coast. At 10 p.m. we unloaded, and landed a part of our arms and war stores.

TUESDAY 10 (AUGUST). A large boat came along side with several headmen of the district to see the Prince²¹. On her way back she took a lot of things belonging to the Prince and these gentlemen. During the day we went ashore to amuse ourselves. At 10 p.m. we started discharging and landing arms and war stores, and kept on to 3 a.m.

WEDNESDAY 11 (AUGUST). We had a lot of wood cut, and during the night discharged war stores. The large boat came alongside with a number of gentlemen, and took off a quantity of baggage. Next day we went ashore to have some fishing and hunting.

THURSDAY 12. An idle day: we went ashore to amuse our-selves, and have a look at the Highlanders.

FRIDAY 13 (AUGUST). We took in a supply of water and wood, and loaded two big boats with goods for M. Magdonel.

¹⁸The "Lyon in Mourning" says that Æneas Macdonald took boat from Eriskay on 24th July to the mainland to visit his brother Kinlochmoidart, and that the latter returned to Eriskay with him. The statement in the log seems to throw doubt on this. Forty miles each way in an open boat, in tempestuous weather, and with an apparently hostile ship on the lookout, seems rather an imaginative interlude in the story of the short stay at Eriskay. The group of small islands in the mouth of Lochnanuagh is called Eilean an Tri.

¹⁹Prince Charlie landed from the Dutillet (Doutelle) 25th July, 1745, Julian Calendar (5th August, Gregorian), near the farm of Borrodale, belonging to one Angus Macdonald.

²⁰Loch-Ailort.

²¹The Prince lived partly ashore and partly aboard the Dutillet. He writes his father on "2 aout V.S., aboard du vaisseau le dutellier, a l'ancre dans la Baie de Loughaylort," and also on "August 4th, O.S., 1745." When ashore he was probably "hard up" for luxuries.

He was visited on board the ship by the following chieftains and others: Ranald Macdonald, younger of Clanranald; Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale; Æneas Macdonald, the banker (who had gone for his brother); Kinlochmoidart himself; Allan and Ronald Macdonald, brothers of the last: Macdonald of Morar and his brother Hugh, a Catholic bishop; Macdonald of Scotus (for Glengarry); Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch; Donald Macdonald of Glencoe; and Dr Cameron (for his brother Lochiel).

Lord President Forbes received notice of the landing of the Prince from Norman Macleod of Macleod, in a letter from Dunvegan dated 3rd August, 1745:

"To my no small surprise, it is certain that the pretended Prince of Wales is come to the coast of South Uist and Barra, and has since been hovering on parts of the coast of the mainland that lies between the Point of Ardnamurchan and Glenelg. He has but one ship, of which he is aboard." (Culloden Papers, p. 203).

SATURDAY 14. We took in a supply of water and wood. A bishop of the district came on board.

SUNDAY 15 (AUGUST). Nothing doing. We went ashore and brought our dinner with us, and started fishing for oysters.

MONDAY 16 (AUGUST). Five of our passengers went off to the house of M. Magdonoel, a brother of the banker, and the Prince, with four gentlemen, landed in our cutter, and went to spend the night with M. Magdanoel at Lochnanuagh. We landed all our swivel-guns, and stored them with our other munitions.

TUESDAY 17 (AUGUST). I got under sail in the bay, where I had been all the while, and returned to the anchorage in Loch-nan-Uagh. I got there at 8 a.m. We sent the Prince something for his dinner, who was hard up. M. Walsh went ashore in the afternoon.

WEDNESDAY 18 (AUGUST). We took on board some cattle and sheep by way of provisions. M. Walsh and I landed to visit the Prince, and wish him good luck. We left him with two of the gentlemen who had come over with him, with two chiefs of the district, and with no more than a dozen men these being all his companions.

