

A JACOBITE  
MISCELLANY

EIGHT ORIGINAL PAPERS ON  
THE RISING OF 1745-1746

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY  
HENRIETTA TAYLER, F.R. HIST. SOC.

OXFORD

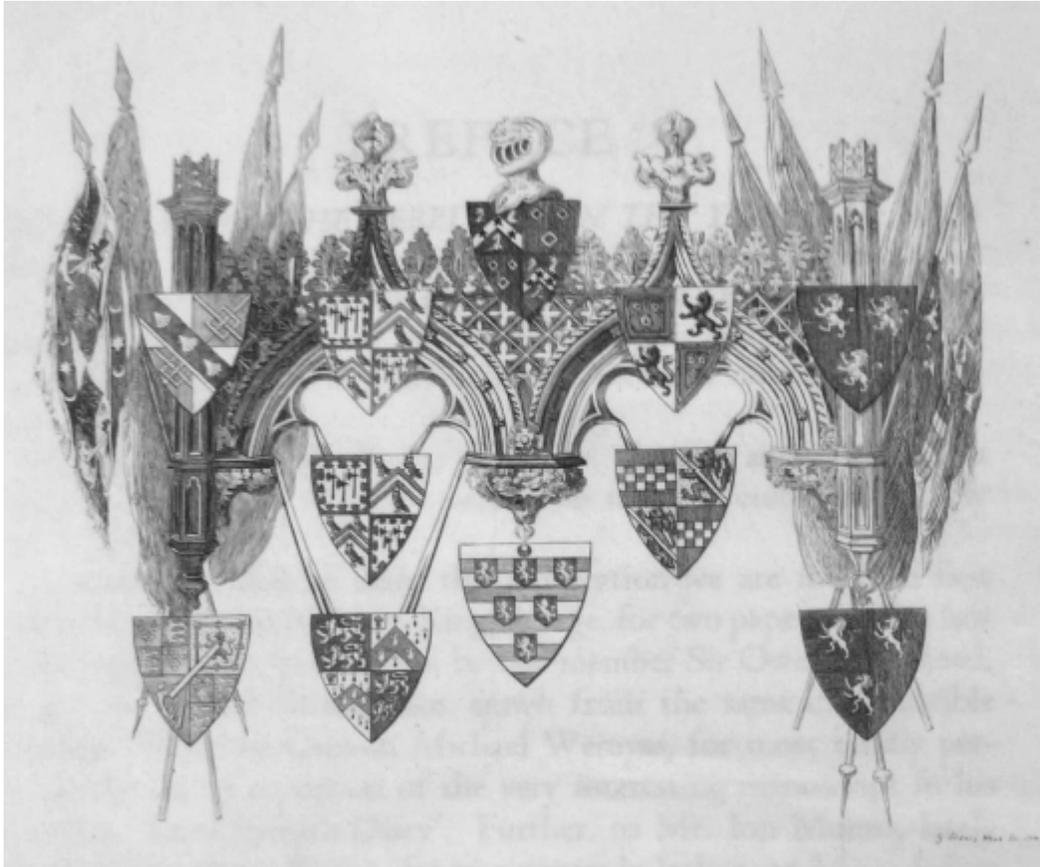
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MCMXLVIII



*Prince Charles Edward*  
*From a drawing by Giles Hussey*  
*In the possession of the Earl of Argyll*



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August 1948

## 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 209<sup>th</sup> in our series, would never have seen the light.

ILCHESTER

## INTRODUCTION

**I**N 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,<sup>1</sup>

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 4<sup>th</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> and was by Cope forwarded to the Marquis of Tweeddale in London. In dispatching this news to London on 9<sup>th</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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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**I.**  
**MEMORIA ISTORICA PER L'ANNO 1744**

## Memoria Istorica per l'anno 1744

**T**he first item in this Jacobite Miscellany comes from a printed source—a very rare contemporary pamphlet, printed in Italy, of which there is one copy in the British Museum, *and* the one here used. No others are known though of course they must have existed. This one was lent to the present editor by Ion S. Munro, who lived for many years in Rome as a journalist and as Press Attaché at the British Embassy there. It was, along with the fourth item of this Miscellany, obtained by him under somewhat romantic circumstances. During his long residence in Rome, Munro became deeply interested in the traces and relics still to be found there of the Jacobite court, where James Francis Edward Stuart (known to his supporters as King James III and VIII of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and to the government in England as the 'Old Pretender') lived and plotted for nearly fifty years.

Ion Munro left the Eternal City with all the other British officials when Italy declared war in June 1940, but, as a soldier, he had the satisfaction of re-entering Rome with the Allied Forces on its deliverance in June 1944. He writes:

It so happened that the chances of war took me back into Rome with the liberating troops on June 4. When my immediate military duties had been completed, I found myself opposite one of my former favourite bookshops in the Via Rasella. The bookseller was an old friend who, in happier days, had found several rare Jacobite documents, prints and touch-pieces for my growing collection. The Via Rosella had been the scene of reprisal atrocities under the German occupation. Fearful lest my humble friend had been one of the many innocent victims of indiscriminate Nazi vengeance, I peered through the dusty window, and rejoiced to see him safe and sound among his books. I entered the shop and paused for an expected Latin cry of recognition, welcome and thanksgiving. Instead, he merely raised his eyes and said, as if I had left him yesterday, with no intervening years of war and terror—'Ho qualche cosa per te'—'I have something for you'. With that he reached below his desk, and quietly handed me these two rare pamphlets. (Nos. I and IV of this Miscellany.)

It is extremely interesting to compare the first-hand narrative of the escape of Prince Charles Edward from Rome to Paris in January

1744 which forms the subject of No. I, with other accounts of the same episode, as used by the Prince's biographers.

The best account known of the escape, besides the present pamphlet (and that used by Andrew Lang—which will be alluded to later), is that of the Jesuit Padre Cordara, whose work, written in Latin in 1751, was subsequently translated into Italian in 1802 and in 1815, and printed in the latter year. In 1926 an English translation, made by Mr. Collison-Morley, was edited by Sir Bruce Seton for the Scottish History Society. Padre Giulio Cesare Cordara was educated in the Jesuit College in Rome, and after being a teacher of rhetoric in various provincial universities, returned to Rome in 1740 and wrote the history of his Order. He was on intimate terms with the exiled Stuart family and it was at the request of the Cardinal—Henry, Duke of York—that in 1751 he undertook the compilation of the history of Prince Charles's expedition to Scotland. The earlier portion is written in a most conversational style and, of course, the actual dialogues—compiled six years later and chiefly from information supplied by Prince Henry—cannot be taken as authentic, only as giving the spirit of what was said, as it had survived in the memory of Henry, who, moreover, was not present at all the interviews chronicled.

Padre Cordara, like many French and Italian writers, always alluded to Charles as Prince Edward. (Dunbar, in the pamphlet we are printing, never calls him anything but *il Principe de Galles* or *Sua Altezza Reale*.)

The greatest defect of Cordara's account is that in glorifying the chief actor, he minimizes the part played by his faithful friends and supporters. This remarkable sentence occurs: 'Had our Edward's luck been equal to his courage and had his expedition been crowned with success in the field, he would have been looked upon as a matchless hero, and celebrated by all nations as a prodigy of his age', and further goes on to praise 'his steadfast and imperturbable constancy in misfortune and adversity. Neither his friends nor his troops have any share in this quality'. No statement could be more unfair, when remembering all those devoted Highlanders who risked, and in many cases lost, their all and life itself for the sake of 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'.

Charles's parting speech to his father, as reported by Henry (who did not hear it) and written down by Cordara six years after the escape, reads oddly in the light of his feeling towards Henry after the latter became a Churchman. He is reported to have said: 'In my brother Henry you will find no small comfort and a son certainly better than I am. By his presence you will be able to console yourself till a better fortune brings us together.' And it must be remembered that after 9 January, 1744, Charles never saw his father again—nor made any attempt to do so.

Cordara's is the only account that correctly gives the Prince's companion in his flight as Sheridan and not Murray. This fact, perfectly established by the pamphlet under consideration, receives further (and cast-iron) support from a letter now among the Stuart papers at Windsor, written by Sheridan from Cisterna to Edgar in Rome, stating that at the same time he is writing to Lord Dunbar, also in Rome. This letter will be quoted in its proper place. Extracts from other letters from the Prince at different stages of the journey have already been printed.

Cordara mentions only one person with the Prince at Massa, and was probably thinking of Graeme who was apparently sent on ahead to meet him there. François Vivier travelled with him. Long afterwards, King James wrote that 'something should be done for François for his devotion on this occasion'. It was presumably he and Graeme who were so 'rendu' after the Prince's breathless dash from Antibes to Paris, without sleeping or undressing. Charles wrote to his father that, had the journey lasted any longer, these two devoted attendants would have had to be tied to their seats in the chaise!

Another error is that Cordara make eleven days elapse from the Prince's secret departure from Rome until the news was known there, but it was on 19 January that Dunbar was sent to announce the fact to the Pope, ten days from the start on the early morning of 9 January. Charles reached Paris on the 20<sup>th</sup>. The speech put by Cordara (or Prince Henry for him) into the mouth of the Pope, Benedict XIV, when he heard the news, is, of course, apocryphal.

Raising his eyes to heaven he exclaimed: 'I shall indeed be able to consider myself blessed, if, amid all the disasters that have so long afflicted the Church, God gives me the consolation of seeing the

Stuart family restored to its throne, a family so truly Catholic, which has done so much for the Catholic religion. Were this come to pass, I should have nothing else to live for.'

After the news was known in Rome it was at once dispatched to London, via Horace Mann in Florence, who received it from his industrious spy, Walton (Stosch).

On 25 January 'Secret instructions' were sent to London.

A paper in the Grantham papers, Cox's collection, is quoted by Lord Stanhope in vol. iii of his *History* (appendix). This account makes Dunbar the Prince's companion as far as Albano, but being only from hearsay it is incorrect in several particulars.

It has of course been frequently quoted by subsequent writers as an authority. In the State Papers of Tuscany are to be found all the reports of Walton (Stosch) who spied for Horace Mann.

He discovered the Prince's departure some days *after* it had occurred, and, wise after the event, said that an imminent departure for Scotland was presaged by the appearance of Prince Charles at a ball in Rome in a kilt, sent him as a present by the Duke of Perth. This, probably, had nothing whatever to do with it. The Prince and his brother wore their kilts with great satisfaction as a kind of beautiful fancy dress. The Prince never wore it in Scotland till he was a fugitive in the heather. Walton also reported the Prince (whom he had apparently never seen) as having blue eyes, whereas in fact they were brown!

Of the pamphlet used by Andrew Lang for his account of the Prince's dash from Rome to Paris, there are copies in several Public Libraries and private collections. It is entitled *An Authentic Account of the intended Invasion by the Chevalier's Son*, and further contains

**His Majesty's message to both Houses of Parliament on that occasion. The Principal addresses and papers published at home and abroad as also**

**The vigorous measures taken by the Government to destroy the design, by suppressing any insurrections by Papists, with the declaration they are obliged to sign, and the oaths they are to take or retire ten miles from London.**

London

Sold by M. Cooper in Paternoster Row

1744

price one shilling.

In this pamphlet are to be found the errors into which Andrew Lang fell in his *Life of Charles Edward*, which every biographer, writing since, has copied. There are errors in dates. For instance, this pamphlet says that the news was only sent to the Pope that Charles had left Rome for Paris on 8 February, whereas it is known, as already stated, that it was announced on 19 January, ten days after the Prince's departure and the day before he reached Paris, 20 January. But the chief error is in the identity of the Prince's companion in his early morning start for his nominal shooting expedition. This pamphlet says that he was accompanied by his 'Governor', and Lang jumped to the conclusion that Lord Dunbar was meant, and he himself used the *name* Dunbar in which he has been followed by all subsequent writers. It is true that twenty years before, King James had appointed James Murray to be tutor and governor to his little son—subsequently creating him Earl of Dunbar, and at the same time appointed Sir Thomas Sheridan, a left-handed nephew of his own<sup>1</sup> and a Roman Catholic, to be under-governor. (Murray was a Protestant.) But when the Prince grew to man's estate, he was emancipated from governors, though he subsequently appointed Sheridan, of whom he was personally very fond, as governor of his household.

It was thus Sheridan and not Dunbar who shared the early morning start in the dark and was in the coach with Charles rode off on a different route, and who further remained at Cisterna, writing letters to Rome as if the Prince were there. All this is abundantly

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 12.

clear from the Italian pamphlet we are now printing, which consists of two letters from Dunbar in Rome to an unknown correspondent, from whose hands they made an unauthorized appearance in print.

But such was Lang's prestige, that even such a good Jacobite scholar as Sir Bruce Seton, in editing Padre Cordara's account of the Prince's expedition, apologizes for Cordara's error in making Sheridan and not Dunbar the Prince's companion. Seton had obviously not seen the original pamphlet, used by Lang, in which no *name* is given, though copies exist both in Edinburgh and London.<sup>1</sup>

The two letters are, as stated, from James Murray of Stormont, created Lord Dunbar by the King in exile, a man who figured very largely in the whole history both of James Stuart and his son, Charles Edward. They chronicle in great detail a comparatively little-known part of the immortal story of the latter's expedition to Scotland, and are in themselves of historical value.

For those interested in the man James Dunbar, the following details are worth recording. During the time that the disillusioned Prince was waiting in Paris for the French promises to be fulfilled, in 1744-5, he never seems to have desired the company of Dunbar. He asked to have Sir Thomas Sheridan, a veteran of 70, sent to join him and this was done. (He further added to his household there John O'Sullivan,<sup>2</sup> John Macdonald,<sup>3</sup> and Francis Strickland.<sup>4</sup>) George Kelly, Lord Tullibardine, and Aeneas Macdonald he found ready to his hand in Paris, these were the Seven men of Moidart who landed with him at Eriskay, and later at Borrodale in Arisaig.

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<sup>1</sup> Another curious instance of how errors started by Lang persist is this.

In *Pickle the Spy*, written before he wrote the *Life of Prince Charles*, Andrew Lang quotes Walton (Stosch) the Spy as reporting that during his brief residence in Avignon in 1748-9, the Prince had tried to introduce 'boxing' into Avignon and that the City Fathers had refused to allow it. Walton was, of course, only writing from hearsay, but Lang quotes him and most writers on the subject since then, have quoted Lang. The actual fact, as proved by the contemporary accounts still available in the archives of Avignon, is that it was not boxing Charles wished to introduce, but the Corredo or light-hearted type of bull-fight, so popular in the neighbouring city of Arles. In this, the men were on foot, it was mostly a test of skill and agility—there was no cruelty and comparatively little danger, but the introduction of the sport was forbidden 'lest any one should get hurt', and shooting tests substituted.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 39.

Never in after life does Charles seem to have written to his former tutor, at least no letters have survived among the thousands in the Stuart papers at Windsor. He saw him again in 1748 when he himself was ignominiously turned out of Paris, after the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, and appeared as a fugitive very early one morning by Dunbar's bedside at Avignon. John Hay and his wife (Lord and Lady Inverness) had voluntarily retired there, hoping to placate Queen Clementina. John Hay had died there in 1740, and Dunbar had joined his widowed sister not long after the Prince's departure, having fallen out of favour with the King. There they both lived till long after the death of King James, cultivating their health and their vines, seeing such British travellers as visited Avignon (even James Boswell), and writing innumerable letters to Edgar, with nothing in them. It is curious to think, remembering the earlier storms over their Protestantism, that both the Hays and Lord Dunbar died in the bosom of the Roman Church. The only person who seems to have concerned himself in the matter was the fiery Bishop Atterbury, who felt *he* ought to have been consulted.

To deal first with James Dunbar.<sup>1</sup> He was the second son of the fifth Viscount Stormont, a somewhat hesitating Jacobite of Perthshire, who was summoned before the Committee of Estates in 1689 and 'cited as a delinquent', for having given a dinner to John Graham of Claverhouse (Bonnie Dundee). He pleaded that the dinner was 'forced from him'. In 1715, he and his eldest son, David, voluntarily gave themselves up and were imprisoned as Jacobites. Another son of this large family, William, fifteen years younger than James, went to London and became, long afterwards, the famous Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice of England. It will be remembered that he incurred much odium for his supposed sympathies with Roman Catholics.

James began life by being called to the Scots Bar as an advocate in 1710, when only 20. He does not seem to have practised and in 1711 was elected member for Dumfries in the Parliament for Great Britain, and went to live in London. Two years later he became member for the Elgin boroughs and received a small government appointment, necessitating a re-election. In 1715 he was unseated on petition, through no fault of his own, but, in disgust, he went abroad in April of that year and at once joined the Stuart Cause by

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<sup>1</sup> Actually James Murray.

becoming Secretary to Bolingbroke. He was an able man, though curiously unstable. Bolingbroke, being at that time King James's Minister of State, Murray was involved in all the plans for the 1715 Rising. He was sent, in September of that year, to Scotland, carrying King James's commission to the Earl of Mar to raise his standard. As is well known, Mar had done this before any communication arrived, and Murray in no way distinguished himself in Scotland; he was no soldier. He was sent back to France with news of the battle of Sheriffmuir and on his return to England, in April 1716, was imprisoned in Newgate till 16 July. He then joined his master again at Avignon, where he appears in the lists of 500 Scots who made up the shadow court there. With him was his sister Marcelle or Marjory, married to King James's stalwart henchman, John Hay of Kinnoul. Mrs. Hay, afterwards Lady Inverness, was (with her brother and husband) much involved in all the intrigues and quarrels that occupied and disturbed the Stuart family in exile for many years to come. She was at one time the favourite, at another the bugbear of the hysterical Polish Princess who became James Stuart's Queen Clementina. Completely unfounded accusations against her even disfigure the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography* to this day.

When, at the strong representations of the British Government, the Pope and the French ministers between them forced poor James Stuart to leave Avignon and cross the Alps in the bitter February of 1718. Murray accompanied him and was altogether less disgusted with the life at their new home at Urbino than was the Earl, now Duke, of Mar, who wrote to various correspondents in Scotland complaining of the weather, the remoteness, the food, the fireplaces, and the general discomfort, dullness, and monotony. 'One day is as like another as 2 eggs and those eaten without salt!' He did not apparently consider that but for his timely escape from Montrose, he would have shared the fate of Kenmure and Derwentwater.

Murray, younger and more lighthearted, and not having a wife and children at home to worry over, seems to have adapted himself better to all circumstances and remained cheerful, so that the melancholy King grew more and more to lean upon him. Then at length the King induced the Pope to allow him to move his residence to Rome where nearly the whole of the rest of his life was spent. Meanwhile, the question of his marriage became urgent, and

Murray, as a trusted agent, was despatched to Ohlau to make the preliminary arrangements with Prince James Sobieski for the hand of his third and youngest daughter. This he did quite satisfactorily and returned to Rome in July 1718. Had he not fallen ill, he would have been despatched again to fetch the bride, but this task fell to his brother-in-law, John Hay, and after the imprisonment of Clementina, her escape was engineered by the incomparable Cavalier, Charles Wogan, a task which probably neither of the others would have been able to accomplish. When the Princess did finally reach Bologna, her bridegroom was away in Spain, hoping forlornly for the success of yet another expedition to Scotland. This one was planned by Cardinal Alberoni, and was, in the end, an even more ignominious failure than that of 1715. Few, except ardent Jacobite enthusiasts, know much of the Jacobite attempt of 1715, which ended at Glenshiel on 10 June in defeat and surrender.

In consequence of James Stuart's absence, the wedding at Bologna had to be performed by proxy, and James Murray had been chosen by the King to represent himself and to make all the subsequent arrangements for the comfort of the young Queen. Study of the letters of the period reveals him as a bumptious young man (he was 28) dressed in a little brief authority, trying to keep at arm's length all the other Jacobite lords and ladies save himself and his sister (the latter's husband, John Hay, being with his master in Spain). Discontent raged in the little court, first at Bologna and then at Rome, and only slowly died down after the return of the King and the real marriage at Montefiascone. Clementina never liked Dunbar, though she insisted on having Mrs. Hay (and no one else) to attend her at the birth of her first child, Prince Charles,<sup>1</sup> and only subsequently turned against her. When in 1725 James Murray, Lord Dunbar, was appointed tutor to the little Prince, the Queen was furious (chiefly because he was a Protestant) and her long estrangement from her husband may be said to have begun from this date. Sir Thomas Sheridan, a Roman Catholic, was appointed as under-tutor, but the two together do not seem to have made a very good job of the Prince's actual education, to judge from his writing and spelling. Both accompanied him when he went, at the age of 13, on a ten days' campaign to the siege of Gaeta, under the admiring care of his cousin, the second Duke of Berwick. This was his first and only taste of war before Prestonpans. Dunbar wrote

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<sup>1</sup> A letter from Mrs. Hay, deprecating the responsibility, exists at Windsor.

paean of praise of his behaviour there to his father at Rome. When Charles grew older and was sent travelling round the minor courts of Italy, Dunbar always accompanied him though at times the Prince was very restive in his company and more than rude to him. In January 1744, the date of the adventures detailed in this pamphlet, the Prince, at 23, was quite emancipated from Dunbar's tutelage but found him a useful conspirator.

The secret journey to France was undertaken in response to a definite invitation from the French government to come to Paris and concert measures for an expedition against their joint enemy, George of Hanover. Many English historians have seen in this invitation only the hand of Cardinal Tencin, (who owed his red hat to the good offices of James Stuart with the Pope) but the researches of Captain Colin among the state papers of the Quai d'Orsay seem to show that the project, which had been dear to the heart of Cardinal Fleury, was entirely taken over after his death by Amelot. Anyone who has ever worked in the historical department of the Quai d'Orsay knows the vast mass of material entitled 'fonds Stuart', but it was not until the publication of Colin's book<sup>1</sup> that the magnitude of the preparations for an expedition to England were revealed. Actually, without the definite invitation from France for Prince Charles Edward to come and head a French invasion of his father's kingdom from French shores, there would in all probability have been no Rising of the Forty-five, for it would have been impossible for him to have planned and carried out anything of the sort from Rome, and the intrigues of Sempill and Balhaldy in Paris, founded largely upon their own too optimistic views of the spirit prevailing in Great Britain, would never have come to anything. It is significant that neither of them had anything to do with the actual expedition when it occurred. The Prince never trusted them, and kept his own preparations carefully concealed from them.

The escape from Rome was in itself an excellent piece of organization, and has scarcely received due attention in the innumerable books on the life and times of Prince Charles.

The contents of the pamphlet are in the form of two letters from Lord Dunbar to a *Personaggio* who had obviously written him a flattering letter, comparing him to Diodorus who had contrived the

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<sup>1</sup> [Louis XV et les Jacobites](#), Paris: Librairie Militaire, 1901.

escape of Demetrius.<sup>1</sup> The identity of the *Personaggio* is unknown, but he must have been a man of some standing and culture. The letters seem to have been stolen or ‘borrowed’ from him, for the first page of the pamphlet contains a very naïve address from:

‘The Printer to the reader’

(‘Lo stampatore a chi legge’)

in which he states that in order to satisfy the universal interest in this important event, he has abused the confidence placed in him, and is giving these documents to the public.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This Prince of Syria, son of Seleucus IV, had escaped likewise from Rome, on a similar quest to that of Prince Charles, about 170 B.C. (as related by Polybius). The parallel, which he elaborates in great detail, after giving the text of Dunbar’s letter, is not really very exact and is chiefly interesting to modern readers and to Jacobite historians as having formed the excuse for the production of the present pamphlet and preserved for us the actual words of Dunbar.

<sup>2</sup> The printer did not apparently correct Dunbar’s Italian spelling—which was never that of a native. From the masses of his letters preserved at Windsor, it can be seen that in handwriting and English spelling he was greatly superior to most of his contemporaries.

# Riposta di Milord Dumbar

in data de' 23. Gennajo 1744

**I**L Re mio Signore è stato ben sensibile nel leggere i fogli comunicatimi da V.E. Vi ha egli ritrovato molta rassomiglianza fra l'evasione del Principe di Galles suo Figlio, e quella di Demetrio, la di cui avventura è stata opportunamente suggerita dalla vasta conosciuta erudizione di V.E. Non poteva Ella in miglior tempo far uso del dono della rara memoria, di cui è fornita, per eccetare tutta la paterna tenerezza di S.M., e per accrescerle le prove de' suoi antichi ereditari sentimenti verso la di lui Real Persona e Famiglia. Mi ha perciò espressamente comandato di attestarlene il suo più vivo particolar gradimento.

Quanto al parallelo troppo vantaggioso tra la mia persona, e quella di Diodoro, avrei di che lusingare il mio amor proprio, se lo conoscessi così giusto, e da me meritato, come lo confesso sommamente obbligante. Non avendo altro modo di corrispondere all'onore, col quale V.E. mi ha distinto, mi adulo di soddisfare in parte alle mie obbligazioni col comunicarle minutamente in dettaglio, i principj, le risorte e dirò la chiave per l'esatta informazione di un'avvenimento, che non può non essers interessante a tutto il Mondo, anche ai meno curiosi, e soprattutto a V.E.

S.A.R. il Principe di Galles dalla sua più tenera età nudri spiriti degni della sua nascita, pieno di nobile ardore per la gloria, tutto si diede a quei studj ed a quelli esercizj che dovevano appianargliene il camino. Nell'assedio di Gaeta dell'anno 1734. diretto dal Duca di Bervvick parve che all'adolscenza del Principe si aprisse una scuola per apprendere i primi rudimenti dell'arte militare. Ottene dal Re suo Padre la permissione di approfittare di tale opportunità, e vi si distinse nella sua infaticabile sollecitudine in nulla omettere che potesse istruirlo, soddisfare al suo genio e conciliarsi la pubblica stima.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> (*Duke of Liria to King James*) Camp before Gaeta, the 18<sup>th</sup> June 1734.  
[About Prince Charles joining his camp. (see previous page.)]

Sir,

# Letter from Lord Dunbar

23 January 1744

[to the *Personaggio*]

**T**HE King my master was much touched in reading your Excellency's letter. He noted much similitude between the escape of the Prince of Wales, his son, and that of Demetrius, whose adventures opportunely occur to the well-known erudition of your Excellency.

The wonderful memory with which your Excellency is endowed could not have been better employed than in stimulating the paternal tenderness of his Majesty and in redoubling the proofs of your Excellency's ancient hereditary sentiments towards the Royal Person and family. He therefore expressly commands me to convey to you his lively and particular satisfaction.

As to the too flattering comparison between myself and Diodorus, it would indeed stimulate my pride, if I could believe it as true and well-merited as it is charming. I have no other way of acknowledging the honour your Excellency has done me, and satisfying in part my obligation, than by communicating to you in

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As I suppose the bishop of Cordova will soon have an answer from court about his Royal Highness, I take the liberty to represent to your Majesty that if you should think it proper to send him to the siege of Gaeta your Majesty is in time. I do not reckon that we can be able to open the trench before the 10<sup>th</sup> of next month and this siege will be very worth seeing. The King of Naples do's not come to it, so that this inconveniency is removed and the Prince can come from Rome hither in one day. As soone as Montemar comes here, I shall speake to him of it and the prince, if he comes will be lodged in a wholsom house where there is no danger of the intemperie and where in the night time he will have all the diversions of seeing both syds. I beg your Majesty will lett me know your pleasure in this head and be always persuaded of the particular care that I shall take of the prince's person.

I have not as yet one piece of canon, but I expect it every day. All the ingeniers are arrived and Count de Montemar is to be here in a few days. I have represented to him that it is useless to send any other Lieftenan-General but my Self. I do not yet know what he will resolve upon the matter.

I am with uttmost respect

Sir

Your Majestys

most humble and most obedient servant  
and most dutifull and faithfull subject

VERAGNA AND LIRIA

His father had been killed six days before this date, so he was in fact then Duke of Berwick, though he did not yet know it. On August 6 he signs "Berwick".

minute detail the beginnings, the springs, and so to speak the key, to make entirely clear to you an event which must be interesting to all the world, even the least curious, and above all to your Excellency.

H.R.H. has from his earliest years had a spirit worthy of his birth, full of noble ardour for glory and always devoted to those studies and exercises which would help him towards his desired end. In the expedition to Gaeta in the year 1734, under the direction of the Duke of Berwick, there opened to the Prince's youth a chance to learn the first rudiments of Military Art. He obtained from his father the permission to profit by this opportunity and distinguished himself by his indefatigable solicitude in omitting nothing that could instruct and satisfy his ambitions or raise him in public esteem.<sup>1</sup> When the present revolutions in Europe began, all his thoughts were fixed on the possibility of distinguishing himself in some campaign. His father agreed willingly and the Prince continued to press him till finally the French King also concurred and sent to inform him of this an English gentleman who arrived in Rome on 17 December.<sup>2</sup> With him there was another Englishman who never having been in Italy and therefore unknown, was

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<sup>1</sup> Dunbar here draws a veil over his own difficulties in managing a high-spirited boy of thirteen who was having his first taste of camp-life and his first sight of fighting. The Prince was actually in the charge of his own first cousin, the second Duke of Berwick, who had admired him so much as a child of six years old and envied him his health and strength.

The first Duke of Berwick, James Fitzjames, son of King James II and Arabella Churchill, born 1670, had just died. A letter among the Stuart papers gives the details of his end.

'Devant Philipsbourg, le 12 Juin 1734—

Aujourd'huy a huit-heures et demie, matin,

Monsieur le Maréchal Duc de Berwick a eu la teste emportée d'un boulet de canon.'

King James condoled with his nephew on June 28. Berwick was one of the finest military commanders of that great military age and distinguished himself at the battle of Almanza, 25 April 1707, where, in command of a French and Spanish army, he totally defeated the English, Dutch, and Portuguese commanded by a Frenchman, the Earl of Galway!

His son, second Duke, was a gentle creature very dear to his uncle by the half-blood, King James II, and devoted to Prince Charles. He died in 1758 at the early age of 42, having a son from whom is descended the present Duke of Alford and Berwick.

The second Duke was in command of the Spanish forces besieging Gaeta on behalf of the second son of the Spanish King called the King of Naples.

The following letter from the Stuart papers in Windsor comes in opportunely here.

<sup>2</sup> William Drummond, see p. 14.

considered suitable to be useful to the Prince on his journey.<sup>1</sup> He carried an English passport, to serve for the safety of the Prince.

In all the arrangements for the projected escape, the Prince depended entirely on his father's prudence, which tempered the vivacity of the son and regulated his movements. The King realized the difficulties much more fully than the Prince. The various vicissitudes of the war; the restrictions imposed by the plague, from which the farthest parts of the kingdom of Naples are never free; the great number of all sorts of vessels which traverse the Mediterranean; Rome itself infinitely inquisitive and everlastingly talkative, and other things, opposed formidable obstacles to his journey. The Prince alone refused to be daunted and was ready to undertake it at any risk.

H.R.H. by his own nature and brought up in the school of his noble father was capable of the utmost secrecy. Since he was 10 years old, his Majesty had admitted him to full confidence and with orders not to reveal anything to anyone. Which orders the Prince minutely observed, even with regard to me and to Mr. Sheridan his sub-governor,<sup>2</sup> although we were most intimate with him.

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<sup>1</sup> Duncan Buchanan, clerk to Aeneas Macdonald.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Sheridan is a figure well known to every student of the life of Prince Charles Edward, but it is not often realized what a very old man he was when he undertook to share in the Prince's expedition. As he is known to have taken part in the battle of the Boyne, 1689, when the Prince's father was a baby, he must have been at least 15, some biographers say 16, at that date, which would make him about 70 when the project of the journey to France was mooted and he took such an important part in the escape from Rome. He was also in poor health, had already had one stroke, and suffered from asthma. One cannot therefore but have some sympathy with Lord George Murray and the other Highland chieftains, who felt that the pace of the campaign of 1745-6 was sometimes set to suit the Prince's sexagenarian and septegenarian circle. As Lord George wrote in his bitter letter after Culloden—'We had to be undone for their ease'.

Sir Thomas's father, also Sir Thomas, had long been a faithful follower of King James II. His wife was known to be of semi-royal blood, and tradition in the Sheridan family (communicated to the present editor, makes her to have been Helène, eldest daughter of King James II and Ann Hyde, born before wedlock, and brought up in a convent in Holland where she was known as the 'Princess Helène' until her marriage. She was thus elder full sister to Queen Mary and Anne, and half-sister to James Francis the Old Chevalier, while Sir Thomas Sheridan, the Prince's tutor, was his own first cousin, though more than a generation older—he had been a page at St. Germain's when the Prince's father was brought there in 1689.

Letters from Sir Thomas Sheridan exist in great numbers among the Stuart papers at Windsor. They reveal a kindly if not very strong character. He was

For several years the Prince had been in the habit of going to shoot at Cisterna, always a few days after the Epiphany, which gave him the chance of disappearing from the eyes of Rome without arousing the least suspicion. Thus 9 January was fixed for the departure, and it was necessary that he should start with one companion as a traveller accompanying a courier. The Prince suggested for this employment one of his grooms named François Vivier, native of Tours in Touraine saying that he seems to be a hardy fellow, ready and experienced and one who would be no trouble on a journey. He was indeed most suitable, since he had always been selected to accompany the Prince on horseback, was known to be trustworthy, and had been several years at court. He spoke several languages and had feelings of honour superior to his rank, having for some years been in the French cavalry.

The Prince told the gentleman-in-waiting, Francis Strickland, to summon the groom and confided in him that he was about to undertake a secret journey and had chosen him for this service. That he was to provide himself quietly with clothes which were not livery and everything which he would need for the journey. This he did with prudence and secrecy.

How admirable was the coolness with which the Prince carried out the preparations for his journey, always apparently as if it was only concerned with shooting at Cisterna, but not neglecting to arrange them as he usually did. His greatest difficulty was to curb in

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enlessly good to two elderly sisters and to his nephew Michael, who comes into the Prince's story in 1745.

He does not seem to have been a great success as an educator of the young Prince, but was personally devoted to him, perhaps too much so, as he invariably supported the latter's opinion in the Council of the Army, of which, though not a soldier, he always formed a part.

After Culloden, the Prince, who had always been very careful of the old tutor, refused to allow him to share his own wild dash to the outer Hebrides. He left Sheridan when he rode off from Gortuleg, and the latter with others found their way to Loch Namuamh and were carried safely to France in one of the ships which brought and landed the Loch Arkaig treasures, which the Prince missed. After his return to Paris, Sheridan was summoned to Rome by King James who is said to have reproached him for leaving the Prince, though it was at the express orders of the latter. Shortly after this, and without seeing the Prince again, the old man had another stroke and died in Rome, 23 Nov. 1746.

If he was of no particular use to Prince Charles during the campaign in Scotland, it must be noted that no quarrels between him and the Scots are recorded by any writer of weight. The dispute between him and Elcho noted in Item IV (the second Italian M.S. in this Miscellany) is almost certainly apocryphal, since Elcho is known to have left the Prince on the field of Culloden, or immediately afterwards after bitter reproaches and insults.

himself an extraordinary joy when he was alone with those few who knew the secret. Which might to others have easily seemed excessive.

However, he knew how to master this, though occasionally I had to warn him about it.

The English gentleman<sup>1</sup> who had the passport went back to France to warn him about it.

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<sup>1</sup> William Drummond of Balhaldy who signed the memorial of the seven Lords to Cardinal Fleury (see below). He was employed by them as their manager.

The name of MacGregor having been proscribed since the previous century, numbers of the Clan adopted other patronymics and many called themselves Drummond. William's father, Alexander, had, unlike most Highlanders, made money in business, and had been in 1714 elected to the Chieftainship of the nameless clan, and was much later created a baronet by King James III. In the Forty-five, he was living quietly at Balhaldie, near Dumblane, and died there in 1749.

William remained abroad throughout the Rising and afterwards. He was one of those excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747. He died near Paris in 1765. His wife was a daughter of Oliphant of Gask and his mother a Cameron of Lochiel. He was one of the most prominent of the intriguing Jacobites, though never a fighter. He had been present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, 13 Nov. 1715, when the Prince's father was making his own bid for his throne, but according to his inveterate enemy, John Murray of Broughton, all he did there was to plunder the baggage of the Earl Marischal, while the latter was leading the cavalry charge. (According to other detractors of the outlawed Clan Gregor, this exploit was to be laid to the charge of Rob Roy.)

Balhaldy was a man of birth and education and the author of family memoirs, but he was an inveterate intriguer and incapable of taking the direct way towards his end. He was, however, of some weight in Jacobite councils especially as being a cousin of Donald Cameron of Lochiel, though Prince Charles disliked and distrusted him.

In 1741 he had been the bearer to Cardinal Fleury of the famous 'Lettre de quelques Seigneurs Ecosais' addressed to the Cardinal, which might well be said to have been one, at least, of the contributing causes of the Rising of 1745.

The document now lies in the archives of the French Foreign Office, Quai d'Orsay. It gave a too glowing picture of the readiness of the Highland clans to act on behalf of the restoration of the Stuarts.

It was signed (in this order) by:

1. Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, the wily old rascal who had been on the Government side in the Rising of 1715, and after playing fast and loose with both sides for nearly fifty years finally lost his head on Tower Hill 9 April 1747.
2. Lord Linton, afterwards the Earl of Traquair. He spent the time of the Jacobite Rising in England (his wife, Theresa Conyers, was an Englishwoman), and John Murray of Broughton accused him of 'hiding his dirty head in safety'. He was, however, imprisoned in the Tower for some time after Culloden.
3. John Stuart, his brother, who did nothing.
4. Lochiel, Donald Cameron, younger of Lochiel, the 'preux chevalier' and finest of all the adherents to the Prince.

The latter was dispatched to Massa, to wait there for the Prince, and with him was sent Monsieur Gaudiné, the steward of the Bailly de Tencin, the worthy nephew of the Cardinal, and capable of being useful to the Prince. They left Rome five days before H.R.H. and so as not to attract attention, they went in a private carriage, although it had first been settled that they should travel 'post'. They were provided with ample orders from the governor of the posts so that they might obtain horses wherever they wished. But it happened, in spite of this, that the postmaster of [Baccano](#), a place about 16 miles from Rome, refused to give them horses, because they had not started 'post' from Rome. This obliged them to return to Rome and start next day by the post.

It was an act of Providence that this inconvenience served as a warning that the same might have happened to the Prince had he started with his own horses as he had proposed, believing that with a similar order from the governor, he would have got horses wherever he wished.

The start was fixed for 9 January and the Prince commissioned me to reveal it to a Personage,<sup>1</sup> an intimate friend of mine and of

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5. Perth. James, third Duke of Perth, a very young man, chiefly brought up in France by his ardent Catholic mother. He had only recently returned to Great Britain.
  6. Lord John Drummond, Perth's uncle, known as the 'old Lord John', to distinguish him from the young Lord John, who succeeded his brother as fourth Duke in 1746 and was himself killed at Bergen-op-zoom in 1747, when the uncle succeeded as fifth Duke. He did nothing in 1745-6.
  7. Campbell of Auchinbreck, Lochiel's father-in-law, who did nothing.

Of these seven, only Lochiel and Perth supported the Rising when it actually happened.

Drummond of Balhaldy who signed but did not seal this letter was, of course, a man without estate or standing and could bring no men into the field, but he carried the letter to Fleury, along with a grossly optimistic and exaggerated account of the number of Highlanders ready to rise.

He managed to establish himself in Paris as the official mouthpiece of the Scottish Jacobites and in December 1743 was sent to Rome to concert plans for the Prince's journey. This he did very satisfactorily. He arrived in Rome 19 Dec. 1743, left again on 25 Dec., and reached Paris 3 January 1744. He gives these dates himself in his Memorial History of the Clan Gregor. With him came Duncan Buchanan, who was clerk to Aeneas Macdonald, the banker of Paris. He landed with the Prince from the vessel la Du Teillay at Arisaig on Thursday, 25 July 1745, but he is never counted among the Men of Moidart, 'who were seven', as he was looked upon in the light of servant to Aeneas. He had, however, done a certain amount of travelling in the Jacobite cause before that date.

<sup>1</sup> The name of this personage is not known.

the Royal House, begging him to arrange that after the 12<sup>th</sup> a felucca [*a light Italian sailing-boat*] should be ready at Genoa.

There was a difficulty in coming safely to Genoa, of avoiding the fifteen days' quarantine which should be made at Sarzana. For this reason the first idea of the King was an embarkation at Viareggio.

While these matters were still under discussion, there arrived a letter from the English gentleman<sup>1</sup> who had brought the passport and since gone away again. He told them that from the conversations he had had as he went along, he had realized the difficulty of the quarantine at Sarzana and had planned a way of getting round it, both for himself and for his friends who were to follow, which would reduce it to a mere formality; his plan was not to give the impression of an important journey, but to seem to come from some neighbouring part of Tuscany and to travel in a carriage. He also suggested other precautions.

This letter caused the King to decide that the Prince should travel by land as far as Genoa. As a matter of fact, after the Prince had started, it was realized that this was the *only* way, since coming from Viareggio to embark on a felucca at Genoa without contravening the law.

Two days before the departure of H.R.H. he had sent his household to Cisterna, all the equipment for the shoot, and musical instruments for diversion in the evenings. Just as he was starting, H.R.H. called his riding-master, Cavalier Gigli, and told him that he was now about to do what Gigli knew he had wanted to do for two years, viz., to perform the journey on horseback, so as to arrive early for the chase.

He therefore arranged with the groom to take three horses, which he himself selected, one for himself, one for Mr. Francis Stafford, his gentleman-in-waiting, and the third for the groom, so as to ride the first stage on his own horses, and in selecting the horses he paid particular attention to have two of them nearly black and of inconspicuous appearance, so as not to be easily recognized.

He forbade the Chevalier Gigli to speak to anyone of these orders, and told him so to arrange that nothing should come to *my* ears, being certain that I would have told His Majesty. I, for my part, sent

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<sup>1</sup> William Drummond of Balhaldy or Buchanan.

for the groom the evening before the departure, and told him of the journey he was to make with the Prince and instructed him how he was to behave.

More than three months before this time, orders had been given to open the gates of Rome to the Prince at whatever hour he might wish to go hunting without waiting until the Deputy of the Sanità should be present [as was usual].

The Duke of York<sup>1</sup> was also to be of the party going to Cisterna and for the whole company post horses had been ordered for three hours after midnight, with the idea that the chase might be begun

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<sup>1</sup> Henry, Duke of York, the Prince's only brother, was at this date 19 years of age. His full names were Henry Benedict Thomas Maria Clement François Xavier, and his godfather, who personally performed the ceremony of baptism in the day of his birth, 6 Mar. 1725, was Benedict XIII (Michael Angelo Conti) had been exceptionally good friends and benefactors to the exiled King James.

The little Henry was a lovely child, with blue eyes and golden curls and the sweetest disposition imaginable. Proud as King James was of his 'Carluccio', he seems always to have had a softer spot in his heart for the younger son so much more like himself in character, and Henry was certainly the favourite with the Earl Marischal and some other prominent Jacobites. He appears to have remained curiously childish right through his teens. There is among the Stuart papers at Windsor, a long account, written by Lord Dunbar in 1742, apparently for the information of the King, of how the boy of 17 spends his time:

'He is called by special order a quarte of an hour before six in the morning, rises at six and sometimes says some prayers in his bed during this quarter of an hour or a little more. He commonly spends about three quarters of an hour in washing his face and hands and putting on his shoes and stockings, but he does not dress until afterwards. After this he employs one hour of prayers, of which one half in his little closet and the other in walking in his bed chamber. Always he says them out aloud, so that when he is in his bed chamber with his door shut, they hear him in the next room. Next to this he takes his breakfast, which lasts about half a quarter of ane hour, or 10 minutes. Father Ildefonso comes about half ane hour after seven and always waits a good half hour during his prayers and the time of his breakfast.' And so it goes on. He had a few lessons, and then 'he dresses and goes to Mass, of which he hears two and sometimes three and Saturday last four.

... when dinner is over, he waits a certain time with the watch in his hand and then goes into chapel where he stays at his prayers as in the morning. Then he goes abroad and generally goes to church. He comes home about 4 hours and goes to his chapel again, where he remains always ane hour sometimes ane hour and a half.'

Certainly he was preparing himself to be a church dignitary. This letter has apparently not been seen by any of Henry's biographers. The letter which he wrote to his father thanking the latter for not having told him of the Prince's intended departure is rather like that of a child. He seems not to have had nearly so strong a character as his elder brother, nor so good a brain. Those who knew him in Rome in the days of his cardinalate have sometimes commented on the puerility of his conversation and the remark of Pope Benedict XIV made when Henry was an older man is well known. He said 'If all the Stuarts were as boring as this one, no wonder the English had driven them out'.

that same day. The Prince would have liked to confide to his much-loved brother the fact that he was going away.

The King would not have seen any objection to this, knowing the Duke to be capable of keeping any secret. The ripeness of his understanding, the penetration, the justice of his reflections had been already, since he was 12 years old, an object of admiration to the whole of Rome, and not only to us of his immediate circle. His noble traits, his gentleness, sweetness and affability are so well known that I need not remind your Excellency of them, and particularly in the present circumstances, concerned only with doing justice to his prudence and wisdom. To these qualities in fact is to be attributed the compliment he made on returning from Cisterna to the King his father and honoured me with the same, in thanking his Majesty and showing me his gracious satisfaction, that we had *not*, before the departure, caused to be disclosed to him a secret which would have revealed to him that in a few hours he must part with his beloved brother and he might have, in spite of himself, in such a delicate and critical situation, allowed some outward sign to appear of the irresistible agitation of his heart. This was, of course, the only motive which restrained the King from confiding to the Duke before its execution this project which could not but be bitter to him as touching him so nearly. The King and the Prince of Wales made up for this by writing letters to the Duke which, when he reached Velletri, should be presented by the Cavaliere Strickland.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Strickland is one of the tragic figures of the 1745 Rising. He was the only Englishman among the seven followers who landed with the Prince, and, having had some slight military experience, as testified by O'Sullivan, himself an experienced soldier, was made Colonel.

Strickland was the son of Robert Strickland of Nateby and Bridger Mannock, his grandmother Winifred Trentham had been at one time governess to King James. Strickland had served in Spain, but was a good deal about the Jacobite court in Rome during the youth of the Princes. He was appointed tutor to Prince Henry on the advice of Father Lewis Innes and later was accused, apparently unfairly, by their father, of fomenting discord between the two Princes, who were, until after 1746, a most affectionate pair of brothers.

In any case, King James was anxious that Strickland should no longer be 'about the Prince' and was much distressed to hear that he had joined the latter in Paris and still more that he had accompanied him to Scotland. He was with the Prince up to the loss of Carlisle, had fallen ill there, and died there 'of a dropsy' just before he would have become a prisoner to Cumberland. His foreign commission might have saved his life, but it is more likely that he would have suffered for the well-known Jacobite principles of his family, the Stricklands of Sisergh, Westmorland, and the fact of his father and grandfather as well as

The time of departure was drawing nigh. I have no words sufficient to represent to Y.E. what a profound impression was made on me, as I am sure it would be on you, by the wonderful restraint of H.R.H. in these last moments. He was about to leave the King his father, his beloved brother, those who from his childhood had educated and served him; he was in fact about to detach himself entirely from all that had hitherto been the object of his tenderness, his pleasure, and his daily life. He was about to be quite alone for a while and then to be entirely with people unknown to him. He was going to expose himself, for a glorious end, and accompanied only by his own courage, to a long, dangerous, and difficult journey on horseback, in the height of a rigorous winter, amongst constant and well-founded fears of being discovered and all his plans upset. It was necessary to transverse unfriendly countries, to be exposed to endless impertinent curiosity and searches. He had, in fact, to envisage innumerable risks, impossible to foresee, and to be ready for a thousand difficulties before setting out in a frail little bark to cross a sea full of great and small vessels on every hand.

I leave it to Y.E. to judge how in such a solemn contingency the King his father showed himself a perfect example of the true Christian—He was on the point of parting with his dear son, the prime object of his paternal tenderness, pupil of his own hands, chief comfort in all his troubles.

Their mutual emotion did not however alter the bearing of either.

On the very evening on which the Prince was to depart for his shooting party, the company was large, increased by those who came to pay their court to him and wish him a happy journey. No one could possibly see in H.R.H. any sign that his mind was occupied with something quite different.

Affable and self-possessed by nature and entirely concerned with being agreeable to those who presented themselves and in affording

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himself having been members of the Stuart households. Nothing to his actual discredit appears in any of the Stuart papers, yet King James (always most tolerant) calls him 'the worst of men', and begs his son to dismiss him which Charles promised to do, but death forestalled him, 1 Jan. 1746. The faithful James Edgar, secretary to King James, was on most affectionate terms with Strickland, whom he calls 'my dear Frank'.

them subjects for conversation and amusement, he sat down as usual to play cards.

I, to whom more than to anyone else, his conduct was important, though watching him closely with perhaps too critical an eye, could detect nothing in His Highness that was not perfectly usual, except perhaps, a greater attention to the game. He generally played quite carelessly and with a noble disregard for his losses, suitable to his high rank.

H.M. according to custom honoured the company with his royal presence and the kindly air with which he gained the respect and love of all, without allowing the slightest trace to appear of those internal emotions which were necessarily occasioned by so imminent and sad a parting.

The Prince after having supped as usual with the King his father, took his leave in public in the usual manner. When the company had departed he returned to H.M. by a private door and remained with him for an hour. He received the fond instructions and advice, and the fatherly embraces.

Exactly at three in the morning H.R.H. became impatient and decided to start, although the Duke was not ready. He got into his post-chaise with Mr. Sheridan,<sup>1</sup> having behind him only one servant in livery. He left orders to tell the Duke, his brother, to follow him when he liked.

The Cavaliere Stafford,<sup>2</sup> to whom alone the secret had been confided the night before, rode ahead to the Porta San Giovanni with the above-mentioned groom and with the horse destined for the Prince. On his arrival, the gate was at once opened and he told the gate-keeper that the Duke of York would arrive in about three-quarters of an hour. There was no one outside.

It was essential to deceive the servants and the postilion, particularly the latter, because at the slightest suspicion he would have been exposed to the most searching examination. To this end

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<sup>1</sup> This fact, categorically stated in the text, is borne out by the letter from Sir Thomas Sheridan from the Windsor archives, on p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Stafford, whose name occurs long afterwards in the Stuart papers as asking for a commission may have been some relation of Henry Stafford so long a faithful servant to Prince Charles, being left in charge, with Michael Sheridan, at Avignon during the Prince's years of mystery after 1749.

the Prince stopped the chaise and said to Sheridan that he wished to make the journey on horseback. Sheridan warmly opposed this, saying that the King would disapprove. H.R.H. replied in resolute tones and mounting his horse announced loudly and in Italian, so that the postilion and the servant should understand, that he would take the road to Albano on horseback, going by the plateau to Cisterna as it was the shortest way, boasting boyishly that he would be there first, although Sheridan would have the post horses. Thus the postilion saw him start on the direct road to Albano. He took the precaution of avoiding the highway by riding across country, and, favoured by the darkness of the night, he reached the Inn called Baldinotti and turned in to the road towards [Frascati](#) for long enough to allow the chaise to pass on the way to [Albano](#), so that, in the silence of the night, the postilion and the servant would not hear the horse's feet.

Sheridan pretended to slip and in falling to have hurt himself and called for help. Thus he kept them both occupied with him for time enough to allow the Prince to get into the [Frascati](#) road and conceal himself. Sheridan then continued his journey towards [Cisterna](#).

Meanwhile, the Prince changed his wig, and put on a hood which covered his face to the eyes, and the groom gave his livery coat to Mr. Stafford and dressed himself in the other clothes he had brought.

Stafford was ordered to proceed to [Frascati](#), and the prince, returning to the [Porta San Giovanni](#), made the circuit of the walls, arrived at [Caprarola](#).

The advice not to travel by the Roman road proved prudent and good, since they were not exposed to the misfortune which happened to the two persons already mentioned, who were refused horses by the postmaster at [Baccano](#), having already sent the necessary orders, the people at [Caprarola](#) were most obliging.

But leaving the Prince occupied with his journey, it is now my duty to inform Y.E. of the means taken to keep it secret, for the time that was considered necessary.

Firstly, Sheridan arrived at [Cisterna](#). The Duke of Sermoneta and the others were surprised to see him unaccompanied by the Prince, whose declared intention of coming by Albano and thence by the

plateau was disapproved of. This route was shorter and pleasant in summer but impracticable in winter, being so muddy. The Duke of York started about an hour later than the Prince, who had given strict orders to Strickland to reveal to Townley,<sup>1</sup> the Duke's gentleman-in-waiting, what he had done, so that he might warn H.R.H. as soon as they were clear of Rome not to be surprized by the letters from H.M. and the Prince, which would be given him in [Velletri](#). The Duke only arrived there late, those two posts having only very poor horses, and owing to a fall of snow the road was in a bad state. He dined at [Velletri](#) and only reached [Cisterna](#) one hour before nightfall when the public surprise that the Prince had not arrived during the day was increasing, and grew greater still when the Duke appeared. H.R.H. showed as much prudence and sagacity in the absence of his brother and in adapting himself to all the emotions of the court consequence on the news of the Prince, as if he had been an experienced diplomat.

At the height of the general anxiety, discussions, and advice as to the person of the Prince, a quarter of an hour afterwards Stafford arrives by the post to announce that the Prince's horse had fallen with him near Albano, and that he had sustained slight bruising of one rib. He had been taken to Albano and seen by a surgeon, who pronounced that in three days, with care, he would be cured, but that if it had not been attended to, it might trouble him for much longer.

That H.R.H. therefore had sent him, although he was the only gentleman with him, to persuade his brother not to worry about him, and specially to urge him and all of them to keep the secret of the accident, that it might not reach the ears of the King, fearing naturally that H.M., disapproving of his travelling on horseback, might recall him to Rome, thus depriving him of the pleasures of the chase. That in three days he hoped to be all right again and to be at [Cisterna](#) on Sunday evening. Above all, the Prince ordered that letters should be written to Rome giving the impression that he was occupied all day shooting and that no one should attempt to come

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<sup>1</sup> He was presumably of the same family as Francis Townley, who raised a regiment in Manchester and was hanged at Kennington 30 July 1746. Francis joined in Manchester, having a French commission, but that did not save him. He had gone to France to join the army when 19 years old, but was of course of English birth, the son of Charles Townley of Townley Hall, Lancashire. By 1744 he was back in England.

to him at Albano because only the surgeon, and the custodian of Albano, from whom he had demanded oaths of fidelity, knew anything of the accident. It had been considered best that H.R.H., to dissipate any erroneous ideas about himself, should send to [Cisterna](#) the news of the reason of his delay, not by a courier, but by his only gentleman, who had been seen to ride off with the Prince, and this for two reasons—because it would be thought unlikely that H.R.H. would expose himself to a long journey on horseback without even one gentleman-in-waiting, and because in sending the latter, in person, he could more effectually prevent those at [Cisterna](#) who might wish, from the obligations of their offices, to come to Albano and wait upon him.

The assurances of Stafford were not enough to curb the impatience of Sheridan. The latter prepared himself to accompany the former on his return to Albano. But Stafford emphasizing the express commands of the Prince and adding that the appearance of any fresh person would make him feverish, at length prevailed on Sheridan to desist and only send with Stafford what linen he could carry, sufficient for the Prince's use for three days.

Stafford departed again for Albano and stayed the night at Velletri. The next day he proceeded to Marino, whence taking his own horse again, he repaired privately to Tivoli.

Meanwhile, Sheridan every day wrote a letter apparently from Stafford, dated from Albano, giving the best possible news of the Prince, and repeating that he would arrive on Sunday. Actually, on Sunday, Stafford returned from Tivoli to Marino, and from there sent a messenger to announce that the Prince had changed his mind, and begged his brother to come, with all his party, to the Lake of Fogliano not far from Circello, where the Prince would be on Monday evening. This news was accepted in good faith and spread from the Duke's court, everyone believing that the Prince would be in Fogliano next day. They took the precaution of writing, on Monday evening, dated from Fogliano, to some prominent people in [Cisterna](#) that the Prince had arrived and was in good health.

A better place to keep such a secret than Fogliano, could not have been chosen. Besides the court of the Royal Princes and their huntsmen, no one lived there but a few fishermen, whereas in

[Cisterna](#) there were about 2,000 inhabitants. Ever since the Prince left Rome for [Cisterna](#) and then for Fogliano, all letters written to Rome were opened, and those were detained which spoke of the absence of the Prince, while others were written which spoke of the good health of both and of happy hunting.<sup>1</sup> While in the name of the Prince of Wales were sent products of the chase to the principal personages in Rome; thus carrying out his usual generosity.

According to the agreement with Sheridan, I prescribed the conduct of those at Cisterno and in Fogliano, according to the moves and dispositions which appeared in Rome. The inhabitants of [Cisterna](#) and of Fogliano, who came to Rome daily to sell their fish, had already been warned not to speak of the supposed accident of the Prince lest the King should hear of it—But, as I considered it unlikely that so many peasants and fishermen would be able to keep it a secret, I took the precaution, in order to see if it had been revealed, of writing a note to the Duchess of Sermoneta, to say that a vague rumour had come to my ears that the Prince of Wales in falling from his horse, had hurt himself and not having heard this directly in letters from Cisterno or Fogliano, I begged Her Ex. to tell me what news she had had from her husband or others there. The Duchess replied that the rumours were in fact untrue, as she had certain proof of the excellent health of H.R.H. and that he was hunting every day. It was felt that by managing things in this way,

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Sheridan about Lord Dunbar, from the Stuart papers at Windsor.

Dr. Sr.

In my inclosed to Ld Dumbar I have writ all that I coud think in any ways material, so I shall not trouble you with needless repetitions. I shall only add that if His Majesty does not send us contrary orders we are resolved to go on Monday to Fogliano where we shall pretend the Prince is to meet us. If what I mentioned of Murray & Michel\* is thought fit to be executed, (for I look upon it myself as very doubtful,) they ought to go as far as Velletri & there amuse themselves as long as they see fit. But I hope there will be no need of such a thing, there shall be sent some Caccia to night for ye Palace. A dozen Woodcocks was all that four Cacciatori could meet with. They should be distributed in ye Prince's name for every body knows that he never goes to the Cacciarelli. Adieu Dr. Sr. receive all the compliments & good wishes & make ours

T.S.

Let Giuseppe's letter to Marsi which accompanies this be deliver'd for we have read it, & it contains nothing but directions about ye. Caccia

A MONSIEUR  
MONSR. EDGAR AU PALAIS  
DE SA MAJESTÉ BRITANIQUE  
A ROME (Undated but before  
Sunday, 19 Jan. 1744.)

\*Michele Vezzori [Actually, Vezzosi – Ed.], the valet.

even if the common people, who had dealings with the fishermen of Fogliano, should have heard and believed the news of the Prince's absence, nevertheless persons of distinction and good sense, and above all those from whom it was important to conceal it, would not have believed it, putting more faith in the letters which came from there, than in the gossip of the common people.

By these means, carried out most carefully, it was only on Sunday, 19 January, that is almost eleven days after the departure of the Prince from Rome, that the news of this departure was spread. This is all I have the honour to communicate to you now, reserving to myself to communicate to you the incidents of his journey when they shall have reached me.

With all respect, &c.

## Letter from Lord Dunbar

13 February 1744

I shall now fulfil the obligation I am under to give Y.E. an account of the Prince's journey as far as [Antibes](#). The delay, which is occasioned at this season in the delivery of letters is the reason that, not until now, have I the honour of gratifying you with what follows—which is more than sufficient to satisfy the lively interest Y.E. takes in all that concerns H.R.H.

He arrived at [Massa](#) towards evening of 11 January in perfect health, although the horses he rode had fallen with him several times, so bad were the roads, which in places were broken up and at that period covered with snow and ice. The Prince left Massa immediately and at midday on the 13<sup>th</sup> arrived at [Genoa](#). There, a certain person to whom the two riders had been specially commanded took them to his own house to recover from the cold, and, having been informed that the Prince had not undressed for five days, nor had anything to eat but eggs, he made him rest and take food and, towards evening, accompanied him to the carriage which was to take him to [Finale](#). In that port the felucca on which he was to embark had been obliged to remain on account of the snow and incessant rain. The master of the little vessel offered his help to the travellers to make the journey by land. On the morning

of 14 January they arrived at [Savona](#). On account of contrary winds the Prince remained there six days.<sup>1</sup> I leave it to Y.E. to imagine how galling to H.R.H. was this long delay of almost six days after having made such a hasty dash from Rome to Genoa, in order to prevent or nullify all the measures which might have been put in operation to hinder his design. He now saw it, when on the point of completion, interrupted by those accidents which happen on journeys by sea. I had not been able to convince him, before he left Rome that all our plans for concealing his departure could only at most prevent its being made public for two days! He therefore had started fully persuaded that a courier sent with the utmost expedition would have conveyed the news to Mann, Hanoverian Minister in Florence, and that he on his part would have conveyed it to Admiral Matthews who would have received it before he himself left Finale, and thereafter all means would be used to get the Prince into their hands. At sight of such an imminent danger those with him were naturally worried and alarmed. But it had no other effect on himself than to present him with a still more hazardous occasion for showing his great courage.

Taking no further note of these circumstances in which he found himself, he embarked at Finale on the 21<sup>st</sup>, determined during the night to slip through the fleet, which he believed to be waiting for him between Monaco and Antibes. There was a favourable wind which brought him to Monaco at midnight. Thence he departed on the 23<sup>rd</sup> and arrived safely at Antibes at eight in the evening.

They fully expected that the sea being rough, the felucca which was nevertheless under full sail, would have attracted the enemy's attention, and an enemy pinnace came into the port of Antibes very early in the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup> for provisions. This was probably only a pretext, since the pinnace had come from Villefranche and she asked only for a very small quantity of stores, which was given her. She remained in Antibes for two hours, almost touching the stern of the Prince's felucca, a rather suspicious nearness,

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<sup>1</sup> Dunbar says categorically that the reason for the six days' delay at Savona was 'contrary winds', which seems to dispose of the story which has so long held the field (again on the authority of Andrew Lang) that the delay was owing to quarantine. Henry's letter remarking on the 'very ugly situation' in which his brother had been 'locked up in Savone' could quite well refer to either alternative and the authenticity of the present narrative is above suspicion.

particularly as light vessels were seen passing to Villefranche in greater numbers than on the preceeding days.

Monsieur de Villeneuve, Commandant of Antibes, came in person to the harbour, to speak to the strangers whom he did not know, but supposed to be people of importance, since they presented themselves for disembarkation in a port in which no one was admitted to quarantine and that notwithstanding that, they demanded admission, although he told them when they arrived that he had not had any orders to receive them, not even to allow them to land, he being expressly forbidden to admit vessels coming from Italy and that he would be obliged to send them back to Monaco, not even allowing the felucca which brought them to remain in port. Although Monsieur de Villeneuve had come to speak to the strangers he pretended not to do so, so as not to give offence to the officers of the English pinnace with whom he had first spoken to avoid any suspicion that there was any mystery in the comings and goings of either vessel. He wished, however, to get rid of the Englishman before coming to a full explanation with the felucca.

This being got over, the Prince made himself known to the Commandant. The latter dismissed the felucca, which did not get back to Monaco without being actively pursued by the light vessels already mentioned.

He then caused H.R.H. to transfer himself to a more commodious ship, while he was preparing, without too much ostentation, a house to lodge him in. He renewed his orders for the security of the port and arranged matters so that if any rumours got about in the night, the gates of the city should be opened to admit the Prince, from whom he kept these precautions secret, so that everything might be quite quiet and that the Prince should sleep peacefully.

The following day at dusk he introduced him into a house in the city, a little separated from other houses, H.R.H. having taken the opportunity of sending on to Paris the news of his arrival. He left Antibes on the 29 January at two in the morning to continue his journey. I will now leave the public news to inform Y.E., and the world in general, of the progress of events and their result, and sign myself with most devoted respect to

Your Excellency, &c.

II.  
TWO LETTERS FROM  
MAGDALEN PRINGLE

written during the occupation of  
Edinburgh by the Prince  
September—October 1745

*The property of Major Julian Hall*

## Two Letters from Magdalen Pringle

**T**HESE letters were written by Magdalen Pringle, afterwards wife of Sir John Hall, third Baronet of Dunglas. The *Peerage* gives the date of their marriage as 1759, but among the family correspondence there is one letter from him to her of January 1760—apparently still unmarried. They probably married in that year as the birth of her son, afterwards Sir James Hall, is noted in 1761. She died in 1763.

In 1745 she must have been quite young, probably about 18, as her parents married in 1723, a brother was born in 1724, and the baptisms of some brothers and sisters are on record, but, curiously enough, not her own.

Her sister Isabella, to whom the letters are addressed, was baptized in 1728. She died unmarried.

Magdalen was well over 30 before she married—an unusual circumstance in those days, but her husband was very much older. Her letters to her future lord, whom she addresses as 'Dear Sir' up to the very eve of the wedding, breathe a much more mature spirit than these girlish outpourings of enthusiasm to her sister. These two letters are not signed, a not unusual characteristic of those of the eighteenth century which were so often sent by the writer's personal servants or other private hands. The end of the first letter, even, is unfortunately missing, but luckily there are many others in the same hand, signed Magdalen Pringle, of later years—none after she married. She herself belonged to a very Whig family and her future husband was a member of the jury which tried the Jacobite prisoners in 1746. He was also a first cousin (his mother having been Margaret Pringle, Magdalen's aunt) and probably a lifetime intimate. He had a sister Katherine (to whom her cousin Magdalen alludes in these letters) who strayed from the paths of Whiggism, having married in 1743 the Jacobite poet, William Hamilton of Bangour. She died very shortly after the date of the second letter, in October 1745. It is said in the *Peerage* that Hamilton afterwards married Katherine Pringle, sister of Margaret, and therefore aunt to his first wife, but there is no trace of this in the correspondence. Hamilton is known from the letters of Andrew Hay to have had in

1753 a young wife of 19. He himself died of consumption in Lyons in 1754. Both Katherine Pringle and John Hall had sisters named Isabella and both were called Tibbie, but Magdalen's letter fortunately bears an address to her sister at Stitchill.

Sir John also had a sister named Magdalen, who died in 1754.

In his letters to his future wife he addresses her as Madie or Maudie.

An amusing letter from Lord Marchmont in the family correspondence says that the clash of the countryside had foreseen a wedding between Magdalen Pringle and William, younger brother of Sir John, which shows that the families had been very intimate, but that Sir John had 'carried her off'. They seem to have been a most devoted couple.

Wednesday, Sept. 18 1745.

Dear Tib,

**I** RECEIVED your letter from Nenthorn<sup>1</sup> and would have answer'd it sooner but I am sure none of your carriers will be in town for some time. However I'll write the news as it happens and send it to you when I can.

On Sunday we were all much alarm'd with ye Fire bells ringing and drums beating to arms the time of ye Forenoon sermon. Ye Kirks, most of them dispers'd and Gardners and Hamilton's Dragoons march'd throw the town in order to go to Costorphend to meet (and if they could) to Fight and overcome ye Highlanders. Ye Volunteers drew up in different parts of ye Town and ye Trainbands in ye Parliament Class etc. and to compleat ye Hubbub Terror and confusion ye Castle Fired six Great Cannons immediately upon ye back of ye marching &c.—this alarmed every body but upon enquiry it was found ye fired for ye Duke of Tuscany's being chosen Emperor<sup>2</sup> and on no Deadly account. All Sunday ye town was in uproar you can't easily conceive as I'm sure you never saw anything

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<sup>1</sup> A country seat and village in Berwickshire about four miles from Kelso.

<sup>2</sup> Francis II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, husband of Maria Theresa. Charles VII, Elector of Bavaria, had claimed the Empire and Kingdom of Hungary from Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI—the latter died 1742, Charles VII died Jan. 1845.

His claim had been supported by France. That of Maria Theresa by George II, as Elector of Hanover.

like it. On Monday we were pretty quiet all ye Forenoon but at three a Clock ye Cry was that ye Highlanders were fast approaching and that ye Dragoons had all of them retreated before them and were marching by ye Long Dikes<sup>1</sup> to Haddington as fast as they could<sup>2</sup>—this was all too true—they fell to Barricading the Netherbow port, ye Drums beat furiously to Arms and ye Fire bell rang in a most dismal manner till five at night and everybody was in Terror for their friends the Volunteers imagining that ye Town would resist. However, after a little bustle ye Provost call'd a Council when he and his Emissaries carried it that there should be no resistance and immediately order'd the volunteers to carry their arms to ye Castle and lay them down there which order they obey'd with great regret, and at six o'clock on Tuesday morning the Highlanders took possession of ye Town a Thousand of them came in then and siezed on ye Port and ye Guard where they met with no resistance<sup>3</sup> and when they found (to ye great shame of ye Provost) fifteen Hundred stand of arms which everybody thinks if ye Provost<sup>4</sup> had been well affected to King George's interest he would have conveyed to ye Castle and kept out of ye Highlanders way. About ten ye Prince arrived at ye Abbey with ye rest of his men—he had come round by Priestfield and came over Arthur seat and by St. Antony's Chapel where he was met by vast Crowds who opprest him with acclamations and strivings to kiss his Hand. A little before twelve a'clock seven hundred or thereabouts of ye Highlanders that had taken possession of ye Town surrounded ye Cross. This I saw myself ym marched three in a line with a Piper to every company. They surrounded ye Cross and at one o'clock five Heralds and a Trumpet with some Gentlemen, amongst them Jamie Hepburn ascended ye Cross and read two Manifestos in ye name of James the eight King of Great Britain &c. at ye end of every one they threw up yr hats and huzza'd<sup>5</sup> in which acclamation of joy they were joyn'd by all ye

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<sup>1</sup> The Long Dykes were on the site of the present Princes Street.

<sup>2</sup> Canter of Coltbridge took place on Monday, 16 Sept. Coltbridge is now a district of south-west Edinburgh.

<sup>3</sup> The strategem whereby entrance was obtained to the Netherbow Port is well known; the hackney coach which had brought the delegates from their unsuccessful interview with the Prince was returning to its stable outside the port, and as it came out, some Highlanders slipped in and opened the gates to their fellows.

<sup>4</sup> Archibald Stewart, a secret Jacobite; after the collapse of the Rising he was carried prisoner to London, and kept in the Tower for some time. He was eventually acquitted.

<sup>5</sup> The manifesto was heard in silence. The applause followed afterwards. This therefore is no contradiction to the account in the Woodhouse Lee M.S.

crowd which was so great I incline almost to call it the whole Town. Ye windows were full of Ladys who threw up their handkerchiefs and clap'd their hands and show'd great loyalty to ye Bonny Prince. Don't imagine I was one of those Ladies. I assure you I was not.<sup>1</sup> After all this the Crowd dispersed and ye Highlanders march'd with Lord Elcho and John Murray of Broughton on their Head back to ye Parliament Closs where they stood a while and then dispersed, they are quiet as lambs, civil to everybody and takes nothing but what ye pay for. However an ugly accident happen'd this morning to poor Madie Nairn who was looking over Lady Kieth's window along with Katie Hepburn. On ye other side of ye street there was a Highland Man and a Boy standing with a Gun in his hand which Gun went off and shot in at ye Window and ye bullet went in at Mady Nairn's head. Luckily the strength of ye ball had been spent by its Grazing on ye wall so that it stuck and did not go through her skull or she must have Died instantly. Mr. Ratray has taken out ye Ball and sow'd up her wound he thinks her safe if she keeps free from a Fever. The Prince has sent several messages to inquire after her which has help'd not a little to support her spirits under ye Pain of her sore wound.<sup>2</sup> All ye Ladies are to kiss ye Prince's—I've an inclination to see him but I can't be intro-

*(Letter breaks off)*

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<sup>1</sup> She could not be introduced to H.R.H. as belonging to a Whig family, but she managed to get very near in her own way.

<sup>2</sup> The incident is frequently alluded to in memoirs of the times or later, but the injury is usually spoken of as slight, a mere grazing of the nose—as it left no lasting effects. *This* is doubtless the true story.

The girl was Mary, sixth daughter and tenth child of the second Baron Nairne. One of her sisters was Viscountess Strathallan and another the wife of Laurence Oliphant of Gask.

Mary died unmarried at Gask in 1774. Her younger sister Henrietta died also at Gask in 1803 aged 89. Sir Walter Scott mentions the accident.

## II<sup>1</sup>

Edinburgh, Oct. 13

Dear Tib,

**T**HE first thing I set eyes upon this morning was a letter from you. I was very sorry your Servant was gone before I could write but as he left word that he would be in Town next week I resolved to write just now that my letters may be ready to go along with him. I'm not surpris'd that your horses were taken, they have left none near Edin<sup>r</sup>. but they don't use to search the Houses so narrowly they commonly take the Masters or Ladies word for them. I dare say they would behave well at least they have done so in every place that I have heard of their being in. I cannot say I have much news to write at present. The Castle<sup>2</sup> (that 'damned angry Bitch' as ye Highlanders calls her) has been quiet since Saturday last on which day it had done a great deal of mischief having fir'd down ye Streets and kill'd and wounded some people, on Sunday the Prince to prevent ye inhabitants from suffering more inconvenience consented to remove his guards and to allow provisions to ye Castle. I hear ye return of their Express from London brought orders for them to get in two months provisions and to defend themselves in case of attack but not to annoy the town which they have obey'd, so we are all in peace excepting for an accident or two that has happen'd by ye undesign'd going off of some of ye Highlanders guns. A Boy, brother to Home the Coachmaker is kill'd and one or two more. I'm surpris'd so few misfortunes of that kind have fallen out considering ye vast numbers of loaded pieces they are continually carrying about with them. O lass such a fine show as I saw on Wednesday last. I went to the Camp at Duddingston and saw ye Prince review his men. He was sitting in his Tent when I came first to ye field. The ladies made a circle round ye Tent and

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<sup>1</sup> The second letter was written a month later, and addressed to her home, Stitchill, a parish of Roxburgh and Berwick on the Eden Water 3½ miles north-west of Kelso, very near Nenthorn, from which she formerly wrote.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Castle was defended by a small garrison under two veteran commanders, General Joshua Guest and General Preston, both about 80 years of age but stalwart of heart, and the Highland Army had, of course, no siege engines and could only impose a blockade, but this was raised at the request of the inhabitants of the town who were suffering from the castle guns.

after we had Gaz'd our fill at him he came out of the Tent with a grace and Majesty that is inexpressible. He saluted all ye Circle with an air of grandeur and affability capable of Charming ye most obstinate Whig and mounting his Horse which was in ye middle of ye circle he rode off to view ye men. As ye circle was narrow and ye Horse very Gentle we were all extremely near to him when he mounted and in all my Life I never saw so noble nor so Graceful an appearance as His Highness made, he was in great spirits and very cheerful; which I have never seen him before. He was dressed in a Blue Grogrum Coat trimmed with Gold lace and a lac'd Red wastcoat and Breeches.<sup>1</sup> On his left shoulder and side were the Star & Garter and over his right shoulder a very rich Broad Sword Belt. his sword had ye finest wrought Basket hilt ever I beheld all Silver. His hat had a white Feather in it and a white cockade and was trimmed with an open gold lace. His horse was black and finely bred (it had been poor Gardners)<sup>2</sup> his Highness rides finely and indeed in all his appearance seems to be Cut out for enchanting his beholders and carrying People to consent to their own Slavery in spite of themselves. I don't believe Cesar was more engagingly form'd not more dangerous to ye liberties of his country than this Chap may be if he sets about it. I followed him throw the Field and saw him often rideing about attended by some of his Lifeguards they were clothed in Blue fac'd with Red. Just when he was on ye field Lord Pitsligo's men arriv'd from ye North a good many Gentlemen well mounted and a great many servants with them and some Foot not many. Pitsligo himself made a very odd figure he's like an Auld Carrier.<sup>3</sup> Ye Prince lighted and went in to his Tent a

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<sup>1</sup> The picture drawn so vividly by this enthusiastic girl of the Prince surrounded by his circle of admirers—some even unwilling ones—is unforgettable. And the details of his clothes specially interesting. By the Highland dress which she did not like so well as what she describes, she probably meant the Tartan shoes that he is known to have worn at Glenfinnan. He did not apparently wear the kilt in Scotland until he was in hiding though a dress kilt had been sent to him long before by the Duke of Perth to Rome and worn by him at a ball there. This is chronicled by Mann's spy, Walton or Stosch, who affected to consider this action, after the event, as presaging a journey to Scotland. See his report in the state papers of Tuscany.