THURSDAY 19 (AUGUST). We set sail from Loch-nan-uagh at 8 a.m. When I got between Aige and the mainland, I brought her head to the north with a view to make the passage between the island of Skye and Scotland, and as soon as I was between the point of Skye and the coast of Scotland, I set a course N.E. One must not go by the charts here, as they are not reliable. I kept mid-channel all along, sailing the same course between all the headlands. There is good anchorage in this sound, as soon as you are well inside. At midday I was abreast of a big building²² lying between two mountains in a flat, the approach to the building being, say, 4 leagues off. When we got well in front of it, we made out soldiers about. I rounded a point behind which were four small English craft in a bight called Callioyheston²³, and these I captured without firing a shot. Names of these vessels:

1. The Margaret, of Aberdour, Captain William Moyes, from Nairn to Londonderry, 31 ton oatmeal; ransom, £100 sterling, with £10 for the cabin.
2. The Unity, Captain Charles Thomson, from Portsoy to Londonderry, 31 ton oat-meal; ransom, £200 sterling, and £10 sterling for the cabin.
3. The Princess Mary, Captain Snaip, of Renfrew, from Inverness to Londonderry, 10 ton oatmeal and 30 ton barley; ransom, £100 sterling, and £10 for the Captain's cabin.
4. The Lirwindiwin, Captain William Millers, laden with planking and iron, from the Baltic to; ransom, £650 sterling, and £10 for the cabin²⁴.

FRIDAY 20 (AUGUST). Lay at anchor.

SATURDAY 21 (AUGUST). Set sail from Callioyheston.

NOTE. After setting sail I no longer had in sight the narrows which I left the previous Thursday. The channel was completely blocked by high land. To see it one must be right in the fair way. At its entrance there is a rock. I found myself right abreast of a ruined Castle (still keeping mid-channel), of which there remains a small square tower, called Albermate²⁵, and below it are two rocks, jutting considerable into the open. The channel is

²²This was the Government barracks of Bernera, Glenelg. From 1722, the year of erection, till after the '45, there were commonly one or two companies quartered there: after 1745 a smaller command was deemed sufficient. (Old Statistical Account, Parish of Glenelg, written by Rev. Colin Maciver, 1795).

²³"Calligarry, Skye," is the French editor's conjecture. This is untenable. The place is the Cailleach Stone (Sgeir na Caillich), near Rhu na Caillich, where vessels frequently anchor waiting a favourable wind or tide through Kylerhea. It is interesting that the old Judicial Rent-Roll (dated 1733) of the Macdonald estate indicates a township of Collistown, which must have been near Rhu na Caillich, by all the evidence available. The traces of a deserted township are still quite visible from the sea.

Durbé left Lochnanuagh on 19th August (N.S.) for home; the "Lyon in Mourning" gives 4th August (O.S.) another discrepancy.

²⁴On 17th August (O.S.) Macleod of Macleod writes to Lord President Forbes from "Scouser on the road to Glenelg." ... "The privateer is sailed to the northward, and it is true she took three meal barks and ransomed them, and sent some of her crew with the ships, where the young Chevalier was. They took as much of the meal as they thought proper, and paid for it, and dismissed them." (Culloden Papers, 208). The "Lyon in Mourning" (1. 293) states that £60 was the ransom of the biggest ship, and that the others were in proportion. They were released on the condition that they should carry their cargo to the Prince, and sell it to him the ransom to be treble unless they could produce a certificate to this effect. Very little of this meal reached the clansmen at Glenfinnan, owing to the difficulty of transport from Lochnanuagh.

²⁵This word "Albermate" cannot at present be identified. It was probably some phonetic jumble of Durbé's but of what? See (23) and (27). The French editor suggests "Armadale Castle." This Castle did not exist in 1745. Sir Alex. Macdonald's principal residence was at Monkstadt, Duntulm having been abandoned between 1715 and 1733. When Dr Johnson and Boswell visited Skye in 1773, they found Sir Alexander (a son of the '45 Chief)

very narrow at this part, and it is much better to keep the N.E. shore than the other. When we had passed this fort, we stood N.W.: we soon got right into a wide bay, out of which we could not see our way. There are several islands inside this bay²⁶ which is formed by the Isle of Skye and the coast of Scotland. When you are well into this bay you cannot guess how on earth you are to get safely out. I now found myself off a stretch of low-lying land, with a fine white mansion, surrounded by a small wood, belonging to a Mr Albelecross²⁷, who sent out a boat to enquire whether we were taking the Pretender back with us. We sent him a letter saying that we were not, and that he ought, with all his men, to hurry up to join him.

SATURDAY 21 (AUGUST) NOON TO SUNDAY 22. I lay becalmed all the night, and was obliged to make use of my sweeps to keep steerage-way on the ship, as I had an idea that I might be able to weather the north of the island of Uist. But it was no use, for I found myself more than five leagues to leeward. It is well to take care when passing between the island of Skye and the Island of Uist not to keep the channel, for one cannot get through owing to reefs.