<sup>2</sup> General Gardiner [He was only a [Colonel](#) – Ed.] was among those mortally wounded at Preston Pans. The battle took place partly in the grounds of his own house.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Pitsligo was a veteran of the 1715 Rising and was an old man of 68 when he rode in to join the Prince at the head of his 'horse'. His example and his saintly character brought out many from his own part of Aberdeenshire. After Culloden he lived a hunted life in his own country, being among those specially excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747, but was never captured and died in his bed in

second time to receive ye new comers and we all circled the Tent door—he mounted again as Gracefully and in ye same manner as ye first time and rode to Town, where we all follow'd not a little pleased with ye Show—it was a fine day and ye Camp is situate in a very pretty spot having a view of Duddiston [*sic*] Planting and ye Loch. I assure you I would not have wanted ye sight I got of ye Prince for a great deal and he will make a great Noise and be much spoke of whether he lose or win. I'm glad I have so thorough a knowledge of his Looks and manner he looks much better in Lowland than in Highland Dress.

Poor man I wish he may escape with his life. I have no notion he'll succeed.

The Duke of Perth<sup>1</sup> was in ye Tent with him and Lord Nairn<sup>2</sup> and Ker of Graden. Lord Elcho<sup>3</sup> was there, Coll. Sowliman<sup>4</sup> [Sullivan] who is extremely well look'd and many more. Ye Principal Ladys were Lady Nithsdale<sup>5</sup> Lady Ogilvie<sup>6</sup> and all ye Traquair Ladies &c.

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1762 at the age of 84. In his youth he had been a strikingly handsome man, as it is shown in his portrait by [Alexis Belle](#) now at FETTERCAIRN.

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Perth was among those who escaped on a French vessel after Culloden but died and was buried at sea.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Nairn also escaped. Ker of Graden, one of the Prince's followers from the Border counties, Graden being in Roxburghshire, not far from Yetholm.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Elco, about whom there is a great deal in the Italian account, Item IV, quarrelled with the Prince after Culloden and for many years clamoured for the return of money given to him by his brother for the cause and handed to the Prince when at Gray's Mill, outside Edinburgh, on 16 Sept. He eventually made his peace with the Government, but was not allowed to hold his father's title of Lord Wemyss.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel O'Sullivan was the best soldier among the seven famous followers who had landed with the Prince at Moidart on 25 July, and has left the best account of the whole expedition as long as he was by the Prince's side—until June 1746. He escaped and lived till 1760.

<sup>5</sup> The Lady Nithsdale here mentioned was the daughter-in-law of the famous Winifred who rescued her husband from the Tower on the eve of his execution after the Rising of 1715. Catherine. Lady Nithsdale, was first cousin to her husband, being one of the seventeen children of William Lord Nithsdale's sister Mary Lady Traquair. She and all her family were convinced Jacobites. With great difficulty, she induced her husband to come to Holyrood and be presented to the Prince, but he fled precipitately after one night of visions of 'Axes, Gibbets and halters' which he feared would be his fate if he joined the Prince. He went back to Terregles while his wife and her sisters remained at the court of Holyrood.

<sup>6</sup> Lady Ogilvy was Margaret Johnston of Westerhall, Dumfries, wife of David Ogilvy, eldest son of the fourth Earl of Airlie. He raised a regiment of 600 men of his own name for the Prince's cause. After Culloden he escaped to France where he was given command of the regiment of Scots raised there. His wife was imprisoned for a short time after Culloden, together with the Duchess of Perth, Lady Strathallan, and Lady Gordon, but later rejoined her husband in France.

&c. Tell Mr. Frank Pringle his neighbour Mr. Stuart has join'd ye Prince and put on a white cockade. Some Ladies wear that Badge of Loyalty too. Willie Hamilton<sup>1</sup> was in East Lothian helping to collect the Cess, but I hear he did not care his Brother should know of it—his Bairns have been ill ye may be sure poor Katie is not at ease. She's given over nursing. On Thursday account came to Lady Home of her son Sir William's Death he dyed of three days illness of a Fever at Plymouth and is buried in St. John's Church there. Jamie Home is now Laird but its long since they heard from him. I wish he may be alive. Some of this may be Piper's News<sup>2</sup> to you but I chuse rather to let you have a thing twice as not at all. Adieu.

[*On back*]

Dear Tib,

I'm glad to hear from yr bearer that you are well not much here stirring since I wrote ye enclos'd except ye arrival of an Envoy from ye King of France<sup>3</sup> to Prince Charles its said he's a nephew of Cardinal Tencin's. I was at ye Abbey yesterday seeing ye Prince dine but I did not see ye Envoy. Gentlemen din'd with ye Prince.

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<sup>1</sup> William Hamilton of Bangour, the Jacobite poet, married to Katherine Hall, aunt to Sir John of Dunglass. She died later in this year and he then is said to have married Magdalen's own aunt Katherine Pringle. He died of consumption at Lyon in 1754.

<sup>2</sup> Piper's news—that is stale news.

<sup>3</sup> The envoy from the King of France was Alexander de Boyer, Marquis d'Eguilles—and not, of course, anything to do with Cardinal Tencin. He was a lawyer from Aix in Provence. His instructions from King Louis XV were entirely unofficial, but he was of moral support to the Prince and was apparently a man of sense. He is said to have begged him on his knees not to fight at Culloden, but to retire to Inverness. When his advice was not listened to he made arrangements for his own safety.

III.  
MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNT OF THE  
EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND

From July 1745 to April 1746

By SIR JOHN MACDONALD

in French

*From the Stuart papers at Windsor Castle  
Printed by gracious permission of His Majesty the King*

Like most eighteenth-century writers, Sir John Macdonald is very erratic in his use of accents; more often than not they are omitted, and those he does use are often wrong. His spelling is most erratic, but had been retained.

## NOTE

Sir John was a soldier of fortune. A cavalry man who had been in the Spanish Army. He was always described as an Irishman, but claimed to belong to the Clan Macdonald. Nothing at all is known of his origin or early life. He first appeared as one of those who sailed from Nantes with the Prince on 22 June 1745 and landed with him on 25 July at Borrowdale in Arisaig, being always described as one of the 'Seven men of Moidart', who composed the Prince's first following. Four of these were Irish—Sir Thomas Sheridan, Colonel O'Sullivan, George Kelly, and Macdonald himself—two were Scots, Aeneas Macdonald and Lord Tullibardine, and one was English, Francis Strickland of the family of Sizergh in Westmoreland. All were men of about 60 years of age, Sir Thomas Sheridan being over 70. Sir John Macdonald is described by Lord George Murray (himself a man over 50) as being 'old'. He was not popular with the Scottish adherents of the Prince, nor indeed with his fellow-Irishmen, and seems to have been singularly little use to his master's cause, being somewhat given to conviviality, a little quarrelsome, and is more than once described as 'drunk'. He was appointed to command the cavalry of the Highland Army, but that arm existed in an almost negligible quantity until some of the gentlemen of the North Country brought in mounted bands of their own friends and servants, when such corps as the Hussars, Elcho's Lifeguards, Pitsligo's Horse, Strathallan's Horse, &c. were formed, under individual leadership. Jacobite cavalry was always, in modern parlance 'in short supply'.

Being in French service, Macdonald surrendered himself after Culloden, was liberated under the Cartel, and got back to France. The only subsequent trace of him is one letter to Prince Charles of date 1760, asking for a favour for a friend. No portrait of him exists.

Lord Elcho calls him a captain in the Carbineers, presumably his rank in French or Spanish service; in the Prince's army he was a General. There is no record of when or by whom he was knighted.

*The Manuscript of Sir John Macdonald*  
*entitled by himself*  
Abregé  
Ou Recueil de ce qui est arrivé Au prince en  
Ecosse &c par un témoin

Monseigneur

Selon l'ordre de Votre Altesse Royale, j'écris les faits dont j'ai été témoin sous vos ordres en Ecosse, et en Angleterre, comme ma mémoire me les fournit, sans date, n'en ayant point tenu de notes pendant cette guerre.

Je me sers de l'occasion d'un de mes amis, dont je suis bien sûr pour que cette narration soit rendu à Votre Altesse royale en mains propre. Je me flatte d'en être assez connu pour qu'elle soit persuadée que les fautes qui s'y trouvent doivent être attribués au défaut de ma mémoire, et que je suis exempt d'envie ou de haine contre qui que ce soit de ceux que j'y nomme; je l'écris pour Votre Altesse Royale avec la résolution de la tenir cachée à tout autre.

A la fin du mois de Mai de l'année 1745, je reçu par une lettre de Mr. le Chevalier Sheridan, ordre de S.A.R.<sup>l</sup>. de me rendre le onze de Juin suivant incognito à Nantes, et de m'adresser à Mr. Welch qui me doneroit de plus amples instructions. J'y arrivai le onze au matin, en ayant donné avis à Mr. Welch il vint me trouver, et comme j'étoit fort connu des marchands Irlendois établis à Nantes, il m'indiqua une auberge vis-à-vis les Recolets<sup>1</sup> par de la les ponts de la Loire, ou j'allai me loger, quelques jours après le Che<sup>l</sup>r. Sheridan vint m'y voir. Le vaisseau dans lequel nous devions nous embarquer n'étant pas prêt non plus que l'Elizabeth qui devoit nous escorter nous restâmes plusieurs jours à Nantes dans une grande impatience. Un jour le Che<sup>l</sup>r. Sheridan vint diner avec moi, son

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<sup>1</sup> Name of a religious order.

cousin<sup>1</sup> Michel Sheridan, qui s'étoit venu cacher la vieille dans le meme logis, s'y trouva, nous parlames du retardemen du vaisseau l'Elisabet qui etoit a brest, je dit sur cela a Sheridan, que je pensois que le millieu moien etoit d'envoier ordre de proposer de l'argent au Commissaire de la Marine ou Intendant pour faire expedier le depart de ce Vaisseau, et pour le mieux, dans le moment d'y envoyer en poste son parent qui etoit present. Il eû beaucoup de peines à se rendre aux raisons que je lui alleguois pour cette demarche, mais enfin il s'y rendit et en fit raport à S.A.R. aparament, car Mic partit le meme soir, et à ce que j'ai oui dire moienant 1500<sup>ll</sup>. le vaisseau fut expedié. Aussitost apres que la nouvelle fut venû de l'expedition de l'Elisabeth S.A.R. se determina à partir; la vielle du depart de Nantes Welch imagina de faire faire pour le Prince un habir d'Abbé;<sup>2</sup> S.A. l'ayant approuvé se rendit ainsi que nous de sa suite, de bon matin au quai de Nantes avec six ou sept domestiques nous nous mimes dans deux barques pour decendre la loire et arrivames le soir à St. Nazare, ou nous trouvames dans l'auberge le Sr. Talbot, officier d'un vaisseau que Welch avoit armé, convalescent d'une blessure qu'il avoit recu dans un combat contre un vaisseau de guere anglois qui avoit été pris par ce vaisseau dans lequel Talbot etoit officier. Welch l'embarqua avec nous il y servit bien, et j'ai appris depuis par ceux qui ont été en Ecosse dans le vaisseau nommé le Prince Charles, qu'il etoit reconnu pour un homme de valeur et de capacité dans son metier, je scai que lui etant prisonier avec moi en Angleterre, il a été aime et estime des enemis ainse que des amis.<sup>3</sup> Je marque cecy parcequ'il peut servir un autre fois, et que je suis assuré qu'il est de ces gens bien rares sur les quels lon peut parfaitement compter. Le lendemain matin nous nous embarquames dans le vaisseau de Mr. Welch à St. Nazare et allames avec beau tems et bon vent à la rade de Belle Isles, attendre l'Elisabet qui fut longtems à venir, pendant ce tems la il passa deux

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<sup>1</sup> Nephew of Sir Thomas.

<sup>2</sup> This is the costume described in the 'Journal of a Highland Officer' in *Lyon in Mourning* as 'a plain black coat, with a plain shirt, not very clean and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle—a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hatt with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons—he had black stockings and brass buckles in his shoes.' The reason for this disguise is not given by any other writer.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Talbot greatly distinguished himself when in command of the *Prince Charles*, coming to Scotland with supplies in the seventh Item in this Miscellany, p. 175. There is no record of either Talbot or Macdonald having been prisoners in England. It may have been after the Rising of 1715, the list of prisoners on that occasion not having been so well kept as those for 1745-1746.

navires de Nantes qui revenoient de la mer, et qui purent dire à Nantes qu'ils avoient vû Welch à notre bord, au grand detrimement de nôtre secret, enfin ce grand vaisseau l'Elisabet arriva, et avec lui le Sieur Rutlage qui avoit fait avoir ce vaisseau, S.A.R. envoya le Sieur Rutelage à Paris avec des lettres; dans ce tems la le Chevalier Sheridan me dit qu'il craignoit beaucoup que les lettres envoyés en déferents endroits surtout celles par Stafford<sup>1</sup> à Madrid n'arrivassent plus tost que lon ne vouloit; il est étonant que Sheridan ne connu pas les retardements par vents contraires, et autres accidents si ordinaires à la mer.

De la rade de Belle Isle nous fimes voile pour l'Ecosse, le second ou troisieme jour de notre navigation de bon matin nous apercumes un navire qui avoit le vent de nous, et qui venoit nous reconoitre, Dau qui commandoit l'Elisabet, vint à notre bord, recevoir les ordres de S.A.R. et s'accorder avec Welch sur la manœuvre, il fut resolu que Dau aborderoit l'Anglois le plus tost qu'il lui seroit possible, & que nous nous tiendrions à portée de lui fournir des hommes par le coté à l'abri de l'ennemi. Quand l'Anglois approcha pour nous reconoitre nous etions derriere l'Elisabet, qui mit son pavillon et tira un coup de canon pour l'assurer. L'anglois ayant reconnu que l'Elisabet etoit de force egal à lui, et bien fourni de mousqueterie, s'eloigna pour se preparer au combat en jettant à la mer ses chaloupes et autres bois, ensuite il revint conservant toujours l'avantage du vent et tira un canon, auquel l'Elisabet repondit par toute sa bordée de Tribord, et sa mousqueterie fit plus grand feu que celle de l'Anglois. Nous venions de passer en avant de l'Elisabet lorsque l'anglois qui etoit mellieu voilier mit quelques voile de plus que Dau, et passa entre l'Elisabet et nous donant sa bordée qui enfiloit l'Elisabet d'un bout à l'autre tua Dau, son frere qui etoit Lieutenant et beaucoup de monde; en meme tems l'angloid tira aussi sur nous 5. ou 6. coups de canon qui hereusement nous manquerent. Celui qui devint commandant de l'Elisabet n'étant aparament point au fait de l'expedition ni du conseil tenu avant le combat. Je continua à coup de canon, et avec la mousqueterie, et manœuvrant peu, au lieu que l'anglois tournoit autour de lui. Pendant tout le reste du combat, nous tournions comme eux de facon que nous les voyeons bien sans etre en danger, vers le soir

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Stafford was one of the Prince's most faithful servants (once his tutor) and remained in his service looking after his belongings at Avignon during the years when the Prince was lost to sight in various parts of Europe.

l'anglois ne tiroit plus que de loin en loin un coup de canon, et l'Elisabet continuoit son feu comme au commencement. le combat finit à la nuit sur quoi nous mimes des lanternes pour signaux, et rejoignimes l'Elisabet. Le Sieur Connoway Cap<sup>tn</sup>. au reg<sup>t</sup>. de Clare qui se trouvant en recrue à Brest au depart de l'Elisaget etoit venu volontaire, nous dit qu'ils avoient eu beaucoup de gens tués, et de blessés, qu'ils demandoient un renfort de notre vaisseau, que l'on envoya notre chaloupe le chercher lui, & Michel Sheridan qui etoit blessé, et qu'il falloit que l'Elisabet retourna à Brest etant hors d'etat de continuer le voiage. Welch repondit qu'il avoit trop peu d'hommes pour leurs en donner; et qu'il ne leurs enverroit pas sa chaloupe si ils ne mettoient en panne pour l'attendre. Comme ils ne pouvoient le faire à cause des coups de canon que le vaisseau avoit recu, nous les quittames vers les onze heures du soir et reprimes notre route, la premiere tere que nous vimes fut jugée être le nord d'Irlande, que nous quittames pour aller plus au large chercher les isles Occidentales de l'Ecosse; la premiere que nous vimes fur celle de Bara dont nous approchames fort pret. S.A.R. envoya dans la chaloupe à la maison de MacNeil de Bara Mr. Kelly et Enée MacDonald, dont une sœur avoit epousé MacNeel il ne se trouva pas ches lui; en les attendant nous vimes venir une barque un pilote<sup>1</sup> qui nous mena dans la baye d'une Isle ou demeure le frere de Clan Ranald MacDonald nous y jettames l'ancre. Peu apres un navire ayant paru qui vint croisier devant la baye ou nous etions, mais qui ne pouvoit y entrer à cause du vent contraire il fut jugé à propos que le Prince et nous allassions à tere nous abordames chez un nommé MacDonald<sup>2</sup> et y passames la nuit le lendemains matin le frere de Clan Ranald le pere<sup>3</sup> vint saluer le Prince, et revint avec nous à notre vaisseau, ou il parut fort contraire à l'entreprise, et qu'il etoit venu de la part du Chev<sup>lr</sup>. Alexandre M<sup>c</sup>D<sup>ld</sup>. et de MacCloud pour persuader le Prince de s'en retourner en France n' y ayant point d'aparence de reussir. Comme lon etoit persuadé que la declaration de ces deux chefs, dont lon voioit le refus, decideroit si nous aurions une armée ou non, la pluralité dans le conseil qui se tint dans ce tems la, fut d'avis de retourna d'autant plus que nous venions d'apprendre que les partizans du Prince en Ecosse lui avoit

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<sup>1</sup> According to *The Lyon in Mourning*, the pilot was the Laird of Barra's piper, and was fetched from the shore by Donald Cameron, old Lochiel's servant, who had cause with the expedition in order 'to point out the Long Isle'.

<sup>2</sup> The owner of the little house where they sheltered, one Angus Macdonald, did not know who his guests were.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale.

envoyé depuis fort peu de tems Glangary pour mander à S.A.R. de ne pas venir,<sup>1</sup> je fut d'avis de retourner, S.A.R. voulu débarquer et soutint son opinion avec une force de raisonnement admirable, et une grandeur d'ame dignes d'un Prince capable de grandes et perilleuses entreprise. Welch parla beaucoup pour cette avis. S.A.R. ayant décidé chacun ne songea plus qu'à le suivre. Welch ayant observé la manœuvre du vaisseau qui croisoit devant la baye mit à la voile pendant la nuit lorsque ce vaisseau s'éloignoit ainsi passant tranquillement par les Isles de Coll Rum et Egg nous arrivames dans la baye d'arrassick située dans les terres de Clan Ranald, en entrant dans cette baye le Prince envoya Enée McD<sup>ld</sup>. dans la chalope à son frere aîné qui demouroit au haut d'un lac<sup>2</sup> qui communique à la mer dans cette baye, il revint avec son aîné et d'autres de ses freres, et Clan Ranald qui s'y trouva par hazard, le Prince lui proposa de lever son monde l'entreprise parut étonnante à ce jeune homme qui ayant pere et mere n'osoit pas aisement le promettre; cette indecision dura pret d'une heure pendant le quel tems il sortis deux ou trois fois de la chambre pour me venir consulter comme son parent et homme en qui il pouvoit avoir confiance, je fit tous mes efforts pour le persuader de faire ce que le Prince desiroit. Je n'eû pas plus de peine, que lon en a ordinairement à persuader les gens de faire ce à quoi leur inclination les porte violament. il promit de lever ses vassaux et assura qu'en cas que d'autres chefs ne joignissent pas, il se faisoit fort de garder la personne du Prince contre ses ennemis au moins pendant six mois. Cest donc bien injustement que lon a voulu lui ôter la gloire d'avoir eû le premier chef qui a joint le Prince.<sup>3</sup> En consequence de la promesse que Clan Ranald venoit de faire, il ordonna à Glenaladal qui etoit son major de lever ses vassaux, le Prince envoya deux jours apres Clan Ranald au Che<sup>lr</sup>. Alexandre McD<sup>ld</sup>. et MacCloud, leurs proposer de le joindre avec leurs Vassaux, à quoi de repondirent en termes ambigûs. S.A. envoya aussi Kinloch-Moidart dans le pais bas pour changer en guinés un somme se louis que les montagnards ne vouloient pas recevoir pour leur

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<sup>1</sup> Alistair Macdonald of Glengarry, afterwards 'Pickle the Spy', had missed the Prince in France. On returning to England, he was taken prisoner with Charles Radcliffe and others and thrown into the Tower, so took no part in the Rising.

<sup>2</sup> Loch Moidart.

<sup>3</sup> Obviously the Scotch Macdonalds accepted Sir John as a member of the family. Sir John gives the honour of being the first to join the Prince to Clanranald, but actually Donald Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart joined first—see *The Lyon in Mourning*—he was afterwards hanged at Carlisle, having been taken prisoner while on a mission for the Prince.

valeur. Glanaladal cependant amena des barques et des hommes pour débarquer les armes et munition du vaisseau, et y travailla lui-même avec un zèle et force admirable, le Prince chargea Sullivan de ce détail qui fit transporter les munitions et armes chez Kinloch ou Glanaladal faisoit monter une garde de ces gens lon apporta au vaisseau un cerf et quelque chevreuils qui Clan Ranald avoit fait tuer pour S.A.R. Nous restames plusieurs jours à l'ancre dans cette rade, ou sans cesse venouent des montagnards pour voir le Prince, aux quel ils estoient si fidels que quoique tout le peuple des environs scussent qu'il y estoit pas un ne voulut en aller avertir le commandant anglois du fort Guillaume. Dans ce tems la Scotus<sup>1</sup> vint qui admirant beaucoup la hardiesse de l'entreprise du Prince, me dit qu'il estoit etonné que S.A.R. fut venu sans un corps de troupes des munition suffisantes et une plus grosse somme d'argent, à quoi je repondit que si le Prince avoit eû tout cela il auroit sans doute débarqué pret de Londres, qu'il ne venoit dans les montagnes que pour chercher des braves gens attaché à sa maison, que la bataille de fontenoy, l'absence des troupes angloises, et leur decouragement donnoient lieu à une entreprise brusque et hardi. Le Docteur Cameron vint aussi qui badina beaucoup et ne promit rien sinon que si il joignoit l'étendart de S.A.R. il seroit des derniers à le quitter, parole qu'il a bien tenu, en servant fort bien.<sup>2</sup> Quand les munitions furent débarqués S.A.R. alla à une cabane d'un nomé McD<sup>ld</sup>. et mena avec lui le Duc d'Athol et le Che<sup>hr</sup>. Sheridan; Kelly, Sullivan, Strickland. Clan Ranald et moi allames chez Kinloch Moidart, ou nous trouvames son frere Ené qui y avoit preceque toujours resté, nous y attendimes pendant quelques jours pendant lesquels lon nous assura que LochHiel estoit allé saluer le Prince et lui promettre de joindre avec ses vassaux, et Capoch<sup>3</sup> à la tete des siens, l'etendart de S.A.R. le jour marqué pour l'arborer à Glen Finen. Cela fait, le Prince vint a Moydart. Le lendemain le Duc d'Athol me dit qu'il estoit fort offensé de ce que lon vouloit qu'il signa un écrit d'association qui portoit une promess d'etre fidel au parti du Prince comme si lon se mafioit de son integrité. Je lui dit qu'à la verité cela paroissoit d'abord désagreable à un honette homme dont la parole suffit, en meme tems que je pensois que cet

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<sup>1</sup> Donald Macdonald of Scotus. Wounded at Culloden, taken prisoner, and put on board an Indiaman for transportation. *En route* he was captured by Turks and eventually got home after many adventures.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Archibald Cameron was taken and hanged in 1753—the last man to die for the Prince's cause.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, killed at Culloden.

écrit seroit un foible lien pour ceux qui voudroient nous quitter, je croyois qu'il devoit le signer pour l'exemple. lon ne me le proposa pas et je n'en ai plus entendu parler, hors Strickland qui me dit que lon lui avoit proposé, et qu'il l'avoit signé; pendant notre séjour à Kinloch, Welch envoya deux batiments chargé de farine d'avoine qu'il avoit prit en s'en allant et qui firent grand bien dans le pais ou l'en manquoit depuis quatre mois, LochHiel envoya aussi des malles de la poste que lui & Capoch avoit fait enlever sur le chemin du fort Guillaume. Ils battirent aussi et prirent prisoniers une comagnie d'infanterie qui alloit au fort Guillaume avec le Capt. Nomé Sweatman, le plus poli du petit nombre des officiers anglois qui fussent sociables. Il fut envoyé au Prince à Glinfinen, ou nous trouvames environ 60. hommes de Clan Ranald pour la garde tout le Clan n'ayant pû être levé à cause que grand nombre avoit été occupé à débarquer le vaisseau, et à des gardes, outre que ce clan est en partie dans les Isles.

Le jour marqué d'arborer l'étendart, arriverent selon leur promeses les deux chefs Loch Hieil & Capoch à la tête de leurs vassaux. Je n'en ai rien vû de si agréablement bizarre que la marche de cette troupe de montagnards decendante en bonne ordre une montagne escarpée par un chemin en zig-zag; Loch Hiel en amenoit environ 900, et Capoch environ 500. La ceremonie d'arborer l'étendart fini, Loch Hiel me dit que n'ayant jamais été apportée de voir des armée, il ne pretendoit point savoir les affaires militaires, mais qu'il prendroit conseil de nous autres qui avions de l'experiance, sur quoi je lui dit qu'il falloit commencer par établir un major,<sup>1</sup> que cela etoit absolument necessaire pour le détails des gardes, des marches et pour empecher la confusion; que j'étois bien sûr que Mr. Sullivan en etoit aussi capable que qui-ce-fut parceque je l'avois connu à la guerre d'Italie, que s'il n'y avoit pas été, que Strickland ou moi aurions fait cette office, qui eut d'une necessite absolu, mais que Sullivan le feroit mieux que nous, j'en parlai aussi à S.A.R. qui y consentit. Deux ou trois jours s'étant passé sans faire cet établissement, je prit la liberté de proposer à S.A.R. de finir cette affaire, sans quoi il n'y auroit que confusion, et désordre dans son armée, le Prince l'ayant approuvé, j'appelle Sullivan et lui dit d'écrire

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<sup>1</sup> An adjutant. The title of 'Majeur' is now usually reserved for the army Doctors in French service. O'Sullivan soon after received the appointment of Adjutant and Quartermaster-General to the Prince's Army.

un ordre pour détachement, ou garde, comme il voudroit, afin de l'installer Major-General cequi fut fait.

Pendant notre séjour à Glen Finen Jean Murry et Glenbucket<sup>1</sup> vinrent trouve le Prince et s'en retournerent tout de suite; ce viellard etoit le seul des écossois que j'ai connû capable de partir à l'heure marquée, et le plus expeditif. Apres avoir laissé aupres de Glen Finen quelques munitions faute de chevaux, lon marcha le long du lac du fort Guillaume jusqu'à la maison d'un des freres de Loch Hiel<sup>2</sup> qui n'ayant pas voulu nous joindre s'etoit rendûs au fort. Nous y trouvames sa famme et d'autres dames qui recurent S.A.R. fort bien et le regalerent de leurs mieux, par la direction de lochhiel. Le lendemain la marche fut dirigée par la montagne pour eviter le canon du fort Guillaume, le sur lendemain lon marcha jusqu'au château de Glengary dans cette marche le Chev<sup>lr</sup>. Sheridan vint me dire en confidence que lon etoit resolu de laisser le plus que lon pouroit de bagage. Je lui dit que cela ne me paroissoit point du tout necessaire, et que je ferois porter le peu que j'avois jusqu'à ceque je vit le tems au quel il faudroit se preparer à une affaire. Nous arrivames de nuit chez Glangary qui avoit assemblé les vassaux de son pere.<sup>3</sup> Nous y trouvames aussi Glinbucket qui reçû dans le moment nouvel que le General anglois Cope marchoit à nous, et faisoit courir le bruit qu'il comptoit nous attaquer à la montagne de Cary arrack. Sur cette nouvelle je dit au jeune Glangary qu'il seroit bien util d'envoyer de petits detachements par les hauters des deux cotes du chemin pour observer la marche des ennemies et en donner avis, cela etoit bien aisé à executer à ses gens qui connoissoient parfaitement le pais etoit accoutumés aux montagnes, et ne couroient point de risque des anglois qui ne pouvoient sortir du beau grand chemin neuf qu'ils suivoient. Cela ne fut point suivi. L'on tint ce soir un conseil, ou Sullivan, Strickland, ni moi, qui avions vû des operations militaires, ne fumes point appellés.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Gordon of Glenbucket was a doughty veteran of the 1715 Rising. He had also, as a boy, been present at Killiecrankie. In 1745 he was 72 years of age.

<sup>2</sup> John Cameron of Fassifern, who afterwards suffered a long imprisonment, on suspicion of complicity in the Rising or subsequent plots.

<sup>3</sup> This was Glengary's second son Aeneas—a boy of 19 who was accidentally killed the day after the battle of Falkirk, leaving a son.

<sup>4</sup> The professional soldier here has a grievance.

Du chateau de Glangary nous marchames à un village peu eloigné du fort Auguste, dans cette marche Archibald Stuart<sup>1</sup> joignit avec les vassaux d'Apin Stuart son parent, ils etoient en petit nombre. Environs ce tems le Clan Ranald rejoigit avec son monde. Le lendemain nous passames une montagne pour eviter le canon du fort Auguste, ensuite nous reprimes le grand chemin et fimes halte au haut de Carry arrack, et arrivames de bonne heure à un petit cabaret.<sup>2</sup> Cette marche etoit d'environ 20. miles, pendant laquelle les montagnards se plaignoient de ceque le Prince, qui marchoit à pied à leur tete, alloit trop vite; Sullivan et moi en avertimes le Prince. Apres cette marche, nouvelle etant venu que les ennemies avant marcher par la montagne toutes la nuit promettantz de joindre les ennemies avant qu'ils pussent gagner Inverness, le bruit d'un grand butin à faire les y engageoit. A la sollicitation des montagnards qui paroissoient prêts à se revolter contre leurs chefs, Stricklands, et moi leurs en parlames, ils ne voulurent pas y consentir, en consequence nous continuames notre marche par le grand chemin, au travers du pais de badenoch jusqu'au chateau de Blair, ou pendant le sejour qui fut de deux ou trois jours Sullivan fit la revue, de la lon marcha à Dunkel et à Perth ou le Duc de Perth vint joindre, et le jeune Lord Ogilvie qui retourna pour lever les vassaux de son pere. Struan Robisson vint joindre environ ce tems la avec ses gens,<sup>3</sup> le Ld. George Murray y vint aussi. Environ 3 jours apres son arrivé une famme des M<sup>c</sup>D<sup>l</sup>ds. qui avoit demeuré longtems dans son voisinage, vint me trouver accompagné d'un homme du clanne de Cameron, qui avoit été longtems dans les gueres de flandre à cequ'il me dit. J'examinai ces gens avec soin, la famme me dit qu'elle etoit venu expres pour avertir S.A.R. que le Ld. George etoit un de ses plus grands ennemies, je lui demandai quels preuves elle en avoit, elle me dit qu'elle le connoissoit depuis beaucoup d'années pour un malhonnete home qu'entre autre, depuis peu il avoit assemblé au château de Blair un nombre des vassaux de son frere pour la guere; que ces gens la etoient venus dans l'opinion que cetoit pour joindre notre armée qui approchoit, mais que lui Ld.

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<sup>1</sup> It was Charles Stewart of Ardshiel who led the body of Appin Stewarts. He escaped and died in France.

<sup>2</sup> Here Sir John omits detailed description of the march over Corryarrack pass and the Highlanders' disappointment at finding that Cope had fled to Inverness. Blair was only reached on 1 Sept.

<sup>3</sup> Old Robertson of Struan was, like John Gordon of Glenbucket, a veteran of Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir. He was too old to be of much use, but the Prince made him a charming speech saying how he valued his moral support—he brought 900 men.

Gge. lorsqu'ils eurent, dans cette opinion promis de marcher, il leur avoit dit qu'ils allassent trouver le General Cope qui leur donneroit des armes et de l'argent; que ces gens la sur cette proposition s'étoient dispersés, que plusieurs d'eux avoient passé à sa porte, que ce lord George l'avoit empêché deux fois de monter chez le Prince parcequ'il sçavoit qu'elle le connoissoit.<sup>1</sup> Ainsi elle me conjuroit d'en faire raport à S.A.R. parcequ'elle étoit bien sûr comme c'étoient [*sic*] l'opinion de beaucoup d'autres, que cet homme nous trahiroit, et seroit la cause de la ruine de notre parti et de ses compatriotes. J'en avertit le Prince, comme je croiois devoir le faire, avec d'autant moins de scrupul que cetoit un homme à qui je n'avois point encore parlé, et qu'il n'y avoit pas plus de 3. ou 4. jours que je scû qu'il y eut un tel homme dans le monde.

Après avoir resté environ 15. jours à Perth<sup>2</sup> l'armée marcha à Dunblain, ou M<sup>c</sup>D<sup>l</sup>d. de Glinco vint joindre avec ses gens. Le lendemain lon passa la riviere de Stirling à [un gué](#) quelques miles dessus de la ville, lon vint le soir à un village pret de Sterling dans cette marche la halte fut chez un gentilhomme,<sup>3</sup> dont les domestiques tuerent des moutons pour donner à l'armée, comme cette distribution tarδοit les montagnards en tuerent quelques uns, sur quoi Loch Hiel monta à cheval et tira un coup de pistolet à un de ses gens qu'il blessa, mais dont il a gueri à ce que j'ai oui dire; le lendemain l'armée passa une petite plaine pret Stirling et lon tira quelques coups de canon du château qui ne toucherent personne. S.A.R. alla diner à Bannockburn et coucher chez le Ld. Kilmarnock pret Falkirk. Ensuite fort proche d'Edinbourg sur la droite de la ville par raport à notre marche, lon fit un detachement pour surprendre des dragons anglois pendant cette marche, qui ne reussit pas, avertis de notre marche ils se retirent à grande hate au dela d'Edinbourg.<sup>4</sup> La nuit suivante les magistrats vinrent trouver le Prince pour traiter de la capitulation de la ville, et s'en retournerent sans avoir obtenu de S.A.R. leurs demandes. Cette meme nuit Sullivan marcha avec Loch Hiel a la tete d'un detachement de ses

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<sup>1</sup> All this story about Lord George was quite untrue. It arose from the jealousy between the Irish and the Scots which did so much harm to the Prince's cause.

<sup>2</sup> The Prince only remained at Perth from 4-11 Sept., but Sir John expressly says he is not sure of his dates!

<sup>3</sup> House of Tough. [actually [Touch](#) Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Murray of Broughton says the Prince *himself* took part in this attempt to cut off the Dragoons. It was frustrated by their hasty flight earlier in the day along the Long Dykes of Edinburgh, now Prince's Street, known as the 'Canter of Coltbridge'.

gens, à la ville; à la pointe du jour, a la faveur d'un carosse qui sortait, il entra la barriere, et s'empara de la ville sans bruit ni desordre;<sup>1</sup> lapres midi S.A.R. entra à Cheval à la tete de la colonne par le Parc dans le fauxbourg de Cannegate, et alla loger au Palais de ses pères, cette marche se fit par les vallons à l'abri du canon du chateau. Le concours du peuple pour voir cette entrée fut excessive par raport à l'etendû<sup>2</sup> de la ville; les montagnards furent logés dans les fauxbourgs et village voisins; lon plaça des gardes, entre autres une au haut de la grande rue proche le chateau, ces gardes faisoient si mal leur devoir qu'il etoit ainé à la garnison du chateau de les enlever et de nous faire bien du mal; les montagnards ne pouvoient pas se persuader qu'il y a des surprise, et des gens tués dans leurs lit à la guere, par cette raison. J'ai souvent dir à Sullivan que je voudrois les employer beaucoup en patrouilles et petits detachements et fort peu en gardes. Peu de tems apres cette prise d'Edinbourg nouvelles vint que Cope ayant débarqué avec son armée à Barwick, marchoit à nous, sur quoi le Prince envoya Sullivan et moi avec le Lord George Murry, choisir un champ de bataille proche le Parc d'Edinbourg. Sullivan et moi fumes d'un avis different de ce Lord, le lendemain le Prince monta à cheval et alla lui-même reconnoitre cette plaine ou l'armée s'assemble et lon distribua de la poudre et des balles. Jean Murray avoit fait amasser cequ'il avoit pû d'armes dans le pais, dans ce moment la Jean Roye Stuart vint avec in gentilhomme assurer que les ennemis etoit environ à 6. miles de la campée. Lon tint un conseil de guere auquel je fut appellé et qui fut fort court. S.A.R. envoya Sullivan et moi reconnoitre le terrain parceque le jour etoit fort avancé. S.A.R. passa la nuit dans un petite maison à la droite de son armée<sup>3</sup> et marcha de bon matin le lendemain aux ennemies par le grand chemin d'Edinbourg à Berwick, environ à un mile des ennemies nous passames une riviere sur un pont, apres quoi nous entrames dans une petite plaine d'ou lon voioit les ennemies, qui se contenterent de rester dans leur poste qui etoit fort avantageux; suposé que lon les attaqua par le grand chemin que nous tenions. Ils avoient devant eux un village bien garni de murailles de pierre, et de hayes, par lequel le grand chemin passoit; devant leur droite un

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<sup>1</sup> Most accounts give the credit for the bloodless capture of Edinburgh to Lochiel and Keppoch, but Sir John assigns it to his fellow Irishman. Sullivan was certainly there.

<sup>2</sup> A good account of the Prince's entry into Edinburgh and the Proclamation has already been given by Magdalen Pringle, see p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> 'the previous evening'.

village sur le bord de la mer, dont les enclos joignoient ceux du premier et deriere leur droite un autre village ou ils avoient mis leur bagage, et quelques montagnards, peut etre parcequ'ils ne se fioient pas à eux. Leur gauche etoit appuié à de bonnes muraille qui fermoient les enclos d'un nomé Gardiner, Colonel de dragons qui mourout le même jour chez lui dans son lit et sur le champ de bataille. Au bout de ces murailles il y avoit des fossés dont un se prolongoir deriere leur gauche mais etoit peu considerable, à un pas de ces murailles ou leur gauche etoit appuié sont les hayes d'un gros village bien garni de jardinage, et de chemin creux, ce village est situé sur le penchant du coteau qui termine la plaine d'un coté comme la mer la termine de l'autre. Lorsque la tete de notre colonne fut passé le pont et entrée dans cette plaine dont je viens de faire la description, le Ld. George Murray qui avoit obtenû à Perth le grade de Lt. General, qui depuis avoir toujours pris plus d'autorité que ne devoit lui appartenir, et passé pour le commandement devant le Duc de Perth son ancien, sans contestation parceque ce dernier vouloit bien sacrifier au bien de la chose son rang son argent et sa vie, prit le commandement de la colonne et marcha à la tete des Cameron faisant prendre aux Cameron la droite, contre l'usage des montagnards la surveillance<sup>1</sup> dont j'ai parlé. En allant reconnoitre une position pour une bataille il avoit demandé à Sullivan et a moi si des corps de troupes comme regts. ne prenoient pas le poste d'honneur alternativement un jour l'un apres l'autre; nous lui dimes que non, que le rang etoit réglé avant d'entrer en campagne et demeuroit immeuble. Il suivoit son sisteme qui servit bien depuis, peut-être selon son intention, à mettre la division dans nôtre armée, sur tout à Cullouden. Le lord George marcha à la tete de la colonne vers le village qui etoit à la gauche des ennemies. A la requisition de Lord Strouthallen, dans ce même tems, je marchai à l'avant-garde avec la troupe de cavalerie qu'il venoit de lever, jusque sur le haut de la coline, ou nous vimes une troupe des dragons, des ennemies qui se retiroient le plus vite qu'ils pouvoient par le village qui étoit à la gauche de leur armée.

Pendant ce tems la notre armée arriva en bon ordre. le Ld. George avanca avec le premier ligne composé de montagnards, jusqu'à une petite distance du village, ensuite il porta sa droite jusqu'au village, mais quelques choses que Sullivan put lui dire, il ne voulû pas fouiller le village ni mettre du monde dans le clocher et

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<sup>1</sup> 'the previous evening'.

dans le cimetiere, ce qui est l'usage ordinaire de l'infanterie. Heureusement que les anglois etoient aussi ignorant de la guere que lui, puisqu'ils devoient chercher à combattre dans des pais fourés,<sup>1</sup> où par leur habileté à soutenir un feu d'infanterie ils auroient probablement eu l'avantage sur les montagnards qui ne veulent point d'autres facons de combattre que celui du sabre dans la plaine.<sup>2</sup> Pendant les allés et venûs de Sullivan du Prince au Ld. George, S.A.R. voulut faire mettre la seconde ligne, à hauteur de la premiere, j'entrepris de faire ce mouvement qui est bien facil par un quart de conversion, et marcher mais ces gens criant tous en meme tems ne pouvoient ni entendre ni executer un commandement, et j'y echouai. Je n'ai point vû que ces gens aient jamais pû comprendre que pour faire un mouvement et entendre le commandement, il falloit qu'il y eut un profond silence dans la troupe, chacun dans cette armée croioit qu'il ne falloit que du sens commun pour entendre la guere, et chacun etoit persuadé qu'il avoit ce sens commun.

Dans ces entrefaites, Sullivan revint de la droite dans la plus grande douleur de ceque le Ld. George ne vouloit rien faire de ce qu'il lui conseilloit, je l'exhorter de mon mieux de travailler pour le service du Prince et de la cause commune. S.A.R. lui ordonna dans ce tems la avec la seconde ligne de masquer le debouche du village par le chemin d'Edinbourg, il se mit en marche et moi j'allai en diligence vers la droite que je trouvai parti, le Ld. George avoit passé au travers ce grand village à la hate sans aucune precaution. Je gallopai jusqu'au bout du village ou je vit les montagnards qui couroient par peletons pour se former deriere la gauche des ennemies; je vit avec fremissement cette manoevre qui exposoit les montagnards à être detruits dans cette plaine avant de se mettre en bataille, heureusement que personne ne s'y opposa. Le projet du Ld. George de tourner l'armée des ennemies etoit bon et d'un homme qui a du talent, mais son ignorance dans l'execution exposoit l'armée à être detruite en detail. Heureusement que les ennemies se trouverent si contents de leurs poste qu'il ne voulurent pas en bouger ni meme faire manœuvrer leur cavalerie qui seule auroit pû facilement empecher que lon ne les tourna. Le mellieur moiien dont

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<sup>1</sup> Wooded.

<sup>2</sup> The trained soldier shivered at the unorthodox tactics of the Highlanders, but these nevertheless succeeded. It was a mark of the military genius of Lord George Murray that he knew just how far to impose discipline on the clansmen without destroying the native *élan*.

se servit le lord George pour executer ce dessein fut de marcher peu avant la nuit; d'ailleurs, il marcha, en tout, point tres mal.

Par ce mouvement notre premier ligne, qui etoit de veritables montagnards, et trouva à la nuit en bataille deriere le fossé qui comme j'ai dit cy dessus etoit à peu pres alligné aux murailles ou la gauche des ennemies etoit appuié. Nos montagnards coucherent en bataille sur des gerbes qu'ils ammasserent; le Prince y passa aussi la nuit à la tete des camérons sur de la paille, je visitai plusieurs fois la ligne pendant la nuit et j'admirois comme nos gens dormoient tranquillement à une portée de carabine de l'armée ennemie, qui avoit beaucoup de feu, et faisoit grand bruit, et que je pouvois entendre parler, et par consequent jurer. Vers les dix heures il y a eû quelques coups de fusil au chemin d'Edinbourg ou étoit Sullivan qui ne fut pas de consequence, environ la moitié de la nuit les ennemies jetterent quelques fusées en l'air que je jugeai être un signal pour quelque manœuvre àparament pour faire volte face, puisque lon les avoit tournés. Aussitost qu'il fut possible de voir ils tirerent leur canon, les montagnards les chargerent S.A.R. a leur tete, et ils furent mis en deroute, avant que moi qui etois avec la cavalerie du Lord Strouthallen put voir distinctement. Vers les trois heures du matin Sullivan et Ld. Nairn revinrent avec la seconde ligne se mettre derriere la premiere, et un peu devant le jour notre armee fit un petit mouvement par le droite, que je ne pû voir, la seconde ligne n'eu rien à faire. La lumiere du matin qui vient vite me permis de voir cette armee en deroute bien tost, sur quoi je dit à la cavalerie de marcher et me suivre; le Ld. Strouthallen & Mr. Gasque<sup>1</sup> me crierent que je les menois trop vite que leurs chevaux ne pouvoient pas aller si grand train, sur quoi j'avancai avec environ douze jeune gens de bonnes volontes le long des murailles dont j'ai parlé et sur le penchant du coteau de la je voyois l'armée en deroute et la cavalerie qui s'en fuioit devant les montagnards dans la plaine comme un troupeau de moutons qui apres avoir couru se rassemble et se remet à courir lorsque la peur les reprend. Cette cavalerie etoit obligé de faire un grand tour pour venir passer au bout de la murailles ou j'etois, par un chemin creux qui etois bordé d'ajoncs. Je trouvai le long de cette muraille un officier avec 50. hommes d'Athol que je priois instament d'avancer promptement jusqu'au chemin creux ou il arreteroit cette cavalerie. Il fit semblant de

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<sup>1</sup> Oliphant of Gask. The loyal Jacobite who said; 'They sent our true Prince among us, and I followed him.'

vouloir courir mais il rallentit aussitost sa marche, sur quoi je dit à mes jeunes gens que nous étions trop peu en nombre pour charger cette cavalerie mais qu'après que le gros seroit passé, ils n'avoient chacun qu'à aller attraper quelque traîneur ou quelques chevaux. J'y envoyai aussi mon domestique qui prit un cheval. En meme tems, j'allai au devant des montagnards que j'avois vû courir déjà plus d'un mil en plaine apres de la cavalerie. Je trouvai dabord le major de Capoch à qui je dit de faire halte, il eu de la peine à arreter ses gens, aussi bien que le jeune Glangary. Quand ils eurent fait halte, lon vint me dire qu'il y avoit environ 50 dragons avec leur chevaux qui s'étoient refugies dans un enclos; je proposai aux montagnards de faire un detachment pour aller prendre, personne ne voulu marcher. Les montagnards ne veulent plus rien faire apres avoir eté arrêtés dans une action. Je demandai des nouvelles de Capoch qui n'avoit pas pû courir à cause d'un mal de pied. Quelques uns de ses gens l'entendant nommer et ne le voiant pas, ils voulurent tous retourner avec les drapeaux le chercher ainsi je retournai avec eux au champ de bataille, ou je fut etonné de voir les morts tous habillés. J'ai oui dire, depuis, qu'ils furent depouillés ensuite par les fammes de l'armée angloise, a ce que j'ai oui dire. Je trouvai Son Altesse Royale prêt de l'artillerie prise sur les ennemies, ou lon apporta une table, et un diné auquel un ministre Ecossois nomé je crois Maclaghland, donna une longue benediction. Apres le diné le prince retourna à un chateau vers Edinbourg,<sup>1</sup> et le lendemain vint au palais. Ce meme matin un homme, chez qui S.A.R. avoit logé à Perth,<sup>2</sup> vint me trouver me disant que son dessein avoit eté de venir pour la bataille mais qu'il n'avoit pu arriver asses tost; sur l'opinion que j'avois de son zele je lui proposai d'aller en angleterre, parce qu'il connoissoit bien le pais, y porter la nouvelle de cette victoire, et les autres commissions que lon pourroit lui donner. Il le promit sur quoi je l'adressé à Mr. Kelly que je sçavois être le plus au fait de l'angletere. Il partit avec des depeches se comporta indiscretement et fut pris par les ennemies. Apres cette bataille plusieurs vinrent joindre à Edinbourg, le Lord Pitchligo homme de grande merite et de grande modestie vint avec une troupe de cavalerie composé de gentilhommes du Nord; le Lord Kilmarnock, qui retourna pour lever une troupe de cavalerie, le lord Elcot leva une compagnie d'environ trente gardes à

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<sup>1</sup> Pinkie House, where Prince Charles's room is still shown.

<sup>2</sup> Hickson, a vintner of Perth, who did in fact go to England, was taken, and afterwards turned evidence.

cheval. Peu de jours apres la bataille le Prince envoi Mr. Kelly accompagné d'un gentilhomme Ecossois, par la Hollande en France en porter la nouvelle.

Cette victoire qui avoit été complete, où toute l'artillerie et les bagage des ennemies avoient été pris, tourna la tere aux ecossois du parti, de facon qu'ils crurent que la guere se pouvoit conduire sans avoir vû des armées; cependant Sullivan et moi, sollicitons Jean Murry et le chevalier Sheridan d'avoir des espions, et nous leurs repetions sans cesse que lon ne pouvoit reussir, sans miracle, si lon ne sçavoit pas l'état et les mouvements des ennemies; Sullivan de ma connoissance voulut leurs donner des projet de marche pour l'expedition d'Angleterre, lon ne voulu pas.

Parceque Jean Murry me dit dans ce tems la il me parut que les Ecossois étoient convenûs entre eux, de conquerir l'Angletere, (chose qui leur paroissoit si aisée qu'ils ne se donoient pas la peine d'en examiner les moiens,) sans qu'un seul homme qui ne fut pas écossois eût la moindre part au profit, ou à la gloire de cette conquette, et selon les discours du Ld. Elcot ami du lord George, plusieurs d'eux vouloient tenir le Prince dans la meme dependance que leurs ancêtres avoient tenu Charles Second apres la mort de Cromwel.

le Ld. George travailla à oter Sullivan de sa place de Marechal des logis de l'armée dont ne pouvent pas venir à bout parcequ'il n'y avoit que lui, ou quelques uns de nous venûs de france, qui en scussent quelque chose, il obtint de faire plusieurs aide majors pour oter ce qu'il pouroit à Sullivan, mais ces gensm non plus que lui n'étoient point au fait des fonctions de Major ou d'aide major, ils ne s'aviserent que d'être fouriers<sup>1</sup> en marquant les logements.

L'on avoit assamblé environ 50. cheveux de cavalerie pris sur les ennemies à la bataille, que jean murry envoia à Lith pour y être gardé jusqu'à la marche et servir à l'artillerie. L'homme qui en eu la charge les laissa mourir de faim, Le Duc de Perth se chargea de la direction de l'artillerie, cetoit un homme qui avoit beaucoup de zele, de probité et de desinterement, mais en même incapable de la moindre affaire, parcequ'il étoit de ces gens qui commencent tout et ne finissent rien, cequi est totalement contraire à la maxime des habiles gens de tous les tems. qui est de ne penser à une chose,

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<sup>1</sup> Fouriers – Quartermaster-Sergeants.

qu'après que celle dont lon est occupé est expédiée. Aussi l'artillerie fut fort mal réglée, et les chevaux furent perdus, faute de nourriture et de soin. Dans ce tems la Jn. Murry me demanda un état des gens necessaire dans l'armée surtout à l'artillerie, je le lui dictai, mais je ne me suis point aperçu que lon s'en servi.

Vers la fin de notre sejour à Edinbourg, Mr. d'Aiguilles<sup>1</sup> arriva de la cour de France chargé de promesse de secours, et d'informer sa cour de l'état des choses. Il ne pût obtenir de Jn. Murry, et le Chelr. Sheridan de l'expédition pour ses despesches en France ces deux hommes ne vouloient point comprendre la grand utilite du commerce de lettres; ils avoient le defaut d'être honteux de paroître apprendre quelque chose de quelqu'autre, une fausse gloire les empechoit de voir qu'il n'est pas honteux de ne pas sçavoir ce que lon n'a pas été à portée d'apprendre et qu'un bon avis devient le bien propre de celui qui le prend. Lon recû aussi de France une demi douzaine de pieces de canon de campagne que lon appelloit Suedoises, quelques officiers Irlandois vinrent volontaires en même tems, et le frere de Clan Ranald qui vint de flandres par Londres mais homme trop jeune pour pouvoir rendre compte des pais par laquel il avoit passé.

Enfin lon marcha d'Edinbourg pour l'angletere sur deux colonnes l'une de veritables montagnards commandée par S.A.R. l'autre des gens du pais bas le Duc d'Athol et le Duc de Perth avec l'artillerie. Avant d'arriver à la riviere Tweede, ceux qui n'étoient pas de bonne volonté avoient desertés, les gens de bonnes volonté qui etoient allés chez eux apres la bataille avoient rejoints; Cluny Macferon avec ses vassaux, braves gens, et qui avoient un air de guere, et de discipline suprenant, avoit joint le second jour de marche depuis Edinbourg.

Les deux colonnes se rejoignirent pret de Carlille, et le lendemain l'armée marcha vers la ville que lon ne pouvoir pas reconnoître à cause d'un grand brouillard qui dura plusieurs jours; Le Duc de Perth, qui avoit appris un peu de fortification dans sa jeunesse, à Paris, insista beaucoup sur la siege de cette ville, et obtint de le faire avec ses gens, les autres ayant refusés d'y travailler. il y avoit une

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<sup>1</sup> Alexandre Boyer, Marquis d'Eguilles, a lawyer of Aix en Provence, arrived on 14 Oct. He was an unofficial envoy from King Louis XV, and his instructions, which are extant, show that he was not to promise anything definite, until it was seen how things turned out.

nombreuse garnison tant dans la ville que dans le chateau, heureusement elle etoit composée d'une compagnie d'invalides, et de milice qui ne vouloit pas se battre; car il est tres certain qu'il n' y a point de milice angloise, presentement, qui voulu combattre, à moins que ce ne soit à coups de poing ou à coup de baton; il n' y a que les seuls militaires qui veillent risquer la vie pour quelque roi que ce soit. Le Prince logea ce jour la dans un village sur la droite de Carlille par rapport à notre marche, il y recût une lettre du Lord George fort impertinente.<sup>1</sup> selon ceque me dit Strickland, à laquelle S.A.R. repondit convenablement. Strickland et moi jugeames que c'étoit une bonne occasion de se defaire de cet homme dangereux que toute l'armée soupçonnoit, excepté le Chevalier Sheridan et trois ou quatre autres, qu'il avoit scû persuader de son habileté et de sa probité; quelquefois aussi il menaçoit de s'en aller avec les vassaux de son frere le Duc d'Athol, et ceux de Glengary, cequi n'étoit pas à craindre, car je sçais que ni les uns ni les autres ne le regardoient comme un honete homme, je l'avois appris des gens du commun dans la marche. Le jour apres, le Prince marcha avec les montagnards à Branton le Duc de Perth resta au siege.

Aussitost que nous fumes arrivés à Bramtone, un nomé Sawckel gentilhomme Catholique qui avoit une tere dans le voisinage envoya à Stricklande, parent de sa famme, pour sçavoir si ses services seroient agreables, et lui dire que dans ce cas il viendroit joindre S.A.R. Strickland jugea qu'étant seul, et infirme, il devoit rester chez lui d'autant plus que la saison etoit fort rigoureuse. L'homme qui etoit venu parler à Strickland me paroissant zelé, et entendû, je lui demandai si il croioit pouvoir aller plus avant en Angletere, et passer les gardes que les ennemies avoient par tout, pour empecher que nous ne pussions sçavoir cequi se passoit en Angletere; il m'assura qu'il iroit, et passeroit par tout, sur quoi je l'adressai au Chevalier Sheridan, qui lui donna une lettre pour le Lord Barrimore se trouvant absent de chez lui sons fils apres avoire lû la lettre, et enseigné à cet homme, et à son compaignon une maison pour aller loger, alla a minuit les faire prendre prisonniers, et mener à

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<sup>1</sup> It is well known that Lord George Murray felt slighted that the Duke of Perth, who with himself commanded on alternative days, had received the surrender of Carlisle, and he therefore offered his resignation. This took place on 15 Nov. Knowing that Lord George was indispensable to the Prince's service, Perth generously resigned his command and took second place. He was not in fact an efficient commander though a devoted Jacobite. He was a Roman Catholic which made him unpopular with the English.

Londres. J'ai vu depuis l'interrogatoire de cet homme, qui n'étoit qu'un valet, j'y ai vû beaucoup de prudence avec une grande fermeté, puisqu'il y exposoit sa vie pour sauver celle de son maitre, et faisoit tomber tout le grief sur le fils du lord Barrimore homme aussi meprisable que ce valet est louable.

Pendant le siege de Carlille, comme j'ai appris depuis cette guere, les habitants ecrivirent au general Wade pour lui demander de venir à leurs secours, à quoi il avoit repondu qu'il ne le pouvoit ni ne le vouloit. Il fit avancer pourtant quelques troupes sur le chemin de newcastle à Bramton, cequi fit courir le bruit qu'il venoit pour nous attaquer; selon l'opinion commune il craignoit que nous n'allassions l'attaquer, ses troupes angloises etant en mauvaise état et les Hollandois qu'il avoit point en volonté de combattre.

Dans ce tems la les magistrats de Carlille vinrent à Bramton rendre à S.A.R. la ville et le chateau; le Duc de Perth par sa bonté, qui etoit foiblesse à la guere laissa aux ennemies l'occasion de sauver leurs armes et leurs chevaux.

Le Prince marcha avec les montagnards à Carlille ou lon sejourna peu, ensuite de quoi l'armée marcha sur une colonne en Angletere par le chemin de l'Ouest; cette troupe qui, ne connoissant point la discipline, et ne voyant jamais aucune punition examplaire, parceque leurs chefs n'en vouloient pas, etoit parfaitement une troupe de volontaires, marcha sans piller dans l'angletere, pais ennemie pour eux de tout tems, le peu de desordre qui arriva fut fait par les fammes et les fripons du plat pais<sup>1</sup> qui suivoient l'armée depuis Edinbourg.

A Preston deux gentilhommes anglois vinrent joindre, un d'eux se nommoit Morgan,<sup>2</sup> homme d'esprit qui par la connoissance qu'il avoit de l'Angletere pouvoit etre util. Apres avoir passé Preston l'armée quitta le chemin de londres, pour passer à Manchester ville qui a toujours passé pour fidelle à la maison de Stuart, et aussi parceque les ennemies avoit rompu un pont sur la grande route de londres. Nous trouvames à Manchester beaucoup de gens de notre partim, les Sieurs Gohagan,<sup>3</sup> et Brown qui etoient venûs volontaires

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<sup>1</sup> Here is shown the immemorial scorn of the Highlander for the Lowlander.

<sup>2</sup> David Morgan, afterwards hanged at Kennington, 1746. He was a Welshman and a barrister, sometimes called 'The Pretenders Council'. He also wrote poems.

<sup>3</sup> Geohagan commanded the French contingent which was afterwards left in Carlisle. Was taken prisoner and carried to London with the rank and file, but

de France, obtinrent de S.A.R. des commissions pour lever chacun un régiment; les Écossais aussi tost s'y opposèrent, et exigèrent du Prince de reprendre les commissions qui avoient été données, cependant le jeune Townley joignit, et leva une troupe de braves et honnêtes gens de la ville et des environs, malgré les Écossais, qui tenoient de lui les discours les plus méprisants qu'il pouvoient; ce Townley étoit un brave et honnête homme, qui avoit été officier en France pendant quelques années.<sup>1</sup>

Pendant la marche en Angleterre, j'avois demandé au Chevalier Sheridan, si étant à Rome il n'étoit pas en correspondance avec quelques uns du clergé Catholique, dans la province de Lancashire, qui est celle où il y a le plus de Catholique. Il m'assura que non, paroissant ne vouloir pas être soupçonné d'avoir commerce avec des prêtres de la religion protestante demeura la religion dominante, comme elle avoit été établie par les actes de Parlement, et en même tems que la religion Catholique eût un libre exercice, comme l'ont en Angleterre les Presbiteriens et plusieurs autres sectes de non-conformistes. Il me sembloit qu'il étoit plus aisé de faire taire les calomnies dont les ennemis remplissoient leurs papiers publics, en avouant ces sentiments hautement, qu'en affectant de n'avoir pas commerce avec les Catholiques, pendant que nous en avions à peu près autant de cette religion dans notre armée que des autres. De Manchester l'armée marcha vers Darby; dans cette marche lon prit le plus fameux espion du Duc de Newcastle;<sup>2</sup> le Morgan, dont j'ai parlé le connoissoit bien, aussi bien que Bucanan, domestique du Prince qui s'étoit trouvé avec cet espion en Angleterre dans le tems de l'affaire de Dunquerque. Cet espion, ainsi que les autres, fut épargné par l'avis du Lord George leur protecteur perpétuel, c'étoit bien contre l'opinion de S.A.R. qui voioit bien à ce qu'il me paroissoit, que lon ne gagne pas un Whig de cet espece par la générosité ni les bien-faits; la plus part des chefs étoient entichés de cette malheureusement maxime de douceur pour leurs ennemis,

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eventually released as holding a French Commission. Ignatius Michael Brown was one of the only two men to escape from Carlisle while Cumberland was investing it; he rejoined the Prince in the north, and gave a good account of himself later on, see p. 176.

<sup>1</sup> But the unfortunate Townley as holding the Prince's Commission was executed at Kennington in 1746.

<sup>2</sup> This spy was the famous John Vere or Wier. His life was spared not by Lord George, but personally by the Prince, who was always averse to any severity to his father's subjects. Vere's evidence afterwards led to the execution of many Jacobites; see the *Trials of the Rebels*.

qui les a toujours ruiné depuis le commencement du whigisme. Pendant la marche de Manchester à Darby lon apprit que les ennemies se retiroient toujours sur notre droite, et lorsque nous arrivames à Darby, qu'ils etoient à Coventry. Tout ceque nous sçavions des ennemies étoient fort malfondé la plus part du tems sue des ouidire, ou sur des papiers publiques fait pour leur parti, lon sçavoit seulement qu'ils avoient trois corps, sans sçavoir leur force, des quels nous avons laissé deux bien loin derriere nous, celui de Wade à Newcastle, et celui d'Oglethorpe en yorkshire. Le troisieme commande par le Prince Guillaume, dont nous ignorions la force, étoit sur notre route pour londres et il donc impossible de porter un jugement solide sur notre marche, j'ai ete assure depuis qu'il n'étoit pas superieur en nombre à nous, je crois que nous avons quelque chose de plus que cinque miles hommes qui auroit bien battu 15 milles anglois. Il est vrai qu'en se retirant devant nous jusque fort prêt de Londre il auroit pû renforcer son armée des troupes qui gardoient Londre, il est probable aussi qu'à l'approche de cette grande ville beaucoup de gens nous auroient joignts, lon m'a dit qu'il yavoient trente miles hommes tout prêt. Lon assure que la ville de londre avoit determiné dans un conseil d'envoyer à S.A.R. une deputation à son approche que le Duc de Hanover avoit ordoné de tenir tout prêt pour le depart de sa famillle mais qu'il avoit repondu à ceux qui lui proposoit aussi de s'en aller, qu'il vouloit rester et mourir Roi d'Angletere.

En arrivant à Darby je vit des feus de joye, et une bonne reception de la part des habitants. Le lendemain il se tint un conseil dans lequel, contre l'opinion de S.A.R. du Duc d'Athol, de Clan Ranald et du Duc de Perth, (je doute que ce dernier y fut je croi qu'il en avoir ete exclus à cause de sa religion,) il fut resolu de faire volte face, et de retourner en Ecosse.<sup>1</sup> J'en fut bien tost informé, je cherchai ces conselliers, je trouvai dans une chambre voisine Loch Hiel, Capoch, le Chevalier Sheridan, et le Lord George; affectant de ne pas faire attention à ce dernier, je m'adressai à Loch Hiel, je lui dit que j'étois bien étonné que lui gallante homme à la tete d'une troupe de braves gens, fut d'opinion de retourner, que j'étois bien sûr que ses Camerons ainsi que les MacDonalds suivroient le Prince et leurs chefs jusqu'à Londre, qu'il n'y avoient aucune apparence de

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<sup>1</sup> It is usually stated that the Prince could get no one of the Council to agree with him as to going on to London, except the Duke of Perth. It is said that Mr William Gordon and Moir of Stonywood were in favour of the bolder plan, but they were out of the Council.

faire une retraite si longue, avec une troupe sans discipline comme la nôtre, devant des troupes réglés dans leur pais, que si il falloit perir il valoit mieux que ce fut le visage tourné vers Londres que vers l'Ecosse. il me repondit nous avons beaucoup de desertion, si vous savies tout vous series de notre avis, ses raison me parurent si foibles et j'étois si en colere que je sorti de la chambre tres promptement. J'en parlai au Prince, qui me dit qu'il en estoit outré de douleur mais qu'il ne pouvoit aller en avant avec le petit nombre qui estoit de cet avis, le Duc d'Athol m'envoia son aide de Camp, Warren pour me remercier, et me prier de faire encore une aut tentative; le meme soir il traita son frere comme le dernier des traitres, en presence de plusieurs officiers.

Le lendemain matin l'armée faisant volte face, marcha par le même chemin qu'elle avoit tenu en venant, les montagnards en grande affliction et peu d'ordre; grand nombre même d'officiers alloient devant pour attraper de bons logements, et les gens du commun s'écartoient par le pais, il y en eut quelques uns de tues par les gens de pais. Les ennemies qui ne nous suivoient que de loin, n'envoioient point de detachment pour troubler notre marche; il paroît que les troupes angloises ne connoissent point ce que lon appelle la petite guere, nous vimes seulement de leur milice à cheval qui venoit sur les hauteur pour voire notre marche prenant bien garde de ne pas se mettre à portée du fusil même d'un seul. Dans cette marche Morgan me dit que puisque lon prenoit le parti de retourner, il estoit persuadé que tout estoit perdu, et qu'il tacherait de se sauver en France dans un batteau de contrabandier. Il obtint de S.A.R. la permission d'aller dans la pais de Galles il fut pris en chemin.

Le jour du sejour à Preston, le Duc de Perth parti pour aller devant à Carlille avec une troupe d'environ cent gentilhommes a cheval, que lon appelloit Hussards, il les tint longtems dans la rue, et au lieu de partir de bon matin il ne partit que vers le soir, de sorte que les ennemies, qui avoient pour espions tous les whigs du pais qui ne risquoient rien puisque lon ne les punissoient pas, en furent aisement avertis, il trouva partout de grosses troupes de milice a cheval, qui ne l'auroit pas arretés si il avoit sçu, comme il le devoit, qu'il n'y en avoit pas un d'eux qui voulu risquer sa vie; les ennemies faisoient courir le bruit qu'ils avoient une fort belle et grosse armée; quand nous fumes proche Penrith un coureur de Prince Guillaume se fit prendre et dit de même que son maitre estoit à la tete d'une

grande armée. J'ai appris depuis à Penrith ou j'ai demeuré qu'il n'avoit qu'environ 1500. dragons, l'infanterie étoit bien loin deriere. Environ à un mil de la ville, les ennemies joignirent notre arriere garde, les gens de Cluny Macferon et ceux de Glangary battirent bien à coup de sabre les dragons pied à tere deriere de hayes.<sup>1</sup> La nuit suivante lon marcha à Carlille ou S.A.R. recu des lettres de Perth du Lord Jean Drummond, par lesquels il mandoit qu'il étoit arrivé de France, avec son regt. et quatre piquets de la brigade Irlendoise et de l'artillerie, il y avoit long tems qu'il avoit débarqué et qu'il restoit dans l'inaction, ne songeant qu'a se divertir. Avant de partir de Carlille pour l'angleterre le Prince avoit envoieé le Sieur Maclaghlan, honete homme et fort entendû, à Perth pour presser la marche des renforts de montagnards que lon attendoit; quelques instances qu'il fit il ne pû obtenir, du Lord Strathallen qui commandoit à Perth ni du Lord Jean, que ces troupes marchassent. Apres avoir laissé a Carlille la troupe de Manchester, et quelques ecossois, nous marchames vers la riviere Esk, & la passames à gué. J'étois etonne de voir les montagnards passer cette riviere que j'avois asses de peine à passer à cheval, outre qu'elle est large et rapide, elle se trouvoit pour lors fort grossi par les pluies. Ensuite l'armée marcha par la cote occidentale a Glasko; nous trouvames les gens de pais fort étonné de voire notre armée en si bon etat, le Prince Guillaume leur avoit fait mander qu'elle étoit detruit, que le Prince se retiroit seulement avec une centaine de cavaliers, et une grosse somme d'argent. Cela avoit fait soulever tout le pais, et causoit leur étonnement quand ils voioit que leur Prince Guillaume leur avoit mandé des mansonges qui les exposoient à notre vengeance. Lon fit contribuer les villes sur la route; a Glasko ou l'armée sejourna quelques jour lon fit donner outre quelque argent, des etoffes. De Glasko l'armée marcha a Banecburn proche Sterling; pendant cette marche deux officiers qui avoient servi en France l'un nommé Brown du regt. royal Ecossois et l'autre Maxwell vinrent trouver le Prince à qui ils dirent qu'ils s'étoient echapés de Carlille pendant la capitulation, le pauvre Gouverneur avoit capitulé contre l'avis de Townly, et des anglois qui aimoient mieux se faire tuer sur la breche que de capituler, les ennemies ne tinrent point cette capitulation. Lon ne voit point dans l'histoire que les whigs depuis leur fondateur Cromwell aient jamais tenûs aucune espece de parolles.

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<sup>1</sup> The skirmish of Clifton, on 18 Dec. 1745. This is the last battle fought on English soil. Both sides claimed this victory.

S.A.R. envoya de Banecburn courier sur courier au Lord Jean avec ordre de le venir joindre; l'embarras de l'artillerie et plusieurs autres raisons furent allegués pour l'inexecution de ces ordres. Enfin comme le bruit couroit que les ennemies marchaient à nous, les piquets Irlendois firent une aussi grande marche qu'auroit pû faire des montagnards et arriverent. Apres vinrent le lord Cromarti avec ses vassaux, le lord Louis gordon avec ceux du Duc, le lord Jean avec son regt. foible et mal composé en soldats, lon se prepara au siege de Sterling, la ville se rendit dabord. Dans ce tems la le General Haly<sup>1</sup> assembloit à Edinbourg une armée pour venir nous attaquer, Le Lord George qui etoit à Falkirk avec les montagnards se retira à Banecburn sur le bruit de la marche des ennemies qui vinrent bientost apres camper à Falkirk. Pendant les deux ou trois jours suivants l'armée fut rangée en bataille, sur la hauteur qui est à droite du chemin d'Edinbourg. Le soir les montagnards se retiroient dans des cabannes epars dans le voisinage de Banecburn sans aucun soin d'être sur leurs gardes; il n'y avoit pour surete que des patrouilles de nôtre cavalerie composée en grande partie de gentilhommes sans discipline ni experience, et dont les chevaux ayant beaucoup fatigués et été fort mal soignés, etoient en fort mauvaise etat.

Le jour de cette bataille vers les trois heures du matin le Sieur Brown vint faire reveiller S.A.R. pour lui dire que les ennemies avoient battu la general. Lon crû pour lors que lon pouvoit être surpris et lon envoya de tous cotes rassembler les troupes qui ne furent pourtant pas en bataille avant dix heures, sur la hauteur qui est à la droite du grand chemin d'Edinbourg. Il fut resolu de marcher aux ennemies, le Lord George marcha à la tete des montagnards par les hauteurs laissant le grand chemin d'Edinbourg à gauche, et alla appuier sa droite à une petite muraille sur cette hauteur de bruiere, faisant face à la ville de Falkirk et au flang gauche du camp des ennemies qui avoient été fort tranquilles dans leur camp jusqu'à cequ'ils nous virent sur les bruieres. Pour lors ils tournerent à la ville de Falkirk, et marcherent à nous traversants un fonds qui etoit entre les deux armées. Leur cavalerie à leur gauche devant l'infanterie; cette cavalerie monta la hauteur en bonne ordre pour charger notre droite, où etoient pour lors les M<sup>c</sup>D<sup>lds</sup>. qui les attendirent genouil en tere, jusqu'a cequ'ils fussent à la portée du pistolet, pour lors ils firent leur décharge et, le sabre à la main,

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<sup>1</sup> Hawley, known as the Hangman from his severity.

entrèrent dans cette cavalerie qui prit la fuite par leur droite se fit avant que notre gauche fut formée. Tout de suite les montagnards qui composaient la 1<sup>re</sup>. ligne marchèrent à l'infanterie qu'ils battirent; je ne vit pas bien cette manœuvre à cause de l'inégalité du terrain. En ce même temps notre seconde ligne, composée de gens de pais bas, apparemment par une erreur païque (*sic*) se mit à fuir, dans ce moment là, je quittai notre cavalerie à qui je ne pouvois faire entendre de commandement, pour aller rallier un gros de nos gens qui s'en alloient ensemble par la droite. Je rencontrai le Sr. Sullivan et ensemble nous les arrêtâmes et les remîmes en marche pour revenir. J'avancai sur le hauteur d'où je decouvris le fonds et je vit tout l'infanterie des ennemies qui s'enfuyoit vers la ville. Il restoit seulement à leur gauche une troupe de cavalerie en bataille à coté d'un chemin creux par lequel l'infanterie fuyoit à la ville; en même temps la cavalerie des ennemies qui avoit passé à leur droite apres avoir été battus, s'étoit ralliés et remontoit la hauteur par notre gauche. Notre reserve qui étoit composé du Roial ecossois et des piquets irlandois marcha en si bonne ordre à cette cavalerie qu'elle se retira.