SUNDAY 22 (AUGUST) NOON TO MONDAY 23. We tacked about all the night, and at 6 a.m. sighted two craft standing for the sound between the two small islands²⁸ and the island of Uist²⁹. I ran up the English flag, and the two craft bore down on me. As soon as they were alongside I hoisted the white flag, and ordered their captains on board. They were Captain W. Ettring Haru, of the ship *Princesse*, of Ligne, whom I ransomed for £150 sterling, and £10 for the cabin; and Captain Jean Clampit, of the *Fontaine*, of Ligne, ransomed for £320 sterling. Sighted a brigantine coming up from the south, and passing between the two little islands and Uist.

MONDAY 23 (AUGUST) TO TUESDAY 24 at noon. Very high sea: close reefed topsails. I tacked between Uist³⁰ and the mainland of Scotland, pressing her hard till 8 a.m. The island of Uist was still in sight, and Cape Wart³¹ bore S.E., distant 4 leagues. The distance between the island of Uist and the coast of Scotland is only 12 leagues, though the charts make it much more. As we had strong headwinds we discussed matters in order to see whether we should make a passage between the Orcades. We had on board two English pilots as hostages³², and they undertook to do this, and we agreed. Note. We had not at all picked up the island of Rona, marked on the charts about 10 to 12 leagues to the north of the island of Skye. Our pilots told us that it³³ lay N.N.W. of the island of Uist, and they also said that at 8 leagues to the N.E. of Cape Faro there are two rocks very high out of the water. We sighted these³⁴.

TUESDAY 24 (AUGUST) NOON TO WEDNESDAY 25. I picked up the island of Hoy, in the Orcades, bearing E.S.E., distant 4 leagues. It is a very lofty island, lumpy and very steep on the west side. At 6 p.m. we were shaping to pass between Hoy and the island of Kiroualle³⁵, our pilot stating that the channel was clear and the anchorage good. As, however, we had a stiff breeze and a strong tide, he offered, if we liked, to get us through between the island of Hoy and the mainland in two hours' time. We all agreed to this, and stood to the S.E. to get into the channel, which is very open. We set plenty of canvas, but all we could do was to get through by midnight. We kept some small islands on the starboard hand, and when we passed them we hauled close to Cape Cailliereor

and his lady in one of their tenant's houses at Armadale. The Doctor and his companion both complain of the accommodation and reception generally. The ruined Castle described by Durbé was certainly Castle Moil, Kyleakin, and as he skirted the N.E. coast (the mainland), the two rocks, or rather rocky islands (Nah-Eileannan Dubha), would, as the result of parallax, seem to lie near the Skye shore, well below the Castle.

²⁶This is doubtless the large arm of the sea in which lie Scalpay, Longay, Pabbay, Crowlin Islands, and in the far distance Raasay and Rona, bounded on the south by the parish of Strath, Skye, and on the east and N.E. by the mainland (Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Applecross).

²⁷Applecross, surely. The Chief (Mackenzie) of the time was John, fifth Chief died "at his house in Ross-shire" (Scots Magazine) 7th May, 1774. The fourth Chief (Roderick) had repurchased the estate of Applecross (forfeited for his father's share in the '15) from the Commissioners of Enquiry in 1724. The Applecross Chief was not out in the '45.

²⁸Shiant Islands, off S.E. of Lewis.

²⁹Lewis. Durbé, who relies almost entirely on his pilots, continues to show a very confused acquaintance with the coast here. He confounds Uist and Lewis in later entries.

³⁰Of course, Lewis.

³¹Cape Wrath. "Cape Faro," probably For-out or Farrid Head.

³²For the merchantmen ransomed.

³³This is North Rona, about 40 miles N.W. of Cape Wrath and 57 miles N.E. of Lewis. Durbé confuses the two Ronas.

³⁴Stack Skerry.

³⁵Pomona, the island on which Kirkwall is.

Rongisby³⁶, on the mainland. At midnight I set a course to the east: at 5 a.m. I sighted a fleet of several herring fishing craft, along with two Dutch men-of-war. I kept them company till noon.

WEDNESDAY 25 (AUGUST) NOON TO THURSDAY 26. Sighted a brig flying the Danish flag steering west. At daybreak sighted a big ship, which gave us chase, and began to gain on us.