J'ai appris que le Lord George, avec beaucoup de peine, avoit arrêté les montagnards qui poursuivoient les ennemies, par là il empecha la destruction de l'infanterie ennemie qui n'auroit pu se sauver devant des montagnards.

Dans le moment que la bataille commença, il vint une pluie fort froide avec un vent violent qui nous étoit favorable, peu apres que la bataille fut fini la nuit vint. Lon demeura quelque temps avant de faire un détachement pour reconnoître les avenues de la ville, où les ennemies auroient sans doute mis des troupes pour favoriser leur retraite, si ils n'avoient pas fui en si grand desordre. Le Ld. Jean et Mr. Stapleton<sup>1</sup> venûs de France avec les piquets irlandois entrèrent dans la ville avec leurs troupes ou ils ne trouverent que quelques fuyards, dont un blessa le Ld. Jean au bras. Vers les huit heures S.A.R. entra dans la ville qui étoit illuminé, les ennemies avoit mit le feu à leur camp; lon prit leur artillerie et quelque bagages. Le lendemain le Prince retourna à Banecburn, le Lord George resta à Falkirk avec les montagnards. Le fils de Glengari fut tué dans le

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Stapleton, a Lieutenant-Colonel and Brigadier in Berwick Regt., French Service, came over with Lord John Drummond, in command of the Irish picquets. Surrendered after Culloden, and being of French birth, would have been liberated, but died of wounds a few days later.

rues de Falkirk par l'accident d'un fusil qu'un montagnard accomodoit. Lon se remit au siege du chateau de Sterling ou le Duc de Perth etoit resté avec quelques troupes, lon eu bien de la peine à transporter l'artillerie; toute l'écosse etant un pais fort mal fourni de chevaux et de harnois. Lon manquoit pour ce siege d'une artillerie suffisante de bombes, et de travailleurs; les montagnards ne veulent pas travailler, de peur de se degrader de leur noblesse dont ils ont une grande opinion, et les gens du pais bas sont trop paresseux pour travailler aux tranchées, ainsi il n'y avoit que les troupes venus de France qui travaillèrent plus que lon ne pouvoit attendre d'eux, et qui perdirent considerablement pour leur petit nombre. Il etoit venu un ingenieur de France,<sup>1</sup> qui par une contradiction causée par jalousie de métier, empecha que la baterie ne fut placée ou Sullivan & Grant homme brave et bon ingenieur, vouloient la mettre, quand notre batterie fut pret d'être faite, l'ennemi en démasqua une qui la detruisit dans un moment.

En meme tems lon apprit d'Edinbourg l'arrivé du Prince Guillaume, et de quelques troupes de renfort aux ennemies; le Lord George manda qu'il y avoit une grande desertion parmi les montagnards, et qu'il falloit lever le siege. Il se mit en marche en consequence,<sup>2</sup> le Prince fut obligé de prendre ce parti et de laisser quelques canons derrière. L'armée passa la riviere au gué audessus de Sterling, S.A.R. vint coucher ce jour la au chateau du Duc de Perth,<sup>3</sup> de là, le Prince avec les montagnards suivit la grande route faite depuis Sterling jusqu'au fort Guillaume et le Lord George mena la seconde ligne avec les troupes venûs de France par Perth, et de là cote oriental de l'Ecosse. Comme le chemin que S.A.R. prit etoit par in pais desert et que la saison etoit fort rude, me trouvant incomodé de rhumatisme et de goutte, je suivit la colonne qui alloit par la cote orientale qui est bien garni de villes et de villages. A Aberdeen un officier irlendois nomé Creagh remit au lord Georges des armes et de l'argent qu'il avoit aporté d'Espagne dans un petit navire. Cette colonne marcha sans être inquiété jusqu'au pres

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<sup>1</sup> Mirabelle de Gordon. Taken prisoner, but released as a French officer. According to Scots accounts, he was of singular ineptitude.

<sup>2</sup> It was not true that Lord George marched off without the orders of the Prince. The letter from the chiefs at Falkirk advising a retreat to the Highlands was despatched on 20 Jan., three days after the battle of Falkirk. On 31 Jan., eleven days later. Lord George joined the Prince at Bannockburn and the retreat began the next day. The Prince and O'Sullivan got off first. Irish jealousy of the Scots frequently shows itself in these individual accounts.

<sup>3</sup> Drummond Castle.

d'Inverness ou elle rejoignit la première colonne, toute cette marche se fit par un temps fort rude beaucoup de glace de neige & de vent. Je rejoignit le Prince au château de Cullouden; la veille les ennemis avoient fait un détachement pour enlever S.A.R. la nuit chez la Dame Mackentosche ou il étoit logé; heureusement un petit laquais alla en avertir Mde. Mackentosche, qui donna l'allarme; lon rassembla quelques troupes<sup>1</sup> à Inverness se retira de l'autre côté de la rivière vers le nord, la garnison du château, qui quoique régulière se trouver trop attendant la ville se rendit, S.A.R. alla aussitôt loger dans la ville et fit démolir les fortifications du château.

L'on alla dans ce temps là de tous côtés lever du monde, Clan Ranald eut une bonne recrue de ses Isles, la Dame Mackentosche rassembla ses vassaux, le Lord Lovat qui demouroit dans le voisinage envoya son fils à la tête de ses vassaux, le Clan des Chismes d'environ 300. braves gens joignirent, le Chev<sup>lr</sup> Benerman amena du monde du côté d'Aberdeen; tout cela faisoient du renfort, mais tous ceux du voisinage retournoient chez eux et ne paroissoient que pour attraper de l'argent et des armes, dont ils étoient instiables. Les chefs de Clan sollicitoient ardemment le siège de fort Guillaume qui étant au milieu du pays de Loch Hiel et de Capoch incommodoit beaucoup leur vassaux, lon y envoya le bataillon de royal écossais et les piquets irlandais avec les gens de Loch Hiel et de Capoch, qui prirent sur le chemin le fort Auguste qui fut aussi démolit. le Sr. Grant qui alla comme Ingénieur, en reconnoissant le fort Guillaume, fut jetté en bas de son cheval par un boulet de canon qui acheva sa course contre ses côtes, et ne lui fit qu'une contusion. surquoi l'ingénieur françois y alla et ne réussit pas. Il est vrai que tout manquoit artillerie et vivres, outre cela les montagnards ne vouloient point faire ce sorte de service. Environ ce temps là le lord George marcha au château de Blaire avec quelques canons, les ennemis y avoit un poste, il revint sans le prendre. Notre armée, pour lors, étoit fort dispersée il y avoit des troupes pardela la rivière d'Inverness sous les ordres du lord Cromarti d'autres à la rivière Spay commandés par le Duc de Perth et le lord Jean, d'autres au fort Guillaume; il arriva de France un escadron du regt. de Fitzjames commandé par le Sieur Shag,<sup>2</sup> qui joignit les

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<sup>1</sup> 'Les quelques troupes' refers to the blacksmith of Moy and his ten men who by a stratagem successfully routed and drove off Lord Loudon's detachment of 1,500 men come to capture the Prince.

<sup>2</sup> This is the same man who was called Creagh some pages earlier. He is mentioned in Sullivan's diary.

troupes sur la riviere Spay. Les ennemies s'étoient avancés jusqu'à Aberdeen ou ils resterent quelque tems asses tranquilles; un ministre de leurs partizans dans Inverness dir sur cela qu'il étoit vrai qu'ils étoient tranquilles mais qu'ils etoient bien sûrs de faire leur coup. Les ennemies avoit un poste en avant dans un petit ville,<sup>1</sup> qu'un nommé Glasko, officier irlandois, attaqua avec un detachment de montagnards et d'Irlendois, il battit la garde qui etoit dans un cimetiére et prit preceque tous les ennemies qui étoient dans la ville, son projet etoit bon et bien executé. Le duc de Perth voulu surprendre le corps des ennemies qui s'étoient retirés au nord d'Inverness et qui nous coupait la communication avec le pais du nort, ils furent avertis à tems et se retirerent. Nous eumes nouvelles que Brown qui revenoit de France ou il avoit portée la nouvelle de la bataille de Falkirk, avoit été pris avec une somme d'argent et des officiers volontaires Irlandois dont il y avoit quelques uns venu de Naples. Environ le vingt d'Avril, les ennemies ayant fait à leurs aises d'Elgin (ou il avoit eu une violente maladie mais qui heureusement ne dura pas longtems) lorsque lon apprit que les ennemies s'avancoient toujours, ils passerent la riviere Spay et nos troupes se retirerent; Sullivan fit cette retraite qui fut belle à ceque m'ont dit des officiers venûs de France, Shag fit aussi fort bien avec son escadron. lon fit revenir les troupes du siege du fort Guillaume et lon rassambla le mieux que lon pût les troupes, cependant il en manquoit beaucoup. Entre autres Cluni Macferon alla à sa maison environ le vingt trois il m'assura en partant qu'il seroit au champ de bataille aussitost que nous en passant par la montagne, il ne s'y trouva pourtant pas.

Le vingt quatre et le vingt cinque lon mit l'armée marcha sur une colonne par les hauteurs laissant le grand chemin a gauche les ennemies étoit campe a Nairn environ à six miles<sup>2</sup> de nous, ce jour etoit celui de la naissance de leur general, cequi étoit cause qu'ils étoient preceque tous ivres. Ils menioient le long de la cote une flotte de vaisseau de transports, chargée de toutes sortes de provision, nos gens au contraire manquoient de vivres et d'argent.

Sullivan et moi allames à la tete de la colonne que menioit le lord George, il nous dit que nos chevaux faisoient trop de bruit et nous pria de ne pas marcher avec lui; sur quoi nous nous retirames le

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<sup>1</sup> Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Ten miles.

long de la colonne. Il continua sa marche sans chemin par des bruières pleines d'eau et de taloppes<sup>1</sup> qui rendoit la marche fort difficile, et quoiqu'il marcha à la tête beaucoup plus vite qu'il ne falloit, la grande volonté de nos gens fit qu'il n'y eut pas de traîneurs.

Vers la fin de la nuit le Chev<sup>lr</sup>. Sheridan me demanda si j'approuvois le projet, je lui dit que je le trouvois excellent mais mal exécuté. Bien tost après on vint dire au Prince qui marchoit à la tête de la cavalerie de Fitzjames, que le lord George avoit retourné en arrière avec la colonne. le Prince alla à la tête nous ordonnant de rester. j'ai oui dire que le Lord George prétendoit être encore trop loin et qu'il étoit trop tard, comme il marchoit toujours en arrière avec la colonne, elle en étoit effectivement trop loin lorsque le jour parut, mais lorsqu'il retourna il en étoit assez prêt pour battre les ennemis avant qu'ils fussent en bataille à la tête de leur camp; plusieurs officiers des ennemis en sont convenus avec nous depuis.

L'on retourna à Culloden, où chacun ne songea qu'à chercher de la nourriture et du repos. Les montagnards souffroient depuis plusieurs jours de la faim, et du manque de sommeil. Les ennemis marchèrent de bonheur et arrivèrent sur les hauteurs de Culloden avant midi. On ramassa ce que l'on put de notre armée, plusieurs n'y furent pas parcequ'ils dormoient. Le Lord George prit la droite avec les gens d'Athol, sur cela il y avoit eu une grande dispute la veille entre lui et Clan Ranald qui parla très haut, les McD<sup>lds</sup>. prétendent que de tout temps ils ont eue la droite, le lord George dit que quelquefois ses gens l'avoient eue. Comme je suis du nom, je ne voulus pas y paraître, mais je priai Mr. O'Neill<sup>2</sup> d'aller dire, au Chev<sup>lr</sup>. Sheridan et au Prince si il le jugeoit à propos, qu'il étoit d'une grande conséquence de ne pas désobliger ces Clans, qui étoit, comme tout le monde le savoit, une excellente troupe, en leur ôtant leur ancien droit. En allant à la bataille je parlai à quelques uns des officiers de ces clans des McD<sup>lds</sup>. qui me dirent, que peu de leurs gens s'y trouveroient après cet affront. Notre droite étoit à une petite maison, la gauche vers le penchant de la montagne; les ennemis marchèrent à nous en bon ordre et notre ligne ne bougea pas quoique S.A.R. ordonna de marcher à l'ennemi. Notre canon tira devant celui des ennemis que ne fit pas grand mal, je vit pourtant un homme tué par le canon fort proche du Prince. Le Lord

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<sup>1</sup> Rubbish heaps.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Felix O'Neil, newly arrived from France. Afterwards a companion of the Prince in his wanderings until the latter left Uist for Skye.

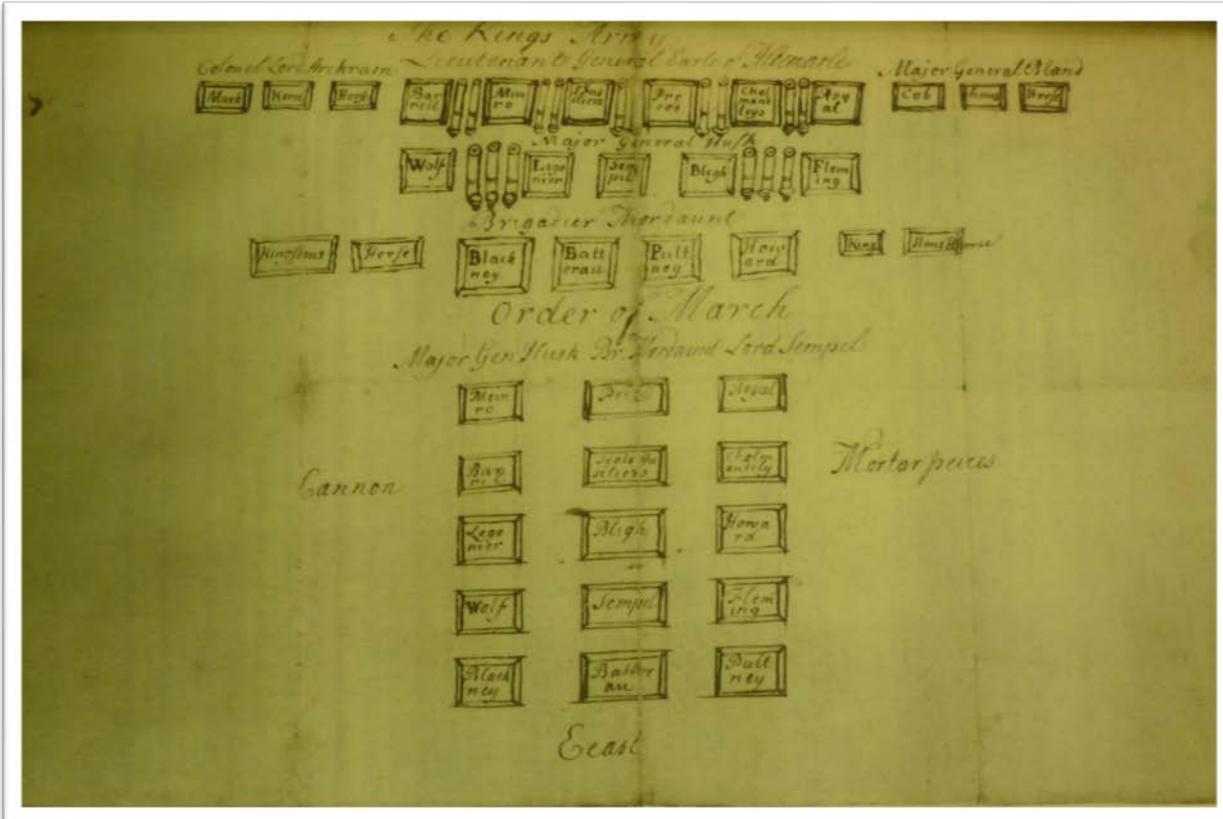
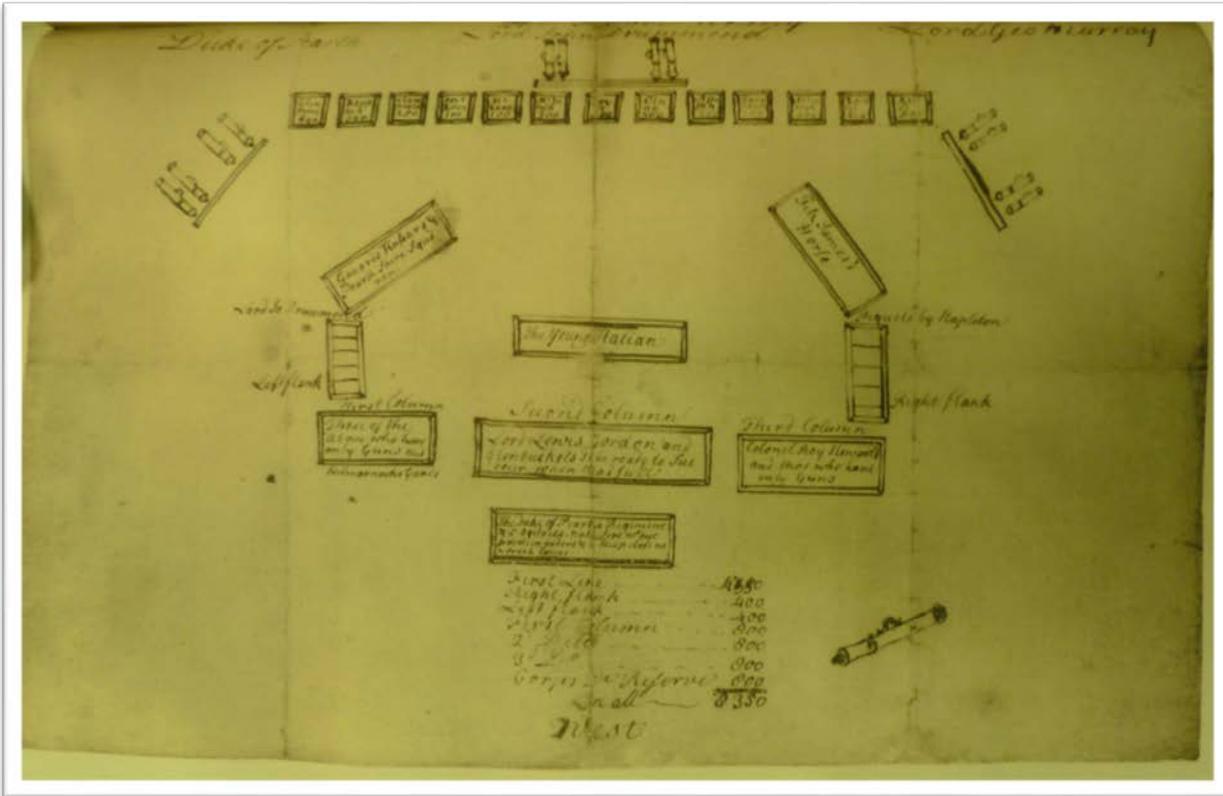
George s'enfuit tout d'abord avec ses gens et les gens du pays bas, aussi les Ogilvies se mirent à fuir vers les piquets irlandais qui firent ce qu'ils purent pour les arrêter.<sup>1</sup> Ce fut une déroute totale, exceptés les Chismes qui se firent presque tous tués; les Mackintoshes aussi les McD<sup>l</sup>ds. perdirent beaucoup et ne combattirent pas comme ils ont toujours fait je n'ai point su ce que les Camerons avaient perdu.

Le Prince se retira avec l'escadron de Fitzjames laissant la ville d'Inverness à sa droite. Pour lors, prévoyant qu'il me serait impossible d'aller à pied dans la montagne, j'allai à cette ville où je me rendis prisonnier avec les piquets et le régiment royal écossais. Les ennemis qui traitaient les montagnards avec toute la cruauté imaginable, affectèrent d'être polis aux troupes venues de France.

*Note:* Sir John's account breaks off abruptly since he had no further part in the adventures of the Prince and nothing more is known about him, save the one letter alluded to above, p. 44.

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<sup>1</sup> All this is quite untrue.



IV.  
ISTORIA DI SUA ALTEZA REALE IL  
PRINCIPE CARLO EDOARDO STUART  
DI GALLES

*From the Italian which is often incorrect in spelling and style.  
The errors have been retained.*

The Italian pamphlet, here reproduced, besides bearing the date 14 July 1760, has the imprimatur of three Roman Catholic authorities:

F. J. Dom. Cassinoni O. P. Sac. Theol. Mag. et Commissarius S. O. Mediol.

J.A. Vismara pro Eñno et Rño D.D. Cardinal Archiepiscopo.

Vidit Julius Caesar Bersanus pro Excellentissimo Senatu.

It also chronicles Lovat's execution, showing it to be subsequent to that date (9 April 1747).

It does not bear the title *Ascanius*, which was perhaps not used in Italy, but the text is very largely similar to many of the eighteenth-century editions and the errors, which will be corrected in the footnotes to the Italian text, are common to all the early editions (of *Ascanius*) of whatever year and in whatever language.

## Introduction to the 'Istoria di sua Altezza Reale'

The rare pamphlet from which this is printed is a slim volume bound in vellum and printed in Milan in 1760.<sup>1</sup>

It is certainly not the first form of this naïve story of the Prince's wanderings in Scotland. Much of it recalls a little work published many times since 1746 under the title of 'Ascanius or the young Adventurer, containing a particular account of all that happened to a certain person during his wanderings in the North, from his memorable defeat in April 1746 to his final escape on the 19<sup>th</sup> of September in the same year'. It is dated 1746 and must have been published towards the end of that year.

The translator's Introduction to one early edition contains the passage: "Divide and destroy" has, for these seven hundred years past been the first and principal Maxim of the Kings of France with regard to their conduct towards and intercourse with most other European states and powers', and shows an anti-French bias.

The spirit of this Introduction (to *Ascanius*) on the whole, moreover, is somewhat inimical to Prince Charles Edward, not so the body of the work.

It is for this reason that after the early more or less official accounts of the Rising (such as that printed by the Roxburghe Club in its last issue from an old manuscript and those of Henderson, Marchant, Maxwell of Kirconnell, Elcho, Chambers, and others and finally by the monumental *Lyon in Mourning*) quite the most entertaining volumes on the subject of the Rising and its aftermath are the innumerable editions of *Ascanius*.

The original was certainly written in the end of 1746, and there is no reason to doubt the ascription of it on the title-page of more than one early edition, which says that it was 'translated from a MS. Handed about at the Court of Versailles', or other statement (in a French edition) that it was written in Paris and sent to London to be printed. The first edition was 'Printed for T. Johnstone in Salisbury

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<sup>1</sup> There is a copy in the British Museum; the copy here used, in Italian, has been kindly lent by Ion Munro, and was found by him in Rome under the same circumstances as the first item in the collection.

Court, Fleet St. in 1746' and has for frontispiece a full-length portrait of the Prince, dressed completely in tartan, with broadsword and targe.<sup>1</sup>

There are many other London editions and many published in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, Paisley, Cupar, Aberdeen, &c., as well as those in French, Spanish, and Italian. The curious thing is that while some parts of the text reappear constantly almost or quite verbatim, in all the editions, other parts are completely altered and excisions and additions are made. Some contain good accounts of the various battles, of the siege of Fort William, &c. In many of the editions, too, extraneous stories are added. Fictitious adventures of the Prince while travelling in Europe after the Rising, Tales of Rob Roy and other Highland adventurers, &c. These, of course, are in the later edition.<sup>2</sup> All, from the very earliest, bring the story down to the Prince's escape from Scotland and his pious thanksgiving on landing on the shores of France. Some of the earlier ones, too, take him to Paris and describe his visit of state to King Louis. The French edition of 1747 ends oddly with the account of Lord Lovat's execution, which took place six months after the Prince's safe arrival in France (i.e. 9 April 1747). It also describes itself as *Traduit de l'Anglais* and as being the 'Lille edition, printed in Paris'. It has most romantic classical illustrations. One, of the little *Ascanius* in full armour, being led from the shore by his father (Aeneas). One edition has also a spurious letter of immense length purporting to be written by Charles to his brother Henry. The work seems to have been reprinted any number of times and in many different forms.

The editions which have been studied recently include those from London of 1746 (the first edition), and another of 1747 said to be 'identical with the first edition' and 'printed for the Proprietor by R. Griffith at the Dunciad in Ludgate Street'. This has perhaps caused the composition of the work to be sometimes erroneously attributed to Ralph Griffith, who was founder, proprietor, and publisher of the *Monthly Review*, which he started in 1749, and was assisted by Goldsmith in 1757-8. He was born in 1720 and died in 1802. He also

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<sup>1</sup> Often called 'The Harlequin type of portrait'.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these as well as other passages in the narrative bear an exact resemblance to the work of Cordara—already referred to page 3.

published Henderson's *History of the Rebellion*.<sup>1</sup> Griffith's edition has the ribald frontispiece of the Prince between portraits of Flora MacDonald and Jenny Cameron, with the well-known quotation from the *Beggar's Opera*

How happy could I be with either  
were t'other dear charmer away

Showing this to be an edition published by his enemies and not by his friends.

On the other hand, one at least of the early editions bears on the title-page 'Ecce Homo' afterwards suppressed—as irreverent.

One early edition bears on the title-page:

London

Printed for G. Smith, near Temple Bar, and sold also by Messrs. Grimkey and Voguel, Booksellers in Amsterdam, and by all other Booksellers in Great Britain, Ireland and Holland.

Copies of this edition are generally annotated in pencil as '1746', and the one in possession of the present editor, bearing this manuscript date, is certainly very possibly of that year, as it chronicles the capture of Lord Lovat, but states that he is 'still in prison'. It seems almost certain that a manuscript drawn up by several people was also afterwards used by several others.

A late edition has the following title-page:

Ascanius or the Young Adventurer containing the Impartial History of the Rebellion in Scotland in the years 1745, 1746.

To which is added

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<sup>1</sup> Also bound up with Henderson's *History of the Rebellion* and obviously written by himself, is another pamphlet called 'The Young Chevalier or a genuine narrative of all that befell that Unfortunate Adventurer from his fatal defeat to his final escape etc. by a Gentleman who was personally acquainted not only with the scenes of action but with many of the Actors themselves', and a bookseller's note to the reader says it was 'written by a Scotchman, but the diction corrected by an English friend'.

This is quite distinct from any version of *Ascanius* but full of quite as wild improbabilities, and episodes which are known from the personal narratives of the Prince's companions, not to have taken place. The end of the Prince's wanderings in Mull, Coll, Eig, Barra, and his final departure from the harbour of Flota in S. Uist for France is all pure imagination, but this account was doubtless one of the first in the field. The body of the *History of the Rebellion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, refers to it as 'lately published'.

A Journal of the Miraculous Adventures and escapes of the Young Chevalier after the Battle of Culloden. Embellished with beautiful engravings. Edinburgh. Printed by Oliver & Co., Netherbow. For T. Brown, North Bridge, and W. Martin, Booksellers.

(This publisher was the forerunner of the house of Oliver & Boyd.)

The latest edition seems to be that printed in London, in 1890, by Houlston & Sons, Paternoster Row, and the greater part of the volume of 144 pages is taken up with matter not in the original *Ascanius*.

Secondly, what is sufficiently curious is that the amended text of the work was very largely for another book published a little later and entitled:

A genuine and true Journal of the most miraculous escape of the young Chevalier by an Englishman, partly written in London and partly in Scotland.

This was always ascribed to Dr. John Burton. The earliest edition is of 1747, and there is no doubt as to the authorship.

The name 'Ascanius' is not mentioned and all the more ludicrous errors are avoided, but a good deal of the actual same wording is used. This also ran into many editions from 1750 onwards, and was finally privately printed by Thomas Goldsmith, Edinburgh, in 1884.

Some writers have even stated that Dr. Burton was the author of *Ascanius*, but this is disproved by the comments of Bishop Forbes in *The Lyon in Mourning* on the two works, which he discusses separately and tells us when Burton was writing his. (Moreover, Burton who knew Flora MacDonald personally, could never have penned such ludicrous fictions about her as occur in *Ascanius*.) Bishop Forbes in Vol. I of *The Lyon in Mourning* thus dismisses *Ascanius*: 'A pamphlet history of the Prince's escape, printed in 1746 and not all facts'. The reason for his quoting it here was, he says, that 'the author makes the Prince avoid fighting Cope, but it was quite otherwise', vol. I, 294. The date of this entry must have been early- or mid-November, 1747, for the immediately succeeding entry is dated 19 November and chronicles the Bishop's meeting with Dr. Burton, of York, at his lodgings in Edinburgh. Forbes's entries are always in chronological order as he received them.<sup>1</sup> This would therefore appear finally to dispose of any theory that Dr. Burton was the author of *Ascanius*, though many

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<sup>1</sup> And set in order as the events occurred, which makes his volumes to be somewhat confused and confusing reading, though a mine of wealth to those who already know some of the facts and dates.

editions, which state on the title-page 'by an Englishman', have been annotated in pencil by various owners as by 'John Burton, M.D.'

Of Burton's pamphlet, Bishop Forbes said: 'it was all very well for the English, but wouldn't do in Scotland!' It was not published until 1748. When Bishop Forbes met him (19 November 1747) Burton had 'come into Scotland purposely to make enquiry about matters relating to the Prince's affairs'. Obviously his first visit. An earlier mention of Dr. Burton in *The Lyon in Mourning* is, as having helped Mr. John Walkingshaw, in London, to take down the accounts from prisoners there, 'from the mouths of the old Laird of Mackinnon, Malcolm Macleod, Lady Clanranald and Miss Flora Macdonald, etc.' Dr. Burton himself was, at one time, arrested upon suspicion of his having crossed England with an intention to kiss the Prince's hand.

He also took down the account of Aeneas Macdonald both being confined in the house of Mr. Dick, the Messenger.

Bishop Forbes further alludes to 'Dr. Burton's late performance' as containing the story of one of the men of Glenmoriston having called out to the Prince, on the arrival of the latter (to warn him that he was recognized): 'Ha. Dougal MacCullony, I am glad to see thee', and this story is not found in any edition of *Ascanius*, nor is it in the Italian version.

Glenaladale alludes, in a letter to Bishop Forbes, to Dr. Burton's pamphlet, parts of which he stigmatizes as 'prodigious incorrect'. Dr. Burton had himself sent a copy of his pamphlet to Glenaladale, asking that errors in it might be corrected!

On 13 June 1749, William Gordon, bookseller, Edinburgh, sent a copy of the pamphlet he had printed for Dr. Burton, to Bishop Forbes, who strongly disapproved of it and of its publication at that time and declined to make any emendations in it 'for reasons', he said, 'obvious enough to Scotsmen, whatever Englishmen may think', iii. 6.

Dr. Burton himself writes naïvely from London, 26 January 1749, 'My pamphlet has answered my end, in making those here mad, whom I would not please'.

Another and very fanciful account of the Prince's wanderings was also published in 1747 under the title of 'Alexis or the young Adventurer, a Novel.'

It is written in a mock-heroic style, giving classical names to all the places and people concerned in the Prince's escape after Culloden. It has been (and still is, in booksellers' catalogues) assigned to Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh. Bishop Forbes thus alludes to it: 'Alexis or the Young Adventurer, a Novel. *Qui capit, ille facit*. London, printed W. T. Cooper 1746. 32 pp. 12mo.' and adds, 'This is not at all according to the MS. which was sent to London', showing that he, at any rate, had seen the manuscript.

All the characters have names drawn from the romances of chivalry, but the disguises are transparent and a key is often added. *Alexis*, of course, is the Prince, *Tityrus* and *Corydon* stand for Sullivan and O'Neil, *Heroica* for Flora, *Sanguinarius* for Cumberland, and *Trickelius* for Sir Everard Fawkener. The story ends abruptly before the Prince leaves Scotland. According to the date on the title-page, it was published in 1746, but it seems likely that it did not actually see the light until after the passing of the Act of Indemnity 1747.

It was variously ascribed, according to Bishop Forbes, to Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh, or to Neil MacEachain, Flora's attendant on her famous journey from Uist to Skye. When taxed with the authorship in 1747, Kingsburgh remarked that what he had said was, that 'only he or Neil could *have* written it'. And verified the truth of the speeches, &c. in it, though, curiously enough, the writer attributes one violent speech, actually made by Lord Albemarle, to Cumberland (as *Sanguinarius*). (The latter, on the occasion mentioned, had already gone back to London.) Kingsburgh, as seen above, refused to commit himself as to who actually was the author; but it seems much more likely to have been the work of the schoolmaster of S. Uist, educated in France and familiar with French romances, than of the honest and prosaic Factor of Kingsburgh. Copies of this work are very much rarer than those of *Ascanius*.

Yet another romantic history of the Prince was written by his faithful valet, Michaele Vezzosi, who accompanied him to Scotland, though he was already a middle-aged man, as he had assisted to smuggle Lord Nithsdale out of England after his escape from the Tower, 30 years earlier.

Michaele survived to return to Italy and write his book which he called *The Young Juba*. It has little historical or literary merit, but is interesting as disproving La Rochfoucauld's famous maxim that 'no

man is a hero to his valet-de-chambre'. Prince Charles Edward in the prime of his manhood could stand even that test.

The work which was published in Rome in the end of 1747 or early 1748, has the following title:

Young Juba: or, the history of the young Chevalier, from his birth to his escape from *Scotland*, after the Battle of *Culloden*. CONTAINING A particular Account of his Education; the most remarkable Transactions of his Juvenile Years; his Military Exploits before his last grand Expedition; by whom, and by what Means encouraged and assisted in his Invasion of *Scotland*; the Progress of his Army from thence into *England*: His Exploits there; together, with an Account of all the Battles, Sieges, &c. which he fought or undertook, till his defeat at *Culloden*' with a particular Relation of the infinite Hardships he underwent, and the narrow Escapes he made from his pursuing Enemies, till carried from thence in a *French* Frigate.

It was translated and published in London, 1748.

ISTORIA  
*Di Sua Alteza Reale*  
IL PRINCIPE  
CARLO ODOARDO STUART  
DI GALLES

CONCERNENTE

Le Avventure, e le Disgrazie accaduteli  
in Scozia l'anno 1746

IN MILANO, MDCCLX

Nella Stamperia di Giovanni Montano in Strada Nuova  
vicino al Verzaro

**A**LMOST all the nations of Europe, and particularly France, Spain, and Italy, marveling at the early successes of His Royal Highness, Prince Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland, ardently wished for the success of his enterprise; all felt that he merited the crown of Great Britain, not only because of the justice of his cause but for the magnanimity of his heroic virtues which placed him among the bravest leaders and the wisest sovereigns. They never doubted that if Fortune supported his courage and the values of his faithful Scots, he would succeed in dispossessing the House of Hanover of the Sceptre which the Prince of Orange had snatched from his grandfather, which had since fallen into those of the Elector by the indiscretion of my Lord Oxford and my Lord Bolingbroke in despite of the most solemn acts and contrary to the tenor of the will of Queen Anne.<sup>1</sup>

After the arrival of this Prince in Scotland, everything conspired to favour his enterprise and the assistance, for which he hoped, would have crowned it with success, if the winds and the caprices of fortune had not kept this help so far away from him.

If he had been able to foresee that this help would have encountered the invincible obstacles which prevented it arriving in time, H.R.H. would have acted differently in his own interest and instead of penetrating into England would have occupied with his troops the points of vantage defending the frontiers of Scotland.

By such disposition he could have increased his own forces and kept the Elector's troops on the defensive. And if, at length, he had been obliged to yield to force, the Scots would have been at least in a position to submit to the House of Hanover under less rigorous

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<sup>11</sup> It was freely said at the time that if Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, my Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormonde had had the initiative and courage of the fiery Bishop Atterbury (who offered to go forth 'in his lawn sleeves' and make the proclamation), King James III might well have been proclaimed King immediately on the demise of his half-sister Anne. Bochmar, the Hanoverian envoy, was reported to have said that the crown of England was for the first comer and if James was in Lorraine, George was in Hanover, even farther away. The Tories, however, hesitated and compromised while the Council acted with remarkable vigour and promptitude; the moment passed and the provision of the Act of Settlement and King William's plans for a regency were all put into execution, exactly as he designed.

No one ever knew what had been in Queen Anne's will. It was taken from under her pillow and burnt.

conditions<sup>2</sup> and with their arms in their hands, could have negotiated a general amnesty and in obtaining it, would have preserved their jurisdictions, which great privilege was taken from them.

This was the opinion of some of His Highness's Council who foresaw what actually happened, viz. that the promised assistance might be delayed by contrary winds and other unforeseen accidents, and that the lateness of its arrival in Scotland would prevent its having the desired effect.

Those on the contrary who flattered themselves that the auxiliaries would arrive in time, were the majority and were of opinion that it was important to march as soon as possible on London where they counted on a large party which they believed was ready to declare itself if H.R.H.'s troops had arrived at the gates of the capital.

In fact, had the auxiliaries arrived in Scotland before the conjunction of the Hessian troops and those of the Duke of Cumberland, many other friendly clans which remained inactive owing to doubts of the success of the invasion, would have taken up arms and joined, as expected, and would have asserted his rights solely to ensure the fortune of the populace, whom the valour of their arms would have made his subjects.

Meanwhile, as the Prince and his followers, equally armed with constancy and courage were buoyed up by hopes, *the Duke of Cumberland* advanced rapidly towards the borders of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> On 23 April,<sup>4</sup> he crossed *the Spey* and took up a position on its banks<sup>5</sup> at a short distance from the army of His Royal Highness. The Duke was at the head of 14,000 infantry and 7-8,000 cavalry,<sup>6</sup> followed by a numerous train of artillery abundantly provided with food and ammunition, and established his camp on 26 April<sup>7</sup> (*new style; old style 15 April*) within sight of the army of the Prince who had with

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<sup>2</sup> It is a curious point of view that, had Prince Charles realized that the promised French help would not reach him, he might have treated with the House of Hanover.

<sup>3</sup> And far beyond them.

<sup>4</sup> New style.

<sup>5</sup> His camp was actually at Alves five miles west of Elgin.

<sup>6</sup> These numbers are greatly exaggerated. They would have been true had all the regiments with Cumberland been at full strength, but this was not the case.

<sup>7</sup> New style; in the old style this was 15 April, Cumberland's birthday.

him only 11,000 combatants,<sup>8</sup> scarcely any cavalry, and only 18 guns. His army, almost entirely composed of Highlanders, contained only 1,500 trained and disciplined men. Among the leaders disputes and misunderstandings were beginning, and for two days there had been serious lack of food; some of the troops were grumbling and threatening to desert; the position in which the Prince found himself made it impossible to avoid a battle any longer.

All the difficulties were before the Prince's eyes, but he felt it due to his reputation rather to be defeated, arms in hand, than to flee before the English whom he had already vanquished at Preston, Aberdeen,<sup>9</sup> and Falkirk, with forces much inferior to their own.

In spite of the great advantages possessed by the Duke of Cumberland, on the following day, 27 April (*old style 16*) the Scots waited for the enemy with firmness and disputed the field with them for more than three hours.<sup>10</sup>

But victory is not always the reward of valour. She is as capricious as fortune who declared herself for the Duke, and he in his moment of victory did not show the generosity and clemency which should have been expected from a prince of his rank.

Five hundred dead and almost as many wounded on the field of battle were enough for his victory. He caused all those who, seeking their safety in flight, fell into the soldier's hands, to be cruelly slain, even although they threw down their arms and asked for quarter. More than 3,000 met this sad fate and those who escaped from the cruelty of the victors were not numerous enough to hope to make a new army, even had they been able to gather together.

His Royal Highness, who had been with the rear-guard in the centre of the army [sic], remained on the field of battle until he saw that all was hopelessly lost. During the battle he had a horse shot under him<sup>11</sup> and was wounded in the thigh by a musket-ball. The majority of his fugitive troops fled towards Inverness where he

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<sup>8</sup> This also an excessive estimate. Henry Patullo, the Prince's muster master, gave the full number as 8,000 but only 5,000 could be collected on the day.

<sup>9</sup> Inverurie.

<sup>10</sup> This unfortunately was not true. Eye witnesses, among whom this writer cannot be counted, say the battle lasted less than half an hour.

<sup>11</sup> This was denied by several of those present, who gave their accounts to Bishop Forbes afterwards. Likewise the matter of the wounded.

would probably have been taken, had he not thrown himself into the river which passes close to that city. The water came up to his mouth<sup>12</sup> and he could scarcely resist the force of the current so that his life was no less in danger in that passage than it was in the battle, or than it was subsequently by reason of the pursuit and persecution of his enemies.

Directly he had crossed, he halted the little troop following him and looked back pityingly at the tragic scene on the opposite bank, where the victors were treating so cruelly the rear-guard of his army.

Moved with sorrow, the Prince could not forbear expressing his humane and compassionate feelings and lamenting the loss of so many followers, unfortunate victims of their attachment to himself.<sup>13</sup>

On the same day he arrived at *Aird*, the seat of Lord Lovat, chief of the considerable Highland clan of the Frasers, who received him with tears in his eyes, procured him a surgeon to attend to his

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<sup>12</sup> No contemporary account mentions any difficulty in crossing the little river Nairn at the ford of Failie. There are many minor indications that the writer of the original 'manuscript handed about at the Court of Versailles', did not know Scotland very well. The details of the Prince's escape from Culloden are geographically incorrect and the sending of O'Neil to Skye in search of news is as fantastic as the other suggestion that Sheridan went into Ross-shire from Arisaig for the same purpose. Lord Lovat's castle of 'Aird', by which is obviously meant Beaufort, formerly called Castle Downie, north of Inverness, is confused with his factor's house at Gortleg or Gerthiel, fifteen miles from Fort Augustus, where the Prince, on his way south, actually found him.

The Prince crossed the river Nairn and made his way at once south and west, not going near Inverness which is not on the Water of Nairn but on the Ness.

<sup>13</sup> From the ford of Failie, about five miles from Inverness, from which of course he could no longer see the field of battle, the Prince with his few companions went directly south to Gortuleg, the house of Lord Lovat's factor, William Fraser. This was nearly twenty miles from where he had crossed the river. The mention of Aird shows that the writer was not well acquainted with the country. The Aird is the district directly west of Inverness, in which is situated Beaufort Castle, the seat of Lord Lovat. The latter however, was at the moment 'lying low' in the house of his factor. This was the only occasion on which Lovat and the Prince met. During the nine months the latter had been in Great Britain, Lovat had never made up his mind to come and pay his respects to his Prince. At first, he had alluded to him as 'that mad and unaccountable young gentleman' and given President Forbes every reason to believe that he would be on the government side. Later, he had apparently veered round completely and sent out his clan under his eldest son, pleading his age and infirmities to excuse him from personal service.

One can well believe that he now shed tears over the unfortunate Prince and probably for his own prospective and too likely fate as well.

wound, which was not serious; showed his grief at the loss of the battle, and endeavoured to console the Prince with hopes that he would soon be in a position to repair his loss.

The Prince replied that it was vain to flatter oneself with hopes, that he looked on his cause as irreparably ruined, that too many brave men had already sacrificed themselves for him and that he could not embroil any more innocents in his misfortunes. That finally he could settle nothing positively without the consent of his companions. These were Lord Elcho, Mr. Sullivan,<sup>14</sup> and Sheridan. Lord Elcho<sup>15</sup> was entirely convinced that H.R.H.'s cause could be re-established—he proposed several projects, the execution of which seemed impossible to the other two, who were strongly of a contrary opinion. Sheridan in particular replied to Lord Elcho with so much heat, reproaching him bitterly for not having opposed the enemy's passage of the Spey<sup>16</sup> that this quarrel might easily have led to fatal results if H.R.H. had not intervened with authority and said: 'I value the zeal of both of you for my service, but, if you still have any affection for me. I beg of you to restore the former harmony which existed between you, without which we cannot hope to repair our losses, nor to rise superior to our disasters. Personally I despair of being able to gather together enough troops to hold our own against the enemy, who will certainly have detachments in the furthest corner of the kingdom and take different routes, collecting those we may meet on the way and giving them, as secretly as possible, a general rendezvous. Meantime, I will hide myself from the enemy and embrace every expedient that Providence may dictate'.

The Prince then had those who had escaped from the battle and had arrived at Aird, counted. There were no more than 220, with

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<sup>14</sup> Full details concerning Sir Thomas Sullivan are given on page 12. O'Sullivan was an Irishman who had joined the Prince in Paris. He was a professional soldier and was appointed Adjutant-General to the Jacobite army in Scotland. His journal of the campaign, among the Stuart papers at Windsor, gives one of the very best day-to-day accounts. It was published in 1938 by Nelson & Son as *1745 and after*.

<sup>15</sup> Lord Elcho's *The Affairs of Scotland*, Evan Charteris, is well known. It is written in a tone inimical to the Prince. For a personal account of him, see Item VI, p. 127.

<sup>16</sup> The general in command of the troops defending the passage of the Spey was not Elcho, but the Duke of Perth, with whom was his brother Lord John Drummond. Sheridan's apocryphal quarrel with Elcho is also given in the picturesque account of the expedition by Padre Cordara, see the Introduction to item I, page 82.

the officers. He sent them all to Lochaber, hoping that their number might increase. But the sequel showed only too well the vanity of such a project.

My Lord Elcho,<sup>17</sup> Sullivan, Sheridan, the young Lochiel,<sup>18</sup> M. Macdonald, and two other officers were the only ones to accompany H.R.H.

All these things being thus arranged, the Prince rode off accompanied only by Messrs. Sullivan and Sheridan,<sup>19</sup> about eleven o'clock at night and took the route for Fort Augustus. Few of those who were directed to go to Lochaber ever arrived. They were mostly made prisoner by Lord Ancrum,<sup>20</sup> General Bland, or Brigadier

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<sup>17</sup> Lord Elcho parted from the Prince very soon after the battle and made his way more rapidly to Morar. He escaped to France on the ship which brought the Loch Arkaig gold—in company with the dying Duke of Perth, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Capt. Daniell, and others.

For the rest of his life Elcho was occupied in trying to make his peace with the British Government, and to get back the £1,500 he had brought to the Prince at Perth. In both attempts he was unsuccessful.

<sup>18</sup> Lochiel did not leave the field of Culloden with the Prince. He was badly wounded in both ankles, was carried off by his clansmen and concealed. He did not see the Prince again until August. They eventually got off to France together on board *l'Heureux* on 20 Sept. The Macdonald with the Prince was a priest named Allan. He was of the family of Clanranald. He acted as Chaplain to the Forces and gave his blessing to the Catholic troops before Falkirk, but he also bore arms and was called Captain. He left the Prince in Scalpa but rejoined him when the latter returned to Uist and wrote a full account, printed by Bishop Forbes in the *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 321. Taken prisoner by Capt. Macleod on 5 July he was sent on the *Furnace* to Tilbury and was at one time in the house of Dick, the Messenger; released 25 May 1747, when he went to Rome where he resided for many years.

<sup>19</sup> Those who actually rode away from the house of Gortuleg (where the Prince had stopped for a brief refreshment) were Sullivan; Alexander Macleod, the A.D.C.; the latter's servant, Edward Burke; and Father Allan Macdonald. These four only—Sheridan was dismissed in order to see to his own safety. Peter MacDermid, one of the Prince's footmen, probably went with him; he is not heard of again. Lord Elcho rode off on his own, Lochiel had been left behind, and Macleod, the A.D.C., is not mentioned again, after he wrote a letter for the Prince, from Gortuleg to Ewen Macpherson of Cluny. He wandered in the Highlands for thirty-two years, but was never captured. He received a pardon in 1778 and died in 1784. Johnson and Boswell met him in Raasay in 1773, while he was still a fugitive from justice, but this fact did not seem to have affected his spirits.

It is recorded, by Bishop Forbes, that Macleod took good care of his former servant, Ned Burke, until the latter was enabled, after the issue of the Act of Indemnity, to return to his calling as a chairman in Edinburgh. *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 199.

Macleod himself was of course excluded from the Act, along with over eighty prominent supporters of the Prince.

<sup>20</sup> Ancrum.

Mordaunt, who had been detached from the Duke's army to pursue the fugitives.

Lord Lovat, fearing that he was no longer safe in Scotland, was making arrangements to go to France, when he was arrested and taken to the Tower of London, where, in spite of his great age, his birth, and his reputation, he was condemned to death and executed 20 April 1747<sup>21</sup> (*old style 9 April*).

H.R.H. arrived at Fort Augustus at three in the morning of the day following the battle.

The fort had been demolished immediately it surrendered to H.R.H.'s troops—there was no garrison and no provisions,<sup>22</sup> and the Prince and his followers would have had no possibility of satisfying the hunger from which they were suffering if a fisherman<sup>23</sup> had not employed himself to relieve it and, shortly after, brought them a salmon. The Prince and Sullivan acted as cooks.

The Prince then continued his journey, accompanied only by Sullivan and Sheridan.<sup>24</sup> They arrived at dawn at Loch Arkaig where the Prince rested a little, which he had not done for five days and five nights. He remained there till nightfall, always hoping to hear some news of his unfortunate followers. None came, and at length the Prince, Sullivan and Sheridan decided to abandon their horses and their servants and go on foot into the Glens of Morar. From there they reached Arisaig, where it was decided that Sheridan in disguise should go to Ross where the greatest part of the defeated

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<sup>21</sup> The fact that Lovat's execution is mentioned, shows this pamphlet to be of date subsequent to 1747. As already stated the early copies of *Ascanius* mention him as 'still in prison'. The date above is new style. Old style was 9 Apr.

<sup>22</sup> Where the fugitives did actually arrive at three in the morning was Invergarry Castle, and it was here that Burke caught the salmon. The Castle was empty and deserted. Later it was burnt down.

<sup>23</sup> The fisherman was the faithful Edward Burke, a sedan-chairman from Edinburgh, but a native of Uist and servant to Alexander Macleod, the Prince's A.D.C. Burke remained with the Prince until they reached Uist, evaded capture, and eventually returned to his employment in Edinburgh.

<sup>24</sup> The Prince left Invergarry on the evening of 17 Apr. and slept at the house of Donald Cameron at Glenpean. On the eighteenth he started on foot for Morar. On the twentieth he went on to Borodale and was there until the twenty-sixth. As already stated, Sheridan was not with him, and was therefore not sent into Ross, which in any case was a strongly Whig country, and no place of refuge for fugitive Jacobites. Father Allan Macdonald and Edward Burke were all with him, not Sheridan, who was dismissed from Gortuleg and told to look after his own safety and get back to Rome, which he did.

army was believed to have betaken itself. H.R.H. thinking himself safe, waited seven days for the return of Sheridan and employed this interval in making observations on the manners and customs of the natives and also on the diverse incidents and vicissitudes which had befallen him since he landed in Scotland.<sup>25</sup>

Mr. O'Neil,<sup>26</sup> captain in the French service, who after the battle had hidden himself in Invergarry, had met Sheridan, who at once sent him to the Prince. He informed H.R.H. that Lord Kilmarnock had been taken in the battle, that Lord Cromarty had been taken the day before with his son and more than a hundred of his followers, and Lord Balmerino the day after; that the Duke of Perth and his brother, Lord [John] Drummond, had come to Lochaber followed only by their servants and had ordered the Irish troops in French service to give themselves up to the enemy, and that most of the other chiefs had followed their example. 'It is at this time that Your Royal Highness should think of your own safety. There is no chance of collecting enough troops to form a body to resist the Enemy.'

The Prince wept again for the fate of those who had sacrificed themselves for him, and in consequence of O'Neil's news it was decided to seek for a ship to carry to France H.R.H. and any of his followers who could be found ready to embark.

Meantime, Donald Macleod,<sup>27</sup> a well-known gentleman of the neighbourhood, being willing to accompany H.R.H., was charged to

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<sup>25</sup> Some of the editions of *Ascanius* which give many details (correct and incorrect) similar to those in the pamphlet, here add to the curious account of the way the Prince spent these few days before departing for the Outer Isles. He is supposed to have met old Barrisdale, the eldest of the three (all of whom were more or less traitors to his cause). 'During this interval Ascanius frequently amus'd himself with observations on the manners, customs and uncivilized way of living of the country people, with writing Memorandums and remarks on his affairs and the Vicissitudes he had seen in the British Island, with the conversation of the venerable Barrisdale, who frequently visited him and with the Diversion of fishing.

<sup>26</sup> Felix O'Neil, a captain in the French service, who had (sent by the Duke of York) arrived to join the Prince just before Culloden here rejoined him—not of course sent by Sheridan. A faithful account of the Prince's travels from the time that O'Neil joined him was given by him to Bishop Forbes and appears in *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 102. He might possibly have been able to tell the Prince that Lord Kilmarnock had been made prisoner on the field of Culloden, and that Lord Cromarty and his son, Lord Macleod, had been taken at Dunrobin, and that Perth and Lord John Drummond had reached the coast.

<sup>27</sup> The Prince met Donald Macleod on 21 Apr. and at once sent him to procure a boat for an escape to the Outer Isles. Donald Macleod, a humble tacksman or tenant in Gualtergill on Dunvegan Loch, Isle of Skye, would hardly have

hire an eight-oared boat to go to Stornoway where they thought they could find a ship (for France).

The Prince, Sullivan, O'Neil, and Macleod<sup>28</sup> got into the boat and ordered the rowers to get under way as soon as possible, but night coming on and a storm threatening, the crew wished to go back, and all the others would have consented unanimously, except the Prince. They joined in begging him to agree to their request, but could not move him from his determination. He thought it was unworthy to flee from a tempest and the dangers of the sea, in order to preserve life threatened by a powerful and revengeful enemy, and a life, in itself, is full of misery.

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recognized himself as 'a gentleman well-known in the district'. He was at this period 69 years of age—as he died in 1749 aged 72. The brother whom the writer of this manuscript subsequently introduces into the story is a complete myth. Donald had been asked by Aeneas Macdonald, the banker (one of those who came over from France with the Prince), to come with him to the Isle of Barra to retrieve some Spanish money sent there for the Prince's use. This was in the beginning of April. The reason Macdonald wanted Macleod's assistance was because the latter knew the coast so well, and was able to pilot safely a small boat to take the banker to Barra and get him away again. This was accomplished though from Barra they had to go first to Canna and then to Eig before they got safe back to Kinlochmoidart. From there, Aeneas was just about to set out for Inverness to carry the money to his master, when he received a letter from the latter, relating the disaster of Culloden and desiring Aeneas to meet him at Borrodale, which Aeneas did and returning to Kinlochmoidart with Donald to Borrodale to meet the Prince, which he did in a wood, and being asked by the Prince if he was Donald Macleod of Gualtergill in Skye replied 'Yes, I am that same man, may it please Your Majesty, at your service. What is your pleasure wi' me?' *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 161. Donald was in quite humble circumstances, for when he was set free his imprisonment in London he 'had not the wherewithal to pay his charges home', and Bishop Forbes, the industrious collector of the papers known as *The Lyon in Mourning*, made a collection for him. Forbes alluded to him, after his death, as 'that honest old Cock, now in eternity, the faithful Palinurus'. He relates that whenever Donald Macleod was questioned about his adventures with the Prince, the tears ran down his cheeks, and he was wont to say: 'Wha deel could help greeting when speaking on such a sad subject'. The idea that he abandoned the Prince in Stornoway is quite erroneous. He remained with the Prince until the 14 June, the day before the latter was taken by O'Neil to meet Flora MacDonald. Macleod was taken prisoner by the Skye Militia in Benbecula, sent to Portree where he was examined by General Campbell, and sent to London on one of the terrible prison ships. He remained in custody until 10 June 1747. His wife Catherine, was a first cousin of Flora MacDonald and Norman MacLeod of MacLeod recognized him as a distant relation, though according to Donald's own account, refused to speak to him in the streets of Edinburgh. The name of the 'faithful Palinurus' is commemorated on a cairn at Arnish, not far from Stornoway.

<sup>28</sup> With them in the boat was still the priest, Allan Macdonald—and Edward Burke.

It would have been a lucky thing for him had he consented,<sup>29</sup> for the day following his departure from Arisaig, two French vessels arrived, the *Mars* of thirty-two guns and the *Bellona* of thirty-six, and as they returned in safety to France, H.R.H. had only too much reason afterwards to regret having lost such a favourable chance of putting his person in safety.

As night came on, the storm grew more violent, the sailors oppressed by the excessive cold had abandoned the boat to the mercy of the winds and the waves. To help them H.R.H. and his three brave companions took the oars<sup>30</sup> and rowed as long as they were able. The calmness of the Prince, although in so great danger, gave fresh courage to the sailors, who took to their oars again. The Prince, knowing their customs, and to show that he despised the danger, began to sing various songs which device succeeded.

At eight in the morning they found themselves on the coast of Benbecula, where the wind had driven them, and very far away from Stornoway. The wind continued contrary and blew more violently, the cold increased. They were all in a most miserable state. They made a fire and with the help of a little brandy (for they had no other provisions) they managed to escape from the imminent jaws of death. They remained, however, thus, for some hours before they decided to advance into the interior of the island not daring to count on the temper of the people. Towards evening they decided to start and at twilight arrived neat an inhabited place, from whence the inhabitants, at the sight of them, took flight. They passed the night there and fed on a young colt,<sup>31</sup> the only animal in any way eatable that they could find. They roasted a portion and found it excellent. After the meal, the whole crew went to sleep, but H.R.H. and his three friends,<sup>32</sup> not trusting the inhabitants of the

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<sup>29</sup> It has been frequently been said that if the Prince had not been in such a hurry to leave the mainland of Scotland he would have been able to escape with Sheridan, Perth, and the others, and would have avoided the subsequent five months of wandering and hardship.

<sup>30</sup> The writer here included Donald Macleod among the amateur rowers. He was the pilot. The Prince had however three companions, as already stated.

<sup>31</sup> The tale of the travellers having killed a young colt for food is peculiar to this Italian pamphlet and to some early editions of *Ascanius*. It is not mentioned in *Lyon in Mourning*, and seems unlikely to be true. O'Sullivan's diary speaks of a cow being shot at this period, and he was present!

<sup>32</sup> The writer here obviously means O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and Donald Macleod— but the last-named was the pilot of the eight-oared boat—one of whose rowers was his own son. The Prince had three friends with him. In addition to the two Irish there was the Rev. Allan Macdonald, a kinsman of Clanranald, previously mentioned.

island, watched all night. When daylight approached, the weather seemed to be improving and they went further inland hoping to persuade the inhabitants to sell them some provisions. They gave out that they were merchants, shipwrecked on this island, which induced the good people to supply them, with more than they had hoped for. They embarked again with the appearance of a favourable wind, but scarcely had they gone two miles, when they were met by a second storm which threw them on the coast of the island of *Scalpa*. They landed and took refuge, still giving out that they were merchants shipwrecked on their way to the Orkneys, and decided to stay there until the return of a messenger sent to Stornoway, to Macleod's brother.<sup>33</sup>

At this time, news was brought to the Prince (still in the farmer's house), which made him very sad, although all of it not true, as he himself was present in the island.<sup>34</sup> The report was that he himself (his identity was not known to the speaker) accompanied by Mr. Sullivan and Sheridan, by Lord Elcho, the Duke of Perth, Lord [John] Drummond, as well as many other persons of distinction, fugitives from Culloden, were actually at Arisaig, where the above mentioned ships, the *Mars* and *Bellona*, were waiting to sail when the other chiefs who were believed to be wandering here and there,

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Other accounts say that O'Sullivan called himself Old Sinclair and the Prince, young Sinclair, his son. Father Macdonald was called Graham and O'Neil probably Nelson, which was the name he went by later in their wanderings. O'Sullivan says he was called MacNeil, which would have been a very transparent disguise. He had been sent by the Duke of York to join the Prince just before Culloden, and therefore knew nothing of Scotland, but proved himself a useful and cheerful fellow fugitive and skulker—though somewhat prone to theatrical expressions of feeling and highly emotional!

<sup>33</sup> As already stated, Donald Macleod's brother is a creature of the imagination of the writer of the pamphlet. The early editions of *Ascanius*, contain the same fiction, but not the later ones, i.e. those of 1880 and 1890. The true facts were that Donald Macleod himself belonged to Skye, and went in person to Stornoway as a merchant endeavouring to charter a vessel for a voyage to the Orkneys. In this he was successful, but in his delight and a friendly drink, he gave away the secret purpose for which he really wanted the vessel. This, combined with a message already received from the Rev. John Macaulay to his father, the Rev. Aulay Macaulay, minister of Harris, as to the fugitive Prince being in the neighbourhood, so alarmed the inhabitants and the captain of the vessel that he refused to sail. (John Macaulay was grandfather of Lord Macaulay. He is alluded to by some of the Prince's friends as 'that deil o' a Meenster'.)

<sup>34</sup> The dates are quite wrong here. Donald Macleod was sent to Stornoway on 1 May. The *Mars* and *Bellona* reached Arisaig only on 3 May and landed the French gold. They sailed for France on the fourth, but the Prince did not know it till some time after, although he saw the ships pass as he went to Harris in his little boat, and thought they were English.

should have joined them. The Prince would have liked to be back in Arisaig at that moment, but how to get there quickly and safely? Sullivan suggested that they should not too readily believe this news, none of it might be true, and that even if those gentlemen had arrived there, they might have gone before the Prince could join them.

All the arguments of Sullivan did not prevent the Prince from wishing to go to Arisaig sooner than to Stornoway. 'Perhaps', he said, 'our affairs are not so desperate as we imagine, perhaps we should finally ruin them by leaving Scotland, perhaps our return to France is too precipitate.'

Macleod, however, assured the Prince that there was less risk in taking the road to Stornoway than that to Arisaig,<sup>35</sup> and promised that at their arrival, there would be a vessel ready for their orders. The messenger arrived at that moment<sup>36</sup> to inform him that a vessel had been chartered (*by his brother*) ready to set sail on their arrival. Mr. O'Neil, transported with joy at the news, fell on his knees to give thanks to the Most High for their imminent deliverance.

On 4 May His Royal Highness, Sullivan, O'Neil, and Macleod embarked for Stornoway and arrived next evening, landing at some distance from the town,<sup>37</sup> Macleod's brother then confessed that having confided his secret to a false friend, the latter had not only revealed that a vessel had been chartered to take the Prince to France, but had added maliciously to the truth that His Royal Highness was coming to Stornoway with 500 men, to burn and destroy the town, to avenge himself on the inhabitants who had not declared for him, and the people were therefore in Arms. It is difficult to express the anger and the disappointment of O'Neil, who had so rejoiced over everything on the previous day.

The Prince and his followers, with the crew, not knowing how to dispose of themselves till the next day, passed the night, already far advanced, in a bay in the open, and it was decided that the Macleod brothers should go into the town to buy provisions and return at midnight, which they did *not* do. Their desertion not only deprived

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<sup>35</sup> That is *back* to Arisaig.

<sup>36</sup> But it was really Macleod himself who went to Stornoway. His brother was a myth.

<sup>37</sup> Actually about fifteen miles! See Blaikie's itinerary.

the Prince and his little troop of the necessaries of life, but exposed them to all sorts of misfortunes and anxieties.<sup>38</sup> The wind blew as coldly as in mid-winter, it rained, too, and they had no covering but the sky. Neither the Prince nor his two companions knew the country where they were—they did not know which of the places they could get to were free or which were occupied by the enemy. They had no provisions for themselves or for the sailors. Was there ever a more unfortunate and desperate situation? There was no longer any question of going to Arisaig, where it was to be expected that the enemy had already arrived. They went therefore and concealed themselves in a desert island. Four days they remained on that island, the surrounding ocean still being full of English ships. They discovered three abandoned fisherman's huts, in one of which by the special direction of Providence, they found some dried fish, which they soaked and cooked in water.

To avoid being surprised by the enemy on this island, His Royal Highness and his two unfortunate companions agreed to act as sentinels for part of the night.

The Prince, reflecting on his former situation and actual state, could not enjoy the comfort of sleep and was always the companion of the one who watched. Walking in the night with O'Neil along the shore, chance brought them to the place where the sailors had hidden the boat, to conceal it from the enemy. On seeing this, Captain O'Neil suddenly formed a bold project of taking the boat with only himself, His Royal Highness, and Sullivan and leaving the ferocious crew to provide for its own safety.<sup>39</sup> The Prince while

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<sup>38</sup> The statement that Donald Macleod deserted the Prince in Stornoway as soon as his carelessness over the hiring of the vessel was discovered, is *entirely* without foundation. He remained faithfully by the Prince's side except when he was sent (by the Prince from Coradale to meet Secretary Murray on the mainland, to try to get some of the Loch Arkaig money for his master. He was with him until 20 June, when he and Sullivan were both left behind, see p. 100, n. 2 and p. 117, n. 2.

<sup>39</sup> The idea that the Prince and his two followers contemplated taking the boat and leaving the boatmen from the mainland marooned on the little island is fantastically impossible, and, of course, untrue. 'Ferocious' as applied to the crew, might perhaps be translated 'rough'.

These men were all devoted to the Prince. This is abundantly evident from the narratives of Macleod, O'Neil, and Burke, all of which are given in *The Lyon in Mourning*, but were not, of course, available to whoever wrote 'the MS. handed about at the Court of Versailles' in 1747 or this Italian one later on. The idea that they tried to take him back to Arisaig against his will is also entirely fictitious, the devotion of these humble followers was one of the most pronounced features of

approving the zeal of O'Neil yet rejected his proposition—'I am as anxious as you', he said, 'to get out of this island. I foresee all the sufferings and dangers involved in staying here, but I cannot approve of your project. It would draw down the wrath of God upon us to take such a cruel vengeance on the brutal sailors, who would certainly die of hunger. Consider too, that, without them, we should not know how to manage the boat if the wind rose ever so slightly. Let us go to them again and try and persuade them with gentle words to take us to Orkney.' They went, therefore, but neither entreaties nor supplication met with success; the boat put to sea but the crew obstinately rowed towards Arisaig.

Fortunately, an enemy vessel appeared, and to avoid it, they hid themselves in an arm of the sea behind rocks, where they remained for the eleventh and twelfth of May and landed for the second time, because of contrary winds, on the island of Benbecula.

Meanwhile, the Prince, his two friends, and the crew had become so thin they were hardly recognizable and could scarcely stand for the weakness which pressed them. Their sole food was fish cooked with salt and water only, and oatmeal cooked on a girdle.<sup>40</sup> With fresh water to quench their thirst. Sullivan, who was ill, was the only one who could not eat. His condition so affected His Royal Highness that he could not help shedding tears over the fate of his friend. At dawn, the Prince having wandered forth to see what was happening in the island around their retreat, killed, with a pistol shot, a wild duck whom he found sitting on her eggs. They boiled it, the invalid drank the broth and His Royal Highness and O'Neil ate the bird. It was thirteen days since they had eaten such rare and delicate food.

One morning, a faithful Highlander came to tell them that General Campbell was expected that day on the island with a party of the Argyllshire Militia. The two French ships which had been at Arisaig had taken on board the Duke of Perth and his brother, Lord [John] Drummond, Lord Elcho, Mr. Sheridan, Buchanan, and many other people of distinction—that Lord Tullibardine had been obliged to surrender to the enemy and that all the Clans in the Prince's service had been disarmed.

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the Prince's five months 'skulking' in the Highlands, and in any case he *sent* the first boat and boatmen back to Arisaig, vide *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 195, 170.

<sup>40</sup> On the brander, i.e. the girdle, as is usual in Scotland.

That the Secretary Murray, Lords [George] Murray,<sup>41</sup> Pitsligo,<sup>42</sup> Nairn, Ogilvy, and Dundee had escaped on ships they had found at Buchan. But that the desolation and misery of those who were still in Scotland was inexpressible, being persecuted on all sides. This news, though mixed with items found later not only redoubled the melancholy of the Prince and his two friends so much that they had no longer the strength and courage to console one another.

On 15 May His Royal Highness and his two friends re-embarked at night, and landed for the second time on the desert island.

*[The next few pages of the Italian account, obviously compiled from hearsay, are so wrong both chronologically and geographically that it seemed better to omit them, as has been done for the same reason with some other passages. From the island in Loch Uskevagh they went in the night of 16 May to the Island of S. Uist and then at Coradale<sup>43</sup> remained for three weeks 'in comparative comfort and safety'.]*

The miserable nourishment had considerably augmented the disease which the Prince had contracted among the inhabitants of S. Uist. A horrible disease which I should not name if I could allow myself to minimize in any way the evils to which he was exposed during his time in Scotland. The malady was in fact scabies with which the inhabitants of that island are nearly always afflicted. The

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<sup>41</sup> Lord George Murray lurked in Scotland for many months. The actual date of his escape to the Continent seems not to be known but it was in Dec. 1746, and he escaped in a ship from Anstruther to Norway. He was for some time in France, visited King James in Rome, and spent some time in Venice, where he met the Earl Marischal and Lord Elcho. Later he came to Paris, but the Prince refused to see him. His later years were spent in Germany and Holland, and finally he settled at Emerich on the Rhine near Arnheim, where his wife and family joined him. There are numbers of delightful letters from him among the Stuart papers at Windsor, chiefly to James Edgar. He died at Medemblick on the Zuyder Zee on 11 October 1760, and is buried in the Reformed Church there. His family arms still hang above the flag stone on the church floor, and the inhabitants show; with pride, the grave of '*het Englischer*'. His son John married the daughter of his brother, Duke James, and eventually succeeded as third Duke of Atholl.

<sup>42</sup> Lord Pitsligo, who was 68 years of age and had long been in exile after his participation in the Rising of 1715, never went abroad again. He remained hidden in his own county of Aberdeenshire, going about under various disguises and sheltered by friends. He died in 1762. The other three made good their escapes, but subsequent to this date.

<sup>43</sup> The Prince, with O'Neil, Sullivan, and apparently Father Allan Macdonald, who rejoined him, stayed at Coradale from 15 May to 5 June. Other friends visited him there. Captain Alexander Macdonald, a first cousin of Flora, has left an account of one such visit.

cause is said to be that a certain Nitrate coming from the sea-water is mixed with what they are obliged to drink.

A sailor having brought the news that the enemy had made a cordon round all the coasts of Scotland, this news changed a plan they had to return to Moidart. At this latest news the spirit of His Royal Highness seemed quite broken. He was scarcely able to resign himself to the decrees of Providence.

‘Shall we never’, he cried, ‘overcome these innumerable obstacles which surround us. Shall Fate never weary of persecuting us? Wherever I go she follows me. What shall I do? It were best if I surrender myself to the enemy and get the most favourable terms I can, for I begin to fear that I cannot escape him and that I have no prospect save to die of hunger. Although I have a good constitution, I cannot much longer stand against all the disasters which daily increase. Why was I born of a family so unfortunate?’<sup>44</sup>

‘My Prince’, said Sullivan, ‘our courage ought not to give way to appearances. Let us stay here till the sea is clear. Your enemies will think you have returned to the mainland and will give up their hunt or pursue it less rigourously’, and His Royal Highness approved so good a counsel.

The seventh day of their sojourn in this melancholy spot came to an end. Captain O’Neil, who had been down to Kilbride<sup>45</sup> alone, reported, on his return, that a detachment under Captain Scott<sup>46</sup> had arrived there and nearly captured him. This latest news, showing that the enemy still suspected them to be in these parts, alarmed them greatly. Never had they been so near capture. They took refuge in a little hut on a mountain side, where they had

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<sup>44</sup> There is no historical evidence that the Prince ever despaired, and the itch was not a mortal disease. The above speech is pure invention. The remark about his unfortunate family occurs in one of Dr. King’s ‘anecdotes’—a certain Mr. Macnamara once said to Prince Charles ‘What has your family done, Sire, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it, through so many ages?’

<sup>45</sup> One Kilbride is near Trotternish in Skye, and was where Flora and the Prince subsequently landed. It is, of course, impossible that O’Neil, practically a Frenchman, would have been able to get safely to Skye and back at this date, when all the crossings were so carefully guarded and passes demanded. There is another small place of the same name in Uist, opposite to the island of Eriskay. It was here that Captain Scott landed with his men.

<sup>46</sup> Captain Carolina Scott, one of the most cruel of the enemy commanders. O’Neil afterwards actually fell into the hands of Captain John Fergusson.

passed the night, dreading every moment to be visited by Captain Scott's men.

The hut was inhabited by a poor countryman who seemed to be on the side of the Prince, and they sent him out for news. Returning after some hours, he told them that General Campbell was at Bernera, not far off. Surrounded by enemies, H.R.H. and his two faithful friends wandered from place to place or hut to hut, without guide.

*[The account which follows of the meeting with Flora Macdonald and the subsequent escape, is largely a travesty of what really happened, and as it also occurs in the popular Ascanius, has no doubt been responsible for a great deal of the romantic legend which has grown up around the incident. For the actual facts, see the quite simple account in Flora's own words, in the seventh item of this Miscellany on page 185.]*

During this perilous march, Fortune for once seemed favourable to them. She caused them to meet a lady on horseback accompanied by a single servant.<sup>47</sup> Mr. O'Neil went to meet her, begging her most

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<sup>47</sup> This encounter with Flora Macdonald riding with her servant, is of course entirely apocryphal. It recalls the early Victorian romantic so-called historical novels, in the illustrations of which Flora figured in a fashionable riding habit and feathered hat, having sentimental interviews with the Prince from Uist to Skye, whereby she undoubtedly saved his life, must never be minimized—but the original project was not hers. According to the journal of Neil MacEachain (a Macdonald and the only person who accompanied them on their flight), the idea came first from Flora's stepfather, Hugh Macdonald. He was a captain in the Government Militia but a convinced, though secret, well-wisher to the Prince and had seen and greeted the latter on his first landing, 25 July 1745. This journal of MacEachain, printed by Dr. Blaikie in the *Origins of the '45*, Scottish History Society, 1909, and again in 1915, was not known to Bishop Forbes and therefore does not appear in *The Lyon in Mourning*. Neil joined the French army and died in France—(incidentally, Marshall Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, was his son). Neil's papers were lost for some time and the precious journal was later purchased from a hairdresser in Paris who claimed to be a descendant, and it first saw the light in 1840. It was obviously contemporary and genuine and Dr. Blaikie and a local friend carefully compared the topography of it on the spot. From the time that Neil joins the Prince every detail of their movements agrees with other contemporary accounts—and though Neil alludes to himself in the third person, no one but he could have written it. He draws no veil over the Prince's occasional petulance and unreasonableness, and obviously no love was lost between him and Captain O'Neil. They were the Prince's only two companions in his last days in Uist, after Ned Burke and Donald Macleod had returned to their homes and O'Sullivan had been left behind to make the best of his way back to France, which he did and was very active in forwarding the plans for the Prince's eventual rescue. Flora, in her account to Bishop Forbes, complains that O'Sullivan 'went off too soon', but he was following the Prince's instructions. Some jealousies and

politely to stop a moment. The lady trembling with fright, stopped and begged O'Neil to take her purse without harming her.

'Do not be afraid', he said, 'of a miserable wretch near to ruin who has no resource but your advice. I know that the fair sex is compassionate, and loves to help the unfortunate and I put my fate and my life in your hands. I do not know your sentiments but I acknowledge to you that I am a French officer who with the other two, whom you see there, are surrounded by the enemy from whom we cannot escape without a miracle on the part of Providence. I beg of you to tell me of some place where we could be safe, where our friends have not yet surrendered.'

'Sir', she replied, 'I am filled with compassion for the condition in which I see you. My family has always been firmly attached to the Stuart cause and you can rely on my services. I have just come from Moidart,'<sup>48</sup> and had to pass your enemies' guards and shall have to

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mutual recriminations were inevitable among the Prince's devoted followers, and this may account for MacEachain wishing to rob O'Neil of the credit of the Betty Burke plan, which the latter claims for himself (in *his* account of the wanderings in *The Lyon in Mourning*). He, O'Neil, adds that he had some difficulty in persuading Flora to agree to it. She was at first unwilling to take the Prince into the territory of her cousin, Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, who had refused to help him, and thus to compromise Sir Alexander, and secondly had some maidenly scruples about travelling with the Prince. O'Neil chronicles these and adds that he therefore said if she had any fears of aspersions on her character he was ready, nay anxious, to marry her out of hand. He does not say when and where he first met her, but certainly she had not been in Inverness before Culloden. She had only been once on the mainland in her life, on a visit to Argyllshire, and he only arrived from France just before the battle. Anyway, that the scheme was his and not that of any one else seems proved by the half humorous, half reproachful remark made to him by Flora when they met as prisoners in Edinburgh—'To that black face I owe all my misfortunes'—see *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 113. Their first introduction to one another was very probably the work of Lady Clanranald.

Flora refused, very rightly, to take O'Neil with herself, Neil MacEachain, and the Prince to Skye; the pass from her stepfather allowed her only one male one female attendant. The most impressive feature of the adventurer is that after parting from the Prince at Portree she quietly proceeded to her mother's house and told no one 'what she had about' till she was arrested 'eight or ten days after' as if no one had noted the exact day. Kingsburgh was arrested first, and was much more harshly treated, suffering a year's imprisonment, part of the time in irons and in solitary confinement, for the one night's hospitality—the only time during his five months' skulking that the Prince slept in a bed. It is rather curious that, in his own hasty account of his adventures, he omits this incident, for which his host paid so dearly—though both certainly greatly enjoyed it at the time. Kingsburgh calmed his wife's fears as to the consequences of sheltering the Prince by remarking 'We can die but aince'.

<sup>48</sup> She did not come from Moidart. She was staying with her brother Angus at Milton (and the Shieling at Alissary to which O'Neil brought the Prince was part

pass more before I get to Clanranald's house in Rushness. The whole country, except the mountain sides on the left there, is guarded by the Militia, *that* is the only way you can possibly take to go and hide yourselves.'

During this conversation, the Prince and Sullivan<sup>49</sup> had come closer, and recognized the lady as a Macdonald who had come to pay her court to the Prince in Inverness. Slipping from her horse, she threw herself at his feet and would have kissed his hand, but he drew it away, by reason of the above-mentioned disease which made it unpleasant to touch. The Prince signed to O'Neil to raise her up. The emotion of this noble lady showed itself in the abundance of her tears.

When she could breathe again, she proposed to dress the Prince in the clothes of her servant, but this expedient seemed too dangerous. It was decided that the Prince and his two companions should take refuge for the night in a cave at the foot of the mountain, where Miss Macdonald promised to come to them or to send word, and they arrived there safely (and remained three days). At the end of the third day, His Royal Highness concluding that Miss Macdonald could not or dared not keep her word, resolved to free himself once and for all from his cruel position, by sending Captain O'Neil to General Campbell to give himself up on the best terms he could get. This desperate resolve would certainly have been carried out if a message had not arrived that evening from Miss Macdonald desiring them to come to her and that she would meet them near to Rushness in Benbecula. But she was not there as promised in the place indicated. This was near an old hut where they were obliged to pass the night. Next morning, a party of soldiers who seemed to be coming towards them, forced them to abandon their shelter and hide themselves in a marsh among

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of that holding). She had only once been out of the Island in her life and that was to Argyll, and had of course never seen the Prince before, see p. 185 for her own account.

<sup>49</sup> Sullivan had been left behind before the Prince met Flora—it was on 20 June that the Prince said farewell both to him and to Donald Macleod. Sullivan soon after sailed for Bergen in a small French ship and later made his way to Paris. According to Sullivan's diary, it would appear that here again the Prince missed a chance of escaping to France, for the vessel which bore off Sullivan would have taken him, too, to Bergen. As soon as it appeared, O'Neil went in search of the Prince, but he had already left Uist and gone to Skye. O'Neil, returning, found Sullivan gone, but managed to provide for his own safety, and to rejoin the Prince later.

bushes where they had water up to their middles. The Prince and Sullivan remained for many hours in this horrible situation, while O'Neil went to see what was happening in the neighbourhood and succeeded in getting to the house of Clanranald to ask for news of Miss Macdonald and found her there, when she gave him the reasons which had obliged her to fail in keeping her word, and not to be in the appointed place, which were sufficient to justify her.

She then communicated to O'Neil the plan she had made to hide the Prince until he found a good chance to escape to France, and sent O'Neil to inform H.R.H. of what she had devised.

It is impossible to express the grief of the Prince when he found that he must separate from his two unfortunate friends, who had been so faithful and so affectionate. It was, however, essential to do what Miss Macdonald had arranged. She went in person to the Prince and told him it was impossible to save three people. She could only take one, without exposing all three to terrible risk, and the one would have to be dressed as and pass for her maid-servant.

'Let the Prince flee and be saved', said Sullivan and O'Neil;<sup>50</sup> 'if he is in safety it does not matter what happens to us.' The Prince could not get over this separation, so necessary for his safety; it was impossible for him to express his sorrow, otherwise than by sobs, sighs, and lamentations. He embraced his two friends whose attachment to his person had been entirely disinterested and perhaps the Prince experienced for the first time that adversity and misfortune are the true means of testing friendship.

Miss Macdonald now took a particular care of the person of the Prince and gave him a remedy to heal the disease above mentioned. She conducted him to an uninhabited spot where she had already prepared everything for his disguise and made him put on the women's clothes, saying that he must now forget everything except that he was her maid Betty.

On 19 June<sup>51</sup> (*actually the twenty-eighth*) Miss Macdonald, her pretended maid Betty, and a man-servant,<sup>52</sup> embarked for the Isle

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<sup>50</sup> O'Sullivan had been left behind before this. O'Neil was most anxious to accompany the Prince, but Flora pointed out the impossibility. She had only a pass for one man-servant, which must be MacEachain and not the French captain.

<sup>51</sup> Actually 28 June.

of Skye, where she was certain of receiving protection from Monsieur de Suralde,<sup>53</sup> who had only submitted to the enemy for fear of being treated as were those who declared for the Prince. No one would expect the Prince to be hidden in his house and still less disguised as a maid. The Prince played his part badly while on the journey and caused much anxiety to Miss Macdonald, who could not help telling him in joke that he did not carry out the part of Pretender at all well. She also took this opportunity, seeing him a little more cheerful, to give him some melancholy news she had for him. Lord Kelly had surrendered. Lord Lovat had been arrested, as had also Secretary Murray, who had already announced to the Prince's followers, if assured of his own pardon, and this having been granted, a number of distinguished persons had been arrested on his information, among whom were Lord Traquair, Lady Ogilvie, Mesdames Macintosh, Gordon, Kinloch and many others.<sup>54</sup>

They arrived at Skye at midnight. To avoid the most pressing danger, they remained at the foot of a rock to await the return of a servant sent to see if Sir Archibald Macdonald was at home.<sup>55</sup> Although he was not there, his wife was nevertheless ready to

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<sup>52</sup> Neil MacEachain.

<sup>53</sup> Monsieur de Suralde is a curious phonetic rendering of Sir Alexander Macdonald—afterwards alluded to, equally incorrectly, as Sir Archibald.

<sup>54</sup> It seems extremely unlikely that Flora, in her remote shieling in Uist would have heard any news! In any case, most of this happened long after. John Murray was taken prisoner in the house of his sister in the lowlands on the very day the Prince went to Skye. His treacherous revelations, which certainly helped to bring Lovat to the block, were only made in London in July.

The Earl of Traquair had remained chiefly in England since the time he had taken south with him the famous letter from the Prince's supporters in Scotland, telling him *not* to come unless he could bring substantial French aid in men and money. This letter Traquair failed to forward to France as he found it would cost too much for a messenger, or more at least than he was prepared to pay. He eventually destroyed it! He was arrested in England and sent to the Tower where his wife, Theresa Conyers, badgered poor General Williamson, the Governor, about her husband's health. Lady Ogilvie, Lady Gordon of Park, Lady Kinloch, and Ann Farquharson, wife of 'The Mackintosh', had all been arrested immediately after Culloden, and it had nothing to do with Murray. They were all released except Lady Ogilvie who escaped. Lord Lovat was not taken prisoner and was not executed till 9 Apr. 1747. His death sentence was probably really due to the evidence of John Murray.

<sup>55</sup> It was Flora herself who went to Monkstadt to ask for Lady Margaret's help—leaving the Prince as Betty Burke sitting on the shore. The boat returned at night to Uist. This was a weak point in the plan, on the whole. The Baronet of Sleat was Sir Alexander.

receive them, to do all in her power for them,<sup>56</sup> and to procure for them all they wanted.

Arrived at the castle,<sup>57</sup> although he was disguised, the Prince never left Miss Macdonald's room, for fear of being discovered. He only remained two days, for as the enemy knew there were strangers in the Castle, they sent soldiers to search the rooms that same evening. Without waiting to be shown in, they went direct to the lady's room, where they found Miss Macdonald and her pretended servant. The Prince, hearing the noise the soldiers made coming upstairs and passing through the other rooms, had the presence of mind to rise and open the door to them and, feigning a woman's voice, ask them what they wanted. The soldiers seeing only two ladies there and a servant, immediately left the room to search elsewhere.<sup>58</sup> This alarming visit decided Miss Macdonald to cause the Prince to move on to Kingsburgh, whither he went with Kingsburgh himself, whom business had brought to the house. His Royal Highness, still dressed as a woman, went off with him on foot. It was lucky for the Prince, among so many misfortunes, to be always with faithful and affectionate people, otherwise he would have been at once discovered, by the way he walked, and by excessive lifting of his skirts when wading through a stream.

He arrived, however, without danger at Kingsburgh, but could not rest there long.<sup>59</sup> Kingsburgh gave him some of his own clothes

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<sup>56</sup> Actually Lady Margaret Macdonald (one of the beautiful daughters of the Countess of Eglinton) did *not* receive the Prince or see him. She was too much afraid of the consequences—she sent him some wine and biscuits by her factor, Kingsburgh, in whose house he spent that night, the only one he was in Skye at this time.

<sup>57</sup> Monkstadt House was not a castle! It is sometimes written Mugstot.

<sup>58</sup> This absurd and quite apocryphal story must have had some currency at the time the pamphlet was written, for it appears in one of the contemporary broadsheets, which has a portrait of the Duke of Cumberland at the top, and below ten small illustrations depicting various of Prince Charles Edward's adventures. One of these bears beneath it the legend: 'The Pretender's son is by a Lady disguised in the Habit of her maid'. And another: 'The Militia searching ye House of Miss Macdonald where ye Pretender's son was disguised in her Maid's Cloaths, apparently looking under a mattress while a fashionably dressed lady with a tight waist and *bouffant* skirts leans out of the window. Actually, Flora's own home was in the island of Uist, which she and the Prince had just left, and the only time they were at Kingsburgh where when they were *not* visited by the Military—who would otherwise have easily found the Prince; but, thus early, legends had begun to grow.

<sup>59</sup> The Prince was only one night at the house of Macdonald of Kingsburgh, where Flora also stayed. He left on the afternoon of the next day still in the Betty Burke clothes, but changed these on the hill-side for a suit of clothes given him by

and he was in a boat to the Isle of Raasa. After having remained there for three days,<sup>60</sup> the Prince in order to mislead those searching for him, left again to return to Skye, and then went to the house of Lord Kinnon<sup>61</sup> where he was told that, since he left Kingsburgh, Monsieur Kingsburgh, Miss Macdonald, his benefactress, and Sir Archibald's factor, had all been arrested.<sup>62</sup> This news greatly affected the Prince, more than all the other misfortunes he had suffered, and he was oppressed with grief. The old chief, already burdened by his great age, received the unlucky Prince with tears in his eyes, and Fortune was unwearied in the persecution of His Royal Highness's benefactors. The brave and generous Kinnon was taken, on his way home, but the Prince had the time and the luck to reach Morar, where he had news of the brave Donald of Lochgarry, who invited the Prince to come and honour with his presence a band of Highlanders,<sup>63</sup> small, it is true, but bold and brave and ready to shed their last drop of blood for him. On 18 July<sup>64</sup> Lochgarry informed the Prince that Lochiel had not been taken and was still in the country. This news was the more pleasing to the Prince, as he loved this adherent tenderly. His pleasure was no less when he heard that Sullivan, whom he believed to be in great danger, had extricated himself and that O'Neil who alone had been arrested and taken to the Castle of Edinburgh, had been liberated on parole as a French officer.<sup>65</sup>

Directly it appeared that the Prince was no longer in safety in Lochaber, he retired to Badenoch. There he joined Lochiel,

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Kingsburgh, but belonging to his son-in-law, MacAllister. He went from Kingsburgh to Portree and so to Raasay. It was Kingsburgh and not Flora who remarked that the Prince was not a good 'Pretender', see p. 102.

<sup>60</sup> Actually only one night.

<sup>61</sup> Plain John MacKinnon, but later the Prince met the old Chieftain.

<sup>62</sup> In this list of persons arrested, it appears that the writer was not aware that Macdonald of Kingsburgh was factor to Sir Alexander Macdonald (what he doubtless means by Major-domo). This, as many other slips in the narrative, show that it was compiled from hearsay. As a matter of fact the Prince could not have heard of the arrests from MacKinnon on 4 July, as they took place some days later.

<sup>63</sup> These are the famous eight men of Glenmoriston, robbers and fugitives from justice, but the Prince's most faithful defenders.

<sup>64</sup> Actually the twenty-eighth.

<sup>65</sup> Felix O'Neil was not released until February 1747, which, again, places the date of this manuscript as sometime in that year. It was while in Edinburgh that he met Flora again.

Barisdale, father and son, Doctor Cameron, and Macpherson of Cluny. This took place in a cavern<sup>66</sup> in a forest.

Towards the end of August,<sup>67</sup> His Royal Highness in company with Lochiel and the others, mentioned above, received the welcome news that two French ships had arrived from St. Malo at Loch-nan-Uamh. These two ships were *l'Heureux*, of 30 guns and 300 crew, and the *Prince of Conti* of 22 guns and 200 men. They had been sent by the orders of the French court to which Sullivan had gone and told the King of the Prince's desperate position.

The Prince took it for a good augury that these ships had arrived actually at Loch-nan-uamh where he had disembarked on his arrival in Scotland. His friend pointed out the necessity of his going on board at once, and not allowing so favourable an opportunity of putting his life in safety to be lost. 'No, no', said His Royal Highness, 'my people shall never reproach me with having abandoned them. I shall be the last man to leave the enemy country. The life of the last of my followers is as dear to me as my own. No one shall be sacrificed by being left behind.'

At length, on 19 September<sup>68</sup> all those whom they felt could be saved and who were ready to embark, to the number of 25 gentlemen and 107 other people, departed with the Prince. The two frigates doubled the coast of Cornwall with a favourable wind. A thick fog hid them from the English men-of-war in the Irish sea, and on 29 September<sup>69</sup> they arrived safely at Roscoff near Morlaix in lower Brittany.

Directly they embarked, His Royal Highness caused the Barisdales, father and son,<sup>70</sup> to be arrested, for serious reasons, and

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<sup>66</sup> By the *Caverna* is meant 'Cluny's Cage', cunningly contrived on the face of a cliff. The Prince entered this refuge on 5 September, and was there a week—leaving on 13 Sept.

<sup>67</sup> This date is wrong, the news of the ships reached him on 13 Sept., and he started the same day, reached Borodale on 19 Sept. and sailed next day. The dates are correctly given in the early copies of *Ascanius*, and also in the account 'by an Englishman', said to be by Dr. Burton.

<sup>68</sup> This was the day after the Prince reached Loch Nan-uamh.

<sup>69</sup> 20 Sept. was the actual date of sailing. The date of arrival at Roscoff was 29 Sept. (Old Style), 10 Oct. (New Style).

<sup>70</sup> To Coll Macdonald of Barrisdale belongs the unique distinction of having been a traitor to both sides in the '45, and of having been imprisoned by both parties. He raised a regiment of Macdonalds of his own, because he would not fight under the banner of his cousin, Lochgarry, who commanded the Glengarry battalion. He was at Falkirk but not at Culloden, but after that battle he and his father,

on disembarking had them imprisoned in the gaol at Morlaix and thence shortly after transferred to the Castle of Saumur, where they still are. They were openly accused of having wished to gain the reward promised to whoever delivered the Prince up to his enemies. I do not fully understand the motive which led to their imprisonment.

When the Prince reached Paris, he found that the court was at Fontainebleau,<sup>71</sup> and having arrived there, he learnt that the King was in special council. When His Majesty received the news of the Prince's arrival, he came out at once as far as the second hall to meet him. 'Praise be to God', said the King, 'for the pleasure I have in seeing Your Royal Highness. You come, sir, to gain immortal glory and let us hope that, one day, you will have the reward you merit.'

THE END

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Archibald and his son of the same name were arrested by the orders of Cumberland. His early release was said to be on condition of giving information to the Government. He and his son escaped with the Prince to France, but were then imprisoned by the French on Jacobite orders. Returning to Scotland in 1749, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh till his death in 1750. His father, Archibald, died a free man in 1752. Young Archibald after several imprisonments, and once being tried and sentenced to death, was finally released in 1762 and survived till 1787.

<sup>71</sup> This detail, which is strictly correct, but was not known at the time to the Prince's followers in Scotland, lends likelihood to the fact of the manuscript having been first written abroad, and actually as the early copies say 'handed about at the court of Versailles', possibly in French. Many of the other accounts give descriptions of the Prince's reception by the French King at Paris or at Versailles, but the Court was in Oct. 1746 actually at Fontainebleau.

**Q**UASI tutte le Nazioni dell' Europa e singolarmente la Francia, la Spagna, e l'Italia maravigliate dei Progressi di Sua Altezza Reale il Principe *Carlo Odoardo Stuart* in Scozia, facevano de'voti per li favorevoli successi della sua Intrapresa; Si conviene generalmente che Egli meritasse la Corona della Gran Bretagna, non solo per la Giustizia della sua Causa che per la Magnanimità delle sue Eroiche Virtù, che lo mettevano al Rango de' più bravi Capitani e de' più savj Sovrani. Più non si dubitavi che la fortuna secondando il suo coraggio ed il valore de' suoi fedeli Scozzesi, non giugesse Egli a depossedere la Casa d'*Annover* dello Scettro che il *Principe d'Orange* aveva strappato dalle mani del suo Avo e che n'era caduto in quelle dell'Elettore, che [*sic*] per l'indiscrezione del *Mylord Oxfort*, e del *Mylord Polimbroke*, al pregiudizio degli Atti li più Sacri e contro il tenore del Testamento della Regina Anna.<sup>1</sup>

Dopo l'arrivo di questo Principe in Scozia tutto era concorso a favorire la sua intrapresa e li soccorsi ch'Egli sperava avrebbero finito di coronarla de' più felici successi, se li venti di concerto con li capricci e le bizzarrie della fortuna non l'avessero ritenuti lontani.

Se si fosse potuto prevedere che questi soccorsi ricontrebbero gl'invincibili ostacoli che li hanno impedito d'arrivare a tempo S.A.R. avrebbe preso misure più convenevoli a'suovi veri interessi ed in luogo di penetrare di la dalle Frontiere d'Inghilterra, avrebbe fatto occupare dalle sue Truppe li posti più avvantaggiosi che difendevano l'Entrata in Scozia. Per questa disposizione, Egli avrebbe potuto ingrossare il suo partito e tener ancor lungo tempo sospese ed in guardia le Truppe dell' Elettore; E se, alla fine, Egli avesse dovuto cedere alla forza li Scozzesi sarebbero stati almeno in stato di rientrare sotto il Dominio della Casa d'*Annover* a condizioni meno dure,<sup>2</sup> o almeno avrebbero potuto patteggiare con le Armi alla mano una generale amnista ed ottenerla, conservando le loro Ereditarie giurisdizioni, Privilegio considerabile che le fu tolto.

Tale era l'opinione di quelli, che nel Consiglio di S.A.R. credevano presentire ciò che accadde in appresso, cioè, che questi soccorsi potrebbero essere ritardati dalli venti contrarj o per altri inconvenienti difficili a prevedersi; e che ritardando il loro arrivo in

Scozia, gl'impedirebbero di produrre tutto l'effetto, che si sperava. Quelli al contrario più facili a lusingarsi e che dicevan che sarebbero giunti felicemente ed a tempo li soccorsi, ebbero dalla lor parte la pluralità delle voci, e furono di parere che si dovesse marciare quanto più si rendesse loro possibile verso *Londra* dove contavano sopra un formidabile Partito che, secondo la loro assertiva, erano pronti a dichiararsi, se le Truppe di S.A.R. avessero potuto mostrarsi alle Porte di questa Capitale. In effetto, se questi soccorsi Ausiliarj avessero potuto sbarcare in Scozia avanti la congiunzione delle Truppe Assiane a quelle Duca di *Cumberland*, molti Parziali trubutarj che l'incertezza del successo li ritenevano nell'innazione, avrebbero preso le Armi e si sarebbero uniti alle Truppe che si attendevano, e sarebbero considerabilmente concorsi a favorire li gloriosi disegni di S.A.R., quale non voleva far rivivere li suoi diritti che per cimentar la fortuna dei Popoli, che il valore delle loro Armi avrebbe sottoposti alla sua obbedienza.

Fra tanto, che questo Principe e quelli del suo Partito, egualmente armati di costanza e di fermezza si lusingavano delle più dolci speranze, il *Duca di Cumberland* s'avanzava a gran giornate verso le frontiere della Scozia.<sup>3</sup> Li 23. Aprile<sup>4</sup> Egli passò *la Spey* e venne a postarsi alla riva di questo Fiume<sup>5</sup> a poca distanza dell' Armata di S.A.R.; Questo Duca alla testa di 14. Uomini d'Infanteria, e di sette in otto milla Cavali, tanto Cavalleria, che Dragoni,<sup>6</sup> seguito da una numerosa Artiglieria, abbondantemente provveduto di Monizioni da bocca, e da Guerra, venne a stabilire il suo Campo li 26. Aprile<sup>7</sup> alla vista di quello di S.A.R., che non aveva con lui che undicimilla Combatenti,<sup>8</sup> poco, o niente di Cavalleria e solamente 18. Pezzi di Compagna. La sua Armata composta quasi tutta di Montagnardi, non conteneva che 1500. Uomini di Truppa aguerrita e disciplinata. La disunione e disintelligenza cominciava a regnare fra li Capi dell' Armata; li viveri li mancarono dopo due giorni; una parte delle sue Truppe mormoravano e minacciavano d'abbandonarlo; la sua posizione poco vantaggiosa non li permetteva più d'evitare la battaglia. Tutti questi ostacoli se gli presentarono in un colpo sotto li suoi occhi e credette doversi più alla sua gloria l'esser vinto con le Armi alla mano che dell'essere fuggendo avanti gl'Inglese, sopra de' quali Egli di già ne aveva riportato il Trionfo a *Preston*, a *Aberdeen*,<sup>9</sup> ed a *Falkirk* con forze ben più inferiori alle loro. Malgrado gli vantaggi considerabili che accompagnavano il *Duca di Cumberland*, il giorno appresso, 27.

Aprile, li Scozzesi attesero a piè fermo l'Innemico, e le disputarono ancora ben più di trè ore il Campo di battaglia.<sup>10</sup>

Ma la vittoria non è sempre la ricompensa del valore, ella hà li suoi capricci come la Fortuna ha li suoi; che perciò si dichiarò per il Duca, chi nella sua conquista non usò quella generosità e clemenza che se ne doveva naturalmente attendere da un Principe del suo rango. Cinquecento morti e quasi altrettanti feriti sopra il Campo di battaglia non furono bastanti alla sua vittoria; fece pertanto crudelmente trucidare tutti quelli che cercando la loro salvezza nella fuga, cadevano nel potere de' suoi Soldati. Più di tremila subirono questa sorte sì crudele e quelli che scapparono dalla crudeltà de' vincitori non furono in un numero sufficiente perchè si potesse sperare di fare un nuovo sforzo, quando ancora si fossero potuti riunire.

S.A.R., che aveva il posto nella Retroguardia il centro della sua Armata, restò sopra il Campo di battaglia sino a tanto che vide che tutto era perduto senza risorsa. Egli ebbe, nel tempo della battaglia, un Cavallo morto sotto di lui;<sup>11</sup> fu ferito alla Coscia, da una palla di Carabina.

Il Corpo delle sue Truppe fuggitive lo strascinavano dalla parte d'*Inverness*, ove Egli sarebbe stato verisibilmente preso, se non si fosse gettato nel fiume che passa vicino a questa Città. Avendo l'acqua sino alla bocca,<sup>12</sup> potendone appena tagliare il filo e resistere alla violenza del Torrente; di maniera che la sua vita non fu meno esposta in questo passo che in quello della battaglia e che, in appresso, l'è stata per l'inseguimento e le persecuziono de' suoi Nemici.

Subito che fu sortito dal Fiume, fece far alto alla piccola Truppa che l'aveva seguito: Gettò de' compassionevoli sguardi sù la tragica scena che facevasi dalla parte opposta, ove li vincitori facevano la più spaventevole strage alla retroguardia della sua Armata. Penetrato dal più vivo dolore, non potè umani e li più compassionevoli e di piangere la perdita d'un gran numero de' suoi Parteggiani, vittime sfortunate dell' attaccamento che avevano avuto per lui.<sup>13</sup>

Il medesimo giorno questo Principe arrivò a *Aird*, Castello del *Lord Lovat*, Capo di *Frazers*, Tributario considerabile nelle Montagne della Scozia: Questo Signore lo ricevette con le lagrime

agl' occhi; li procurò un Chirurgo per medicare la sua ferita, quale non era molto pericolosa; le dimostrò il dolore che le cagionava la perdita della battaglia e si sforzò a consolarlo, facendole sperare che Egli sarebbe stato ben presto in stato di riparare a questa perdita. Il Principe le rispose che era vano il lusingarsene, che riguardava li suoi affari come totalmente ruinati, senza risorsa; che troppe brave genti s' erano già sacrificate per lui senza inviluppare nelle sue disgrazie un più gran numero d'Innocenti; Che finalmente non poteva determinare niente di positivo, senza il consenso di quelli che lo accompagnavano. Questi erano *Mylord Elcho*, e *Messieurs Sullivan*,<sup>14</sup> e *Sherridan*. *Mylord Elcho*<sup>15</sup> si lusingava fuor di misura che gl'affari di S.A.R. potevano ristabilirsi; propose molti Progetti che l'Esecuzione sembrano impossibili a *Messieurs Sullivan*, e *Sherridan*, quali per ragioni più forti furono di parere ed opinione contraria. Questo ultimo rispose con tanto calore al *Lord Elcho* rimproverandole arditamente il non essersi opposto al Nemico allorchè passò la *Spey*,<sup>16</sup> che vennero alli più sensibili contrasti, e rimproveri. Questa disputa avrebbe avuto appresso accidenti li più fatali, se Sua Altezza Reale non vi fosse intervenuto con la sua Autorità. 'Io lodo egualmente il vostro zelo per il mio servizio,' le disse, 'ma, se avete ancora qualche attaccamento per me, vi prego di far rivivere fra di Voi la medesima armonia, che vi hà fin' ad ora regnato, senza la quale Noi non potiamo sperare di riparare le nostre perdite, nè di rilevarci dalla nostra caduta. Per me dispero' (aggiunse) 'di riunire attualmente Truppe sufficienti per far testa al Nemico, che averà, senza dubbio, distaccato le sue sino dal più piccolo angolo di questo Regno, e che puol essere s'avazeranno a gran passi verso di Noi. Il mio sentimento è di separarci e di prendere differenti Strade, di riunire del cammino che prenderemo tutti quegli Uomini che Noi vi troveremo, d'indicarle, con tutto il secreto possibile, un Rendezvous generale; fra tanto, Io procurerò nascondermi alle ricerche del Nemico ed abbracciare tutti li mezzi che la Provvidenza m'indicherà.'

Il Principe un seguito fece fare il numeramento di quelli che erano scappati dalla Battaglia, essendo arrivati a *Aird*; Non se ne trovò che duecentoventi compresi gli Officiali. Li fece partire per *Lochar*, con la speranza d'ingrossare il numero ne seguito: Ma l'accidente non hà che troppo giustificato che si sperava in vano di riuscire in questo Progetto. *Mylord Elcho*,<sup>17</sup> *Messieurs Sullivan*,

*Sherridan, Lochiel*<sup>18</sup> il cadetto, nominato *Cameron, M. Macdonald*, e due altri Officiali furono li soli destinati per accompagnare S.A.R.

Tutte queste cose erano così regolate, il Principe accompagnato solamente da *Messieurs Sullivan, e Sherridan*,<sup>19</sup> montò à cavallo verso le undici ore di sera, e prese la Strada che conduce al *Forte Augusto*. Pochi di quelli che dovevano rendersi a *Lochabar* vi arrivarono fortunamente; la più parte furono fatti Pregionieri per il *Lord Anchrán*,<sup>20</sup> o per il *General Bland*, o per il *Brigadier Mordaunt*, quali furono distaccati dall' Armata del Duca per inseguire li fuggitivi.

Il *Lord Lovat*, temendo non essere più in sicureza in Scozia, si disponeva a passare in Francia allorchè fu arrestato. Fu condotto alla Torre di Londra, ove malgrado la sua grand' età, la sua nascita ed il suo credito, le fu data la Sentenza di morte, ed eseguita li 20. Aprile 1747.<sup>21</sup>

S.A.R. arrivò al *Forte Augusto* a tre ore di mattina del giorno che era seguita la Battaglia. Il *Forte Augusto* era stato demolito immediatmente dopo che fu reso alle Truppe di S.A.R.; non vi era nè Guarigione, nè alcuna specie di provisione;<sup>22</sup> ed il Principe, ed il suo seguito sarebbero stati nell' impossibilità di soddisfare alla fame di cui ne erano tormentati, se un Pescatore<sup>23</sup> non aveva impiegato tutta la sua industria per remediarsi. Fra qualche spazio di tempo li portò un Salamone. Il Principe, e *Monsieur Sullivan* ne furono li cucinieri. Il Principe continuò il suo viaggio, accompagnato solamente da' *Monsieur Sullivan, e Sherridan*.<sup>24</sup> Arrivò all' alba del giorno a *Lochbarcige*, dove si colcò per prendere qualche riposo, quale non aveva mai preso dopo cinque giorni e cinque notte. Restò a *Lochbarcige* sino alla notte, sempre con la speranza di apprendere qualche nuova de suoi sfortunati Parteggiani. Non ricevendone alcuna S.A.R., *Messieurs Sullivan, e Sherridan* presero la risoluzione d'abbandonare li loro Cavalli, ed i loro Servidori per rendersi a piedi nelle Montagne di *Glan de Morar*. Si resero di là ad *Arisaig*, dove convennero che *Monsieur Sherridan* si sarebbe travestito ed andrebbe alla scoperta nella *Contea di Ross*, perchè la più gran parte della dirotta Armata del Principe doveva aver preso questa strada. S.A.R. credendosi allora in sicureza attese per sette giorni il ritorno di *Monsieur Sherridan*; impiegò quest' intervallo di tempo a fare delle osservazioni sopra le maniere e sopra li costumi de' Selvaggi abitanti della Campagna, ed anche sopra gli avversi

accidenti e vicissitudini che gli erano accaduti dopo il suo sbarco in Scozia.<sup>25</sup>

*Monsieur Oneil*,<sup>26</sup> Capitano al servizio di Francia, che dopo la battaglia s'era nascosto ad *Invergari*, trovò *Monsieur Sherridan*, che subito lo mandò appresso del Principe. Questo Capitano informò S.A.R., che il *Mylord Kilmarnok* era stato preso nel tempo della battaglia, che il *Mylord Cromartie* era stato preso il giorno avanti con il suo Figlio e più di cento de suoi Vassalli, ed *Lord Balmerino* il giorni appresso; che il *Duca di Pert*, ed il suo Fratello, il *Lord Drummond* s'erano resi a *Lochabard* [Lochaber] seguito da' suoi soli Servidori, e che avevano ordinato alle Truppe Irlandesi al servizio de Francia di rendersi al Nemico; che la più parte degli' altri Capi avevano seguito quest' esempio. 'E tempo che V.A.R. penso alla sua propria sicurezza, poichè non vi è la minima apparenza di riunire un numero sufficiente di Truppe capaci di formare un Corpo per resistere al Nemico, tutti quelli del Partito di V.A.R. potessero unirsi.' Il Principe pianse nuovamente la sorte di quelli che si erano sacrificati per Lui; ed, in conseguenza del discorso del *Capitan Oneil*, fu concluso che si cercherebbe un Vascello per passare S.A.R. in Francia, e quelli del suo Partito, che si trovassero pronti ad imbarcarsi.

Fra Tanto *Monsieur Donald Macleod*<sup>27</sup> Gentiluomo del Paese molto cognito e considerato, volendo accompagnare S.A.R., fu incaricato questo di noleggiare una Barca a otto remi per rendersi a *Stornavvai*, ove contavasi fare quest' imbarco. Il Principe, *Monsieur Sullivan*, *Oneil*, e *Macleod*<sup>28</sup> s'erano messi nella Scialuppa; s'ordinò a' Marinari voganti di fare tutta la possibile diligenza; ma domandò di ritornare indietro. Tutti quelli che erano nella Scialuppa unanimi avrebbero retroceduti, eccettuato il Principe. S'unirono tutti nel supplicarlo a voler acconsentire alla loro domanda, già mai lo poterono rimuovere dalla sua determinazione. Credeva che era cosa indegna du Lui di fuggire le tempeste e qualunque disgrazia del Mare, per conservarsi una vita penosa, esposta alli risentimenti d'un Nemico potente e vendicativo ed accompagnata da' più cattivi avvenimenti. La condescendenza sarebbe stata per Lui un colpo de più fortunati,<sup>29</sup> perchè il giorno appresso della sua partenza d'Arisaig vi arrivarono due Vascelli Francesi, *il Marte* di 32. Cannoni, e la *Bellona* di 36.; e come che ritornarono felicemente in Francia, S.A.R. non ebbe che troppo ragioni in seguito, di rammaricarsi d'aver perduto un' occasione

così favorevole per mettere la sua Persona in sicurezza. Fran tanto, a misura che la notte s'avvicinava, la tempesta veniva più violenta; li Marinari oppressi per il freddo eccessivo che si faceva sentire, avevano abbandonato la Scialuppa alla descrizione [sic] dell' onde e de' venti. Per sollevarli, S.A.R. e li suoi trè generosi compagni di viaggio presero li remi,<sup>30</sup> e seguirono a vogare tutto quel tempo che la forza li sostenne. La calma e la tranquillità del Principe, quantunque si trovasse in sì gran periglio, diedero un nuovo coraggio a' Marinari, ripresero li loro remi, Il Principe, informato già de' loro costumi, disprezzando il pericolo, si mise a cantare diverse Canzoni, e questo artificio le riuscì. A otto ore di mattina si ritrovarono sopra la riva dell' Isola *Benbicula*, ove la tempesta gli aveva gettati e molto lontani da *Stornevvai*. Il vento continuava ad esserle contrario e soffiava con maggior violenza, il freddo s'era raddoppiato; tutta la Truppa si ritrovava in un miserabile stato. Si fece del fuoco, e per il soccorso di qualche bicchier d'Acquavite (tutt' altra provisione le mancava) si strapparono dalle braccia della morte, vicina a terminare le loro disgrazie. Fra tanto restarono in questo stato molte ore, avanti di risolversi di penetrare più avanti nell' Isola, non osando contare sopra la fedeltà delle genti del Paese. Si risolsero verso la sera d'avanzarsi nell' interiore del Paese: Arrivarono al cader de' crepuscoli vicino a qualche sito abitato, ove gli abitanti alla loro vista presero la fuga. Passarono ivi la notte, e furono regalati d'un piccolo Polledro,<sup>31</sup> solo animale buono a mangiare che ivi ritrovarono; ne fecero rostire qualche pezzo, quale ritrovarono eccellente.

Dopo il Pasto, l'Equipaggio della Scialuppa intieramente si gettò a dormire: Ma S.A.R., e li suoi trè favoriti,<sup>32</sup> non fidandosi degl' abitanti dell' Isola, fecero sentinella tutta la notte. Il giorno appresso, il tempo pareva si mettesse al buono, s'avanzarono nell' Isola per determinare gli abitanti a venderle le provisioni. Le dissero che erano Mercanti, che avevano fatto naufragio su le coste della lor Isola, ciò che determinò le buone genti a sevirli di più delle loro speranze. S'imbarcarono adunque nella loro Scialuppa con l'apparenza d'un vento favorevole; ma appena ebbero fatto due miglia, che furono accolti per una seconda tempesta, che li gettò su la riva dell' Isola *Scalpa*. Sbarcarono tutti e si rifugiarono, dicendo sempre essere de' Mercanti che avevano fatto naufragio andando all' *Orcade*; e determinarono di restare nell' istesso luogo sino al ritorno d'un Espresso, che *Monsieur Macleod* aveva mandato al suo

Fratello<sup>33</sup> a Stornevvaii. Questo Principe era ancora in Casa di questo Fermiere quando che le fu dato la notizia, quale non lasciò di cagionarle de' pensieri, quantunque ella paresse lontana dal vero per la sua presenza nell' Isola, dove allora si ritrovava.<sup>34</sup> Le fu rapportato che Egli stesso (quelli, che le parlavano non lo conoscevano) accompagnato da *Messieurs Sullivan, e Sherridan, dal Lord Elcho, dal Duca di Perth, e dal Mylord Drummond*, così che da molte altre Persone di distinzione che erano fuggiti dalla battaglia di *Culloden*, si trovavano attualmente ad *Arisaig*, ove vi erano li soprannominati Vasceli il *Marte*, e la *Bellona*, che dovevano mettere alla vela subito che gli altri Capi del Partito, che si credevano ancora errare in quà e là, avessero trovato il mezzo di giungerli.

S.A.R. avrebbe desiderato il potersi ritrovare nell' istessa ora ad *Arisaig*; ma come andarvi prontamente, e sicuro? *Monsieur Sullivan* soggiunse che non bisognava prestar fede troppo leggiera a questa pubblica voce; che potrebbe essere che non vi fosse nulla di vero in queste notizie, che supposto che il Signori soprannominati fossero arrivati, potrebbero esser partiti avanti che S.A.R. potesse raggiungerli; Tutte le obiezioni di *Monsieur Sullivan* non impedirono che il Principe non desiderasse d'andare ad *Arisaig* più tosto che a *Stornevvai*; forse (diceva Egli) li nostri affari non sono così disperati che noi ce l'immaginiamo; forse noi terminiamo di ruinarli per sempre col lasciare la Scozia; forse che il nostro ritorno in Francia è troppo precipitoso, *Monsieur Macleod* avendo assicurato il Principe, che vi era meno rischio il prendere la strada di *Stornevvai* che quella d'*Arisaig*,<sup>35</sup> promise che nel loro arrivo avrebbero trovato un Vascello al loro comando. L'espresso ch'egli aveva inviato li arrivò al momento<sup>36</sup> e l'informava, che il suo Fratello aveva noleggiato un Vascello pronto a mettere alla vela al loro arrivo. *Monsieur Oneil* trasportato dalla contentezza di questa nuova, si pose in ginocchio per render grazie all' Altissimo della loro vicina deliverazione.

Li 4. Maggio, S.A.R., *Messieurs Sullivan, Oneil, e Macleod* s'imbarcarono per *Stornevvai*; ivi arrivarono il giorno appresso, verso la sera, e sbarcarono a qualche distanza della Città.<sup>38</sup> Il Fratello di *Macleod* le confessò, che avendo confidato il suo segreto ad un falso Amico, questo non solamente l'aveva rivelato, col pubblicare che era stato noleggiato un Vascello per transtare il Principe in Francia, ma che aveva ancora, maliziosamente, aggiunto

alla verità, che S.A.R. veniva a *Stornevvai* con cinquecento Uomini, con l'intenzione di brugiare [*sic*] e di dare il sacco alla Città, per vendicarsi degli abitanti che non si erano voluti dichiarare per S.A.R. Che a questa notizia il Popolo aveva preso le Armi. E difficile il poter esprimere la collera e la disperazione di *Monsieur Oneil*, che, il giorno avanti, s'era si leggiemente lusingato di tutti. Il Principe, il suo seguito e l'Equippaggio, non sapendo dove mettersi in sicurezza sino al giorno appresso, si disposero a passar la notte, che era di già ben avanzata, in un seno di Mare, deciso nel medesimo tempo che li due Fratelli *Macleod* anderebbero nella Città, per comprare delle Provisioni, e ritornare alla mezza notte; ciò non eseguirono. La loro deserzione non solamente privò S.A.R. e la sua piccola Truppa delle cose più necessarie alla vita, ma ancora gli espose alle più grandi disgrazie e li confinò nelle più crudeli inquietezze.<sup>39</sup> Il Vento soffiava così freddo come nel più forte dell' Inverno; pioveva e frattanto non vi era per coprirsì che il solo Firmamento. Nè il Principe, nè li suoi due Amici non conoscevano il Paese ove erano: ignoravano se i luoghi, dove potevano approdare, sarebbero liberi o pure occupati dal Nemico; non avevano Viveri nè per loro nè per li voganti Marinari: poteva trovarsi mai più sfortunata situazione e più disperata?

Non vi era più questione d'andare ad *Arisaig*, ove ben si prevedeva che il Nemico sarebbe di già arrivato.

S'andiero a nascondere in un' Isola deserta. Quattro giorni, si restaronon in quest' Isola, il Mare, che li circondava era coperto di Navi Inglesi. Scoprirono trè Capanne de Pescatori abbandonate, dove in una vu ritrovarono, per una specie di direzione della Providenza, qualche Pesce secco, quale fecero ammollire ed in appresso cuocere nell' acqua.

Per evitare d'esser sorpresi in quest' Isola dal Nemico, S.A.R., e li suoi due Compagni sfortunati convennero che nella notte farebbero Sentinella un poco per ciascheduno. Il Principe gettato troppo su le riflessioni che la sua precedente situazione ed il suo attual stato le faceva fare, non potendo godere della dolcezza del sonno, faceva sempre compagnia a quello ch'era in fazione. Passeggiando nella notte S.A.R. con *Monsieur Oneil* il longo della riva, l'azardo li condusse nel luogo ove li Marinari avevano nascosto la loro Scialuppa per levarla dagl' occhi del Nemico. A questa vista, il *Capitan Oneil* formò subito un temerario progetto di salvarsi con

quella, non prendendo seco che S.A.R. e *Monsieur Sullivan*, e lasciando il feroce Equipaggio, per provvedere alla sua propria conservazione.<sup>39</sup>

Il Principe approvandone il zelo di *Monsieur Oneil*, ne rigettò ancora la sua proposizione, 'Io sono così impressionato che voi' (le disse) 'di sortire da quest' Isola; Vedo in prospettiva tutte le disgrazie che corro e tutti li patimenti che noi potremo soffrire col soggiornar quì pui lungo tempo: ma non posso approvare il vostro progetto. Questo sarebbe un attirarci l'ira d'Iddio, col prendere una vendetta così crudele contro la brutalità di codesti insolenti Marinari, quali non potrebbero evitare di morir di fame; Riflettete ancora che, senza loro, noi non sapremmo governare la Scialuppa, per poco che il Vento fosse agitato; andiamo a ritrovarli e persuadiamoli per via della dolcezze di conurci all' Orcades.' Vi andiedero adunque, ma nè preghiere nè suppliche non furono capaci di farli obbedire; si misero in Mare, ma il crudele ed ostinato Equipaggio vogava a tutta forza verso *Arisaig*. Fortunatamente comparve un Vascello Nemico; per evitarlo si nascosero in un seno di Mare dietro diversi Scogli, ove restarono ivi il dì 11., e 12. Maggio, ed approdaronò una seconda volta, a causa de' Venti contrari, nell' Isola *Benbicula*; Fratanto, S.A.R., li suoi due Amici e tutto l'Equipaggio erano talmente dimagriti che appena si riconoscevano, e poco potevano sostenersi dalla debolezza che gli opprimeva. Non avevano che del Pesce cotto con il solo Sale ed Acqua, della pasta di farina d'Orzo cotta alla brage<sup>40</sup> e dell' acqua fresca per dissettarsi; *Monsieur Sullivan* ammalato fu il solo che non potè mangiar nulla, il suo stato afflisse S.A.R. a tal segno, che non potè tratternersi di versar delle lacrime sopra la sorte di questo suo favorito. All' alba del giorno il Principe essendo stato alla scoperta di ciò che poteva passarsi nell' Isola e nel circuito del sito della loro ritirata, ammazò con un colpo di Pistola un' Anetra salvatica, che covava li suoi ovi: Fecero bullire l'animale, l'Ammalato ne bevette il brodo, e S.A.R., in compagnia di *Monsieur Oneil*, fecero colazione con l'Augello. Erano tredici giorni, che non avevano mangiato vivanda sì preziosa e delicata.

Una matina, un Montagnardo fedele venne dirgli che si attendere *General Campbell* l'istesso giorno nell' Isola, con una parte di Milizie della Contea d'*Argile*. Che li due Vascelli Francesi, che avevano approdato ad *Arisaig*, avevano preso a Bordo il *Duca di Perth*, il *Lord Drummond*, il suo Fratello, *Mylord Elcho*, *Messieur*

*Sherridan, Bucanan,* e molte altre persone di distinzione; Che *Mylord Tullibardine* era stato costretto di rendersi al Nemico; che tutti li *Tributarj* già soggetti a S.A.R. erano stati disarmati; che il Secretario *Murray*, li *Lord Murrai*,<sup>41</sup> *Pitzligo*,<sup>42</sup> *Nairn, Ogilvie, e Dundè* s'erano salvati sopra de' Vascelli, che avevano trovati a *Buchan*; Ma che la desolazione e la miseria di quelli, che si ritrovavano ancora in Scozia era inespriabile, essendo da tutte le parti perseguitati. Queste notizie, quantunque frameschiate di circostanze che, nel seguito, si ritrovarono false, raddoppiarono le afflizioni di S.A.R., e de' suoi due Amici a tal segno che non avevano la forza nè il coraggio di reciprocamente consolarsi.

Li 15. Maggio S.A.R., e li suoi due Amici si rimbarcarono nella notte, e vennero ad approdare per la seconda volta nell' Isola deserta. ...

La notte de' 16., e 17. fecero viaggio, ed arrivarono a *Currada*<sup>43</sup> nell' Isola del *Sul-Vist*.

Il cattivo nutrimento aumentò considerabilmente la malattia che il Principe aveva contratto fra gli abitanti dell' Isola *Sud Vist*. Malattia disgustevole, che la pulitezza mi difenderebbe di nominare, se io potessi in quest' Opera ribattere parte dei mali, per cui S.A.R. è stata esposta nel tempo del suo soggiorno in Scozia. In fine questa malattia era la rogna, della quale gli abitanti di quest' Isola ne sono quasi sempre in possesso, a causa (dicono) d'un certo nitro, che provenendo dal flusso delle acque del Mare si frammischia con quelle che sono costretti di bere.

Un Marinaio avendo rapportato che li Nemici formavano un Cordone sopra tutte le coste del continente in Scozia, le servi quest' avviso per cangiar la risoluzione d'andare a *Moidart*.

A quest' ultima notizia la costanza di S.A.R. parve per quell' istante tutt' affatto disarmata; Appena puotè conservare la sua rassegnazione alli Decreti della Provvidenza. 'Dunque non sormonteremo Noi già mai (gridò) gli ostacoli senza numero che ci circondano? la fortuna non si stancherà ancora di perseguitarci? Per tutto ove Io vado ella mi segue; Che diverrò Io alfine! E' meglio che mi renda al Nemico con le migliori condizioni che potrò ottenere; perchè Io comincio a prevedere che non le potrò fuggire, nè altra sorte devo aspettare, se non che quella di perire de fame. Quanunque il mio temperamento sia buono, non potrà ancora

longo tempo resistere all' accrescimento delle disastri, che di giorno in giorno veggo si vanno aumentando; Il mancamento di nutrimento e la mia presente malattia, termineranno ben presto le miei sfortunati giorni. Oh Dio! Per qual motivo devo esser io nato da una Famiglia che di già fu esposta alle più funeste disgrazie'<sup>44</sup> 'Mio Principe' (le rispose *Monsieur Sullivan*) 'il nostro coraggio non deve cedere alle semplici apparenze. Restiamo qui sino a tanto che il Mare sia libero: li vostri Nemici credendo d'aver Voiguadagnato il continente, finiranno le loro ricerche, o almeno le faranno con più negligenza. 'S.A.R. approvò un consiglio sì buono.

Il settimo giorno del loro soggiorno in questo pessimo e tristo luogo venne a finire; Il *Capitan Oneil*, che si era reso solo a *Kilbride*,<sup>45</sup> riportò al suo ritorno, che un distaccamento del Nemico vi era arrivato dopo che lui vi giunse, e che questo era comandato dal *Capitan Scot*,<sup>46</sup> fra le mani del quale poco mancò che non vi cadesse. Quest' ultima notizia che le faceva sospettare, con ragione, che il Nemico, dubitando [*sic*] che loro potessero essere in quelle parte, li gettò nelle più grandi angustie. Già mai non si erano ritrovati sì vicini alla lor perdita. Si rifugiarono in una Capanna situata sopra una vicina Montagna, ove passarono la notte, con il timore ad ogni istante che la medesima non fosse visitata dalle Truppe del *Capitan Scot*. Questa Capanna era abitata da un povero Contadino, che ne' suoi discorsi parve essere del partito del Principe. Lo mandarono alla discoperta. Ritornò dopo qualche ora, informandoli che il Generale Campbell era a *Berneria* [*sic*], luogo poco distante dal loro asilo. Circondati da' Nemici, S.A.R., e li suoi due fideli Amici erravano di Capanna in Capanna, senza guida. Nel fare queste perigliose marcie, parve che la fortuna volesse esserle in questo momento giovevole; le fece accorgere una Dama a Cavallo accompagnato da un solo Servitore.<sup>47</sup> *Monsieur Oneil* andiede al suo incontro, pregandola con molta pulitezza di fermarsi per un istante. La Dama spaventata, tutta tremante, si fermò, e pregò *Monsieur Oneil* di non aver altra mira che alla sola sua borsa, senza maltrattarla. *Monsieur Oneil* le disse 'Voi non dovete temere d'un sfortunato, a cui è vicina la sua ruina, e che non ha altra risorsa che l'istruzione che voi le potete dare; Io so che il bel Sesso è inclinato alla pietà, alla compassione ed a soccorrere li sfortunati; così che confido e rimetto la mia sorte, la mia vita nelle vostre mani; Ignoro quali siino li vostri sentimenti, ma ingenovamente vi confesso, che io sono un Officiale Francese, che con li due altri che voi vedete là in

disparte siamo involuppati nelle ricerche del Nemico, dal quale Noi non potiamo fuggire se la Provvidenza non usa verso di Noi un miracolo per salvarci; Vi prego insegnarci generosamente un qualche luogo, dove Noi possiamo metterci al sicuro e dove li nostri Amici non si sono ancora sommessi.’ ‘Signore’ (replicò questa Dama) ‘il mio cuore è penetrato dalla più viva compassione per lo stato ove io vi vedo; la mia Famiglia è sempre stata fortemente attaccata al Partito della Casa Stuart e voi potete esser sicuro de’ miei servigj, Ora vengo da Moidart,<sup>48</sup> ed ho trovato le Guardie de’ vostri Nemici e devo ancora passarne degl’ altri per arrivare a *Rushness* in Casa di *Monsieur Clanranald*. Tutto il Paese, eccettuato le coste delle Montagne che voi vedete su la sinistra è bloccato per una linea di Milizie; questo è l’unico cammino che potete prendere e nascondervi.’

In questo trattenimento il Principe e *Monsieur Sullivan*,<sup>49</sup> essendose ad essi avvicinati, riconobbe esser questa una Dama della Casa di *Macdonald* che era venuta a farle la sua Corte ad *Inverniss*. Subito discese da Cavallo, si gettò a’ piedi del Principe e voleva baciarle le mani: ma Egli le ritirò, per cagione che la malattia di sopra nominata le rendevano disgustevoli. Il Principe fece segno a *Monsieur Oneil* di farla levare: L’emozione con cui questa generosa Dama si trovava vivamente comparve per l’abbondanza delle sue lagrime. Dopo che alquanto Ella poté respirare, propose di far mettere al Principe gli abiti del suo domestico, Ma quest’ espediente parve troppo ardito. Fu risoluto, che S.A.R., e li suoi due Amici si rifugiassero nella notte in una Caverna situata a piè d’una Montagna, dove *Mademoiselle Macdonald* promise di venirgli a ritrovare, o di farle avere di sue notizie: Senza ostacoli fortunatamente vi arrivarono; Il terzo giorno terminò, S.A.R. concludendo, che *Mademoiselle Macdonald* non voleva o pure non osava, mantenerle la sua parola, risolse affrancarsi una volta per sempre delle crudeli inquietezze dove si ritrovava, col mandar il *Capitan Oneil* al *General Campbell*, per rendersi con le migliori condizioni, che potesse ottenere. Questa disperata risoluzione sarebbe stata infallibilmente eseguita, se non fosse arrivato la stessa sera un Espresso spedito da *Mademoiselle Macdonald*, che da sua parte le annunciò di venirla a ritrovare con la maggior sollecitudine, che si rendesse loro possibile, vicino di *Rushness* nell’ Isola *Benbicula*. Ma *Mademoiselle Macdonald* non si era ritrovata,

come aveva promesso nel destinato luogo; Questo era vicino d'un antico Casale di Campagna, ove furono costretti passar la notte. La mattina del giorno seguente una parte de' Soldati, che sembravano venire al loro rincontro, li fece abbandonare questo sito, per andarci a nascondere in una palude ripiena di cespugli, nella quale avevano l'acqua sino alla cintura. Il Principe, e *Monsieur Sullivan*<sup>50</sup> restarono in quest' orrida situazione molte ore, nel tempo che *Monsieur Oneil* andiede alla scoperta di ciò che si passava in quelle vicinanze; gli riuscì pertanto di potarsi alla Casa di *Monsieur de Clanranald* per domandare nuova di *Mademoiselle Macdonald*, che alla fine ritrovatala, le adduse le forti ragioni che l'avevano obligato a mancarle di parola, e di non trovarsi nell' accordato sito, quali furono sufficienti alla sua giustificazione.

In seguito, comunicò a *Monsieur Oneil* il piano che aveva formato per nascondere il Principe, sino a tanto che si trovasse una favorevole occasione per passarlo in Francia: e di poi mandò il *Capitan Oneil* ad informare Sua A.R. di ciò che aveva progettato.

Non si può esprimere qual fosse il dolore di questo Principe, allora che apprese che bisogna separarsi da' suoi due sfortunati Compagni, che gli erano stati sì fedeli e sì affezionati. Bisognò pertanto risolversi a far ciò che *Mademoiselle Macdonald* aveva accomodato per la sua salvezza. Si rese in persona Ella stessa da S.A.R.; li protestò che l'era impossibile di trè Persone [*sic*], che ella ne potesse salvare più di una, se non che esponendoli a gran rischio tutti tre; Che bisognava che questa Persona prendesse gli abiti da Donna e passasse per sua Serva. 'Il Principe fugga e si salvi' (replicarono *Messieurs Sullivan*, ed *Oneil*<sup>50</sup>) 'purchè Egli sia in sicurezza, poco a Noi importa qual possa essere il nostro destino.'

Il Principe non poté sormontare questa separazione, sì necessaria alla salvezza della sua vita; le fu impossibile d'esprimere li suoi affanni altrimenti che per un'abbondanza di singulti, frameschiati di sospiri e d'amarezze. Egli abbracciò li suoi due favoriti, di cui l'attaccamento della sua Persona era stata tutt' affatto disinteressata e forse questo Principe sperimentò per la prima volta, che la avversità e le disgrazie sono li veri mezzi per conoscere l'amicizia.

*Mademoiselle Macdonald*, prendendo una particolare cura della Persona di S.A.R., cominciò a darle un mezzo per guarirsi della malattia, dalla quale ne ho di sopra parlato. Lo condusse in un sito disabitato, ove Ella aveva di già tutto preparato per il suo travestimento; lo fece vestire con gli abiti da Donna (dicendole), che si doveva scordare il suo vero stato, non essendo da quell'istante che la sua Serva *Elisabetta*.

Li 19. Giugno<sup>51</sup> *Mademoiselle Macdonald*, la sua pretesa Serva *Elisabetta*, ed un domestico<sup>52</sup> s'imbarcarono per l'Isola de' *Ski*, ove era certa di ritrovare là una forte protezione nella Persona di *Monsieur de Suralde*<sup>53</sup> quale non si era sommerso al Nemico che per il timore d'esser trattato conforme lo furono quelli che si erano dichiarati per S.A.R. Non vi era a presumere che il Principe si rifugiasse nella sua Casa, ed ancora meno che Egli fosse travestito sotto gli abiti di Serva. Il Principe per tanto sosteneva male la sua nuova Metamorfosi nel tempo che viaggiava, di maniera che non lasciava di dare qualche inquietezza a *Mademoiselle Macdonald*, che non potè trattenersi di dirle, scherzando, che Egli non agiva al naturale la parte de Pretendente. Questa Dama vedendolo un poco sollevato, profitto di questo momento per impregnarlo a ricever coraggiosamente le triste notizie che le doveva dare: In fine le notificò che il *Conte de Kelli* s'era sommerso; che il *Lord Lovv* [*sic*] era stato arrestato, così come il *Segretario Giorgio Murray* [John], quale s'era di già detto al Principe essersi salvato in Francia: Che quest'ultimo s'era offerto di rivelare tutti li Partigiani di S.A.R., se le si fosse accordata la sua grazia e che, avendola ottenuta, avevano arrestato, a tenore della sua dichiarazione, un numero di Persone di distinzione, fra le quali si trovano il *Comte di Traquair*, *Milady Ogilvie*, *Mesdames Mac-Intosh*, *Gordon*, *Kinloch* ed un'infinità d'altre.<sup>54</sup>

Arrivarono Nell' Isola de *Ski*, alla mezza notte. Per evitare il più apparente pericolo, si fermarono a piè d'uno scoglio, aspettando il ritorno d'un Servitore che avevano mandato dal *Cavalier Archibald Macdonald* per sapere se era in Casa.<sup>55</sup> Quantunque il Cavalier non fosse in sua Casa, la sua Sposa era per altro pronta a riceverli<sup>56</sup> ed a far tutto ciò che da lei dipendesse per renderli serviti e procurarli tutti li soccorsi che avrebbero avuto di bisogno. Essendo arrivati nel Castello,<sup>57</sup> S.A.R. quantunque fosse travestito, restava sempre nella Camera

di *Mademoiselle Macdonald* e la sua pretesa Serva. S.A.R. sentendo il rumore che questi Soldati facevano nel salir le scale e nel passar per la Camera, ebbe la presenza di spirito di levarsi e d'andarle ad aprir la porta della Camera e, contrafacendo la voce di Donna, le domandò ciò che desiderassero. La Milizia non vedendo ivi che due Dame, ed una Serva, sortì subito da quest' Appartamento per andare a visitare gli altri.<sup>58</sup>

Questa perigliosa visita per S.A.R. impegnò *Mademoiselle Macdonald* di far partire il Principe per *Kinsborough*, dove si rese con il Signore di questo Nome, quale per differenti affari l'avevano condotto al Castello. S.A.R. sempre travestito da Donna, partì a piedi con lui, Era fortunato, fra le tante disgrazie, il Principe nel trovarsi sempre con Persone che le erano affezionatissime, senza di che, sarebbe stato subito scoperto, sia per la sua maniera di camminare, o per quella d'alzarsi le Gonnelle allorchè doveva passare qualche Fiume a guazzo.

Arrivò frattanto, senza pericolo, a *Kinsborough*; ma il suo riposo non durò lungo tempo.<sup>59</sup> *Kinsborough* le diede uno de' suoi Abiti, ed una Scialuppa per trasportarlo in Casa di *Monsieur de Raza*. Dopo aver dimorato trè giorni a Raza,<sup>60</sup> questo Principe, per ingannar quelli che lo perseguitavano, partì nuovamente, per rendersi nell' Isola de' *Ski*: e poi in Casa del Lord *Kinon*,<sup>61</sup> ove le disse, che dopo la sua partenza da *Kinsborough*, *Monsieur de Kinsborough*, *Mademoiselle Macdonald* sua benefattrice, ed il Maggiordomo del Cavaliere *Archibald* erano stati arrestati.<sup>62</sup> Queste notizie afflissero maggiormente S.A.R., più che tutte le altre disgrazie che il medesimo aveva superate, e era oppresso dal rammarico.

Il vecchio Gentiluomo di questo luogo, di già abbattuto dalla sua grand' età, ricevette con lacrime agl' occhi questo sfortunato Principe. Ma la fortuna non si stancò de perseguitare li Benefattori di S.A.R. Il Bravo e Generoso *Kinon* fu preso nel ritorno che faceva alla sua Casa; Ma il Principe ebbe il tempo e la sorte di guadagnare il Tributo di *Morar*, dove ricevette le notizie dell' intrepido *Donald de Lochgarie* che notificò a S.A.R. di venire ad onorare con la sua presenza una Truppa di *Montagnardi*<sup>63</sup> piccola in vero, ma intrepida, coraggiosa, e disposta a spandere sino all' ultima stilla del loro sangue per lui.

Il 18 Luglio<sup>64</sup> *Monsieur de Lochgarie* rese informato il Principe, che *Monsieur Lochiel* non era stato preso, ed era ancora nel Paese: Questa notizia fu tanto più piacevole a S.A.R., quanto che Egli amava teneramente questo favorito. Il suo piacere non fu meno allorchè apprese che *Monsieur Sullivan*, che credeva fosse nel più gran periglio, s'era fortunatamente salvato, e che *Monsieur Oneil*, quale solo era stato arrestato, e condotto [*sic*] al Castello d'*Edimbourg* era stato rilasciato sù la sua parola come Officiale al servizio di Francia.<sup>65</sup>

Subito che S.A.R. non fu più un sicurezza a *Lochabar* *Monsieur Lochiel*, con *Monsieur de Brisdale* Padre, e Figlio, con il *Dottor Cameron*, e con *Monsieur Mac-Pherson de Clunie*.

Questa scena si fece in una Caverna<sup>66</sup> situata nell' imboccatura d'una Foresta.

Verso la fine d'Agosto<sup>67</sup> S.A.R. in compagna del suo antico Favorito *Monsieur Lochiel*, e d'altri Signori e Gentiluomini disopra accennati, riceverono la lieta notizia che due Armatori Francesi erano arrivati da S. Malò a *Lochnanamgh*; Queste due Navi erano *il Fortunato*, di trenta Pezzi di Cannoni, e di 300. Uomini. Erano stati equipaggiati per ordine della Corte di Francia, a cui *Monsieur Sullivan* ebbe l'onore di rendersi, e d'informare il Re della crudele situazione nella quale si ritrovava S.A.R.

Questo Principe prese per buon augurio che questi Vascelli fossero arrivati precisamente a *Lochnanamgh*, nel qual sito era sbarcato allorchè arrivò in Scozia. Li suoi Amici non mancarono di farle vedere la necessità che vi era di rendersi a bordo, e di non lasciarsi scappare un' occasione così favorevole per mettere la sua vita in sicurezza. 'Nò, nò,' replicò S.A.R., 'il mio Popolo non mi rimprovererà giammai di averlo abbandonato. Io sarò l'ultimo Uomo che lascerò il Nemico Paese; La vita d'un minimo de' miei Partigiani mi è così cara quanto la mia propria. Veruno non sarà sacrificato col lasciarlo indietro.' Alla fine li 19. Settembre<sup>68</sup> tutti quelli che si credevano essersi potuti salvare, e che si trovavano pronti ad imbarcarsi al numero di 25 Gentiluomini, e di 107 altre Persone, partirono con S.A.R.: Le due Fregate raddoppiarono la Costa di *Cronoville* con un vento favorevole; Una folta nebbia li nascose alla vista de' Vascelli da Guerra Inglesi che costeggiavano

il Mare d'Irlanda, e li 29. di Settembre 1746.<sup>69</sup> arrivarono fortunamente a *Roscoff*, vicino di *Morlaix*, nella bassa Bretagna. S.A.R. allorchè s'imbarcò, fece arrestare, per ragioni seriosissimi, *Messieurs de Brisdales* Padre, Figlio;<sup>70</sup> Nel sbarcare, li fece rinchiudere nella Prigione di *Morlaix*, ed indi furono trasferiti in appresso al Castello di *Saumur*, ove attualmente vi esistono. La pubblica voce li accusa di aver voluto guadagnare la ricompensa promessa a quelli che avessero liberato il Principe a' suoi Nemici; In quanto a me, confesso di non saper niente di sicuro ad il vero motivo che cagionò la loro prigionia.

Arrivato S.A.R. a Parigi, trovò che la Corte era a *Fontainebleau*<sup>71</sup> e portatosi colà, rinvenne che il Rè teneva un Consiglio straordinario; Ricevuto S.M. l'avviso dell' arrivo di S.A.R. ne uscì immantinate per venire al suo incontro sino alla seconda Sala. 'Iddio sia lodato' (le disse il Rè) 'per il piacere, che proviamo nel rivedere V.A.R. Voi venite, o Signore, ad acquistarvi una Gloria immortale, cosicchè Noi speriamo che, un giorno, raccoglierete il frutto d'un sì compito merito.'

IL FINE

V  
THE PRINCE'S OWN ACCOUNT  
OF A PART OF HIS  
WANDERINGS

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## The Prince's own account of a part of his wanderings

**T**HIS is the journal from the Prince's own lips, taken down during the voyage to France in September 1746 (by Richard Warren and Archibald Cameron) of his adventures from the fatal day of Culloden until he joined the Men of Glenmoriston in their cave.

Even for that space from 16 April to 24 July (fourteen weeks) it is incomplete, and is in many details inaccurate. He leaves out his sole meeting with Lord Lovat on the evening of the day of Culloden, and never mentions the very considerable help given him by Macdonald of Boisdale, by the Clanranald family, by Flora's stepfather, and by Macdonald of Kingsburgh. It is, however, extraordinarily interesting and it is much to be regretted that it was never finished.

The place names can be fairly well identified from the careful itinerary of Dr. Walter Blaikie, who never saw this fragment, but compiled his invaluable supplement to *The Lyon in Mourning* from the numerous personal narratives collected in those volumes by Bishop Forbes. He also supplemented these by personal visits to nearly all the places mentioned, and in many cases received useful help from persistent local tradition.

These journeys were undertaken nearly forty years ago—and it is probable that many of the traditions may by now, in the bicentenary year, have been lost.

One curious fact emerges from this first-hand account of the Prince's wanderings—namely that with all his insistence on an outdoor life and the hardening of his body in the interests of sport in his youth, he had never learnt to swim. Sea-bathing had not yet come into vogue in Italy—and it had not been a matter of necessity with him, as it had been no doubt with Neil MacEachain of Uist.

The Prince calls him Neil Macdonald—and the MacEachain family was in fact a sept of that of Clanranald. According to the *Recollections* of his famous son, Marshall Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, Neil was born in 1719 and educated in France for the priesthood, but had not felt able to take orders.

Returning to his native Uist he had become a parish schoolmaster there and tutor to the Clanranald family. Lady

Clanranald sent him to attend on the Prince when the latter first arrived in Benbecula. He did not accompany the fugitive to Lewis and Harris but rejoined him on his return to Benbecula and was with him until he reached Skye—being the only other person with the Prince and Flora Macdonald in the famous escape. After saying farewell to the Prince at Portree he managed to evade capture, rejoined the latter at Arisaig in September and escaped to France with him. He then joined the French army, and died at Sancerre (where he was living on a pension) at the age of 69, only a few months after the death of Charles Edward.

In France he was never called anything but Macdonald. The writer of the manuscript printed as No. IV in this Miscellany always alludes to Neil as a servant, but he was in fact a relative of Flora's and of all the other Macdonalds who helped the Prince. His own narrative, unknown to Bishop Forbes when compiling *The Lyon in Mourning*, was printed by Dr. Blaikie in *Origins of the Forty-five*, Scot. Hist. Soc., 1909 and 1915 and is one of the best sources we have.

Richard Warren was an Irishman in French service who had come over with one of the French contingents to serve the Prince. He was appointed A.D.C. to Lord Tullibardine (Duke of Atholl), as chronicled in Sir John Macdonald's account of the expedition. After Falkirk, and the retreat to the north, he was sent over to France to carry news of the operations in the north and ask for more help, and sailed from the little Morayshire port of Findhorn just before the battle of Culloden (he actually started on the very day). He was then one of those charged by the French court with the task of rescuing the fugitive Prince from Scotland, and in this he was successful. The following is a contemporary account written by O'Sullivan.

'Warren put out from the port of Malo about the middle of June, sailed right round England and Ireland to the Hebrides, and from there he entered the Velan Gulf, generally called Loch Broon, on the West coast of Scotland. Here he put on shore the 12 Scotsmen he had brought with him and while the ships lay at anchor, the Scotsmen, scattering in all directions, began to make enquiries everywhere and to explore the remotest districts ... southernmost mountains of Lochaber, where they found him [i.e. the Prince] in hiding and told him why they had come. 13 September.'

The Prince had made Warren a colonel while in England on the march. The French Authorities name him admiral when commissioned to take the two vessels *L'Heureux* and the *Prince of Conti* in search of the Prince, and after his successful return with the Prince, King James in Rome made him a baronet. His letter on landing with the Prince announces the day as 'the happiest day of his life'.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Archibald Cameron, the other scribe, was of course Lochiel's brother, who returned to Scotland more than once, after this successful escape. He was at length captured and executed at Tyburn on the old warrant in 1753—the last man to die for the Jacobite cause.

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<sup>1</sup> Stuart Papers, Windsor.



**FROM THE STUART PAPERS AT WINDSOR—Vol. 280, 20**

*A Journal of the Princes transaction since the battle of Culloden to this day as taken from his own mouth [partly in Warren's writing and partly in Dr. Cameron's]*

**A** JOURNAL of the Princes transaction since the battle of Culloden to this day as taken from his own mouth—

The Prince immediately after the battle, having found accounts that the Principal Chiefs of the Clans were either killed or wounded so that they could not possibly come to a head, he made for Arisaig<sup>1</sup> where he still waited eight days to have further Acc<sup>ts</sup>, and after that, finding nothing could be done without foreign succours, he took his resolution of making for the western isles where he expected to find a ship to carry him to France, where by his presence he expected to hasten an embarkation. On Friday in the evening 25 April<sup>2</sup> he parted in a small boat from Arisaig, his intention was to make for Iriska near Barra, but with great difficulty made a harbour in the Island of Benbecula on Saturday 16 April where he stayed 2 or 3 days. Had he gone where he designed, he would have found 3 or 4 English Men of War; N:B: in his journey to that; several monstrous waves came in to the boat which had like often to sink her. As they entered the harbour having a mind to lower the sail, it stuck a little so as to have almost dashed them against the rocks; upon their landing the wind blew so high that the people scarce could walk, during his passage all his food was oatmeal and water. Upon his arrival all that could be procured was one bottle of milk, and that with difficulty as the people in that Country were so cautious and timorous as not to assist him, so on or about the 30 April he set out; finding no Assistance and the Country full of Men of War, he resolved to make for Stornoway where he stayed 5 or 6 days. He stop'd in his way in the island of Glass he set out

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<sup>1</sup> He reached the Brae's of Morar on 19 Apr., having spent the night of the sixteenth riding to Invergarry, one night at the house of Donald Cameron at Glenpean, and the next walking to Morar. From the twentieth to the twenty-sixth he remained at Borrodale. His own date is wrong. He reached Rossinish in Benbecula on Sunday the twenty-seventh.

<sup>2</sup> They set sail on the evening of 29 Apr. and arrived in Scalpa on Glass Island on the thirtieth. While there, they stayed in the house of Donald Campbell—to which they returned on leaving Stornoway, but they found it empty, as he had been obliged to go into hiding.

about the 6 of May<sup>1</sup> in the evening at Donald Campbell's to whom he pretended that he and Crew were ship wrecked and came there for shelter. The Prince stay'd there and sent of his Pilote, Donald McLeod to Stornoway to fraught a ship for Bergen in Norway, the Prince being impatient for his return, was resolved to go by land there on the 7<sup>th</sup> and after crossing the se[a] (paper cut) he gote a guide who by ignorance or malice led him astray all night, so he was obliged to walk 14 hours in rain without meat or rest he arrived within a short mile of the town, where he remained under the rain 4 hours waiting a return from the Pilote, after fraughting the vessel had indiscretely blabed for whom it was, which spoiled the whole. N:B: somehow the Minister of the Parish<sup>2</sup> gote notice and gote together two hundred men to aprehend the Prince and having found out that he was at Lady Kildeans house they intended that night to make ane attempt; but a clatter being spread that he had five hundred men with him, stop'd them in their design which gave the Prince ane opportunity of making his escape the next morning in a boat being the 8<sup>th</sup><sup>3</sup> finding a disappointment he intended for the main:land, and fixed upon the Port of Polliu,<sup>4</sup> but the crew revolting against him, as thinking it too dangerous they obligd the Prince to alter his course and make for Benbecula or Uist along that shoar; he had no sooner coasted 3 hours when he saw two Men of War under sail in the middle of the channel, which obligd him to ly in a creek. Had he crossed to Polliu as he intended, he would inevitably been taken by them. He made then for Glass and arrived that evening, where he met with no body and could have no assistance, he pushed under night forward to Benbecula, and as he was crossing a point of a port in the Harris next morning on the 9<sup>th</sup> what does he see but a Men of War, which upon perceiving him, hoisted up her sail and made att us, but as God would have it, the wind changed, and we had a brisk gale which, alongst with our 4 oars, carry'd us out of her reach, but as God would have it, the wind changed, and we had a brisk gale which alonst with our 4 oars, carry'd us out of her reach before she gote out of the harbour. We

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<sup>1</sup> He left Scalpa on 4 May, landed in Harris, and walked to Stornoway where he arrived late at night.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. John Macaulay of S. Uist had sent word to his father the Rev. Aulay Macaulay, Minister of Harris, that the Prince was in the neighbourhood. These men were grandfather and great-grandfather of Lord Macaulay.

<sup>3</sup> They left Stornoway in the morning of 6 May and were in the uninhabited island of Euirn until the tenth.

<sup>4</sup> Poolewe in Ross-shire where French ships called several times.

no sooner gotte quitte