THURSDAY 26 (AUGUST) NOON TO FRIDAY 27. This ship continued to follow us: at 8 p.m. it fell flat calm: I had eight sweeps rigged out: at 10 o'clock a breeze sprung up: I ordered the sweeps to be taken in, and sailed as close to the wind as she would lie, her head being S.S.W.

FRIDAY 27 (AUGUST) NOON TO SATURDAY 28. A strong gale with very heavy sea: we shifted course several times, under reefed topsails and main course, and shipped some heavy seas.

SATURDAY 28 (AUGUST) NOON TO SUNDAY 29. A full gale.

SUNDAY 29 (AUGUST) NOON TO MONDAY 30. Sighted a lugger close-reefed and lying to. On the Dogger Bank the water appeared very clear and green.

WEDNESDAY (FIRST SEPTEMBER) TO THURSDAY 2. Picked up the light of the Tower of Vly³⁷. I kept tacking all night, and at daybreak I stood for the land. A pilot boarded me. At this time I was flying the English flag, and so the pilot directed me to steer for the sound of Vly. At 11 o'clock I got into the roads, and found there six vessels belonging to the Dutch Company³⁸ and one of the English Company. The pilot wished to make me come to anchor, but I refused, and he brought me in one tide up to within eight leagues of Amsterdam.

FRIDAY 3 (SEPTEMBER). At 4 a.m. I weighed and set sail. I only managed to get as far as the Pampus³⁹, 4 leagues from Amsterdam. M. Walsh had got into the cutter with the chaplain, and went off to Amsterdam, where they took a coach that very day for the journey to France.

On SATURDAY 4 (SEPTEMBER), as the wind was contrary, I went off to Amsterdam to see my correspondent, who informed me that I was in a bad mess, and that my ship had been confiscated. Accordingly, I went to the Town House⁴⁰ to make a declaration that I was on my way from France, and that I merely put into this harbour. I was asked why I had not made any declaration at Vly. I said I did not know the usage, that my pilot wished me to let go anchor, but that I was so afraid of a large English ship lying there that I carried on.

SATURDAY 4 (SEPTEMBER) TO 15. We got orders from M. Walsh to dismantle, and pay off the ship. But to do so the hostages⁴¹ I had on board gave me a lot of concern, as I did not wish to lose them; so I chartered a local craft to take my crew and carry them as far as l'Écluse⁴², about 3 leagues from Bruges. With them I sent my hostages as if they were part of the crew. The thing turned out capitally, and no one was a bit the wiser.

The 16 (SEPTEMBER). A Dutch captain and crew were sent to me on board, and they hoisted their own country's flag. My correspondent had given over the sale of the ship to a merchant of the place, and the ship entered the port as Dutch. Otherwise she would have been arrested for the voyage she had made.

[LOG ENDS.]

In taking leave of Durbé, one must confess that his whole record, as contained in the foregoing autograph journal, reveals a rattling sailor, of whom the mercantile or naval traditions of any country might be proud. Anthony Walsh certainly would never have entrusted him with the momentous responsibility of carrying the young Prince to Scotland, over a most perilous track, without being satisfied in this delegation that Durbé was a careful navigator and a daring and resolute seaman. Durbé's privateering exploits in the narrow waters on his way home, and especially his almost reckless disregard of precaution in lying at anchor for a whole day at the Caileach Stone, strike the imagination very forcibly. He probably got home to France about the time of Prestonpans or "Gladsmuir" (Sliabh 'Chlamhuinn).

"Bidh diuil ri fear-fairge, ach cha bhi duil ri fear-reilge." [The translator has to own obligation to Sir Evan Macgregor, K.C.B., Secretary, British Admiralty, for revision of the rendering of several obsolete and difficult naval and nautical expressions in the original: to the Maire of Belle-Isle-en-Mer for guidance in an obscure part of the text: to Ronald Macdonald, Esq., solicitor, Portree, for topographical and contemporary historical information relating to Skye and the adjacent mainland; and to Rev. Allan Macdonald, Eriskay, for some useful local notes.]

³⁶Duncansbay Head.

³⁷On the island of Vlieland, at the entrance to the Zuider Zee.Holland.

³⁸East Indian.

³⁹The outer roadstead or basin of Amsterdam.

⁴⁰In the text, "Maison de Ville." (Town Hall)

⁴¹The English and other prisoners, hostages for the prize merchant-men, which had been partly manned by some of the crew of the Dutillet.

⁴²Sluis, Holland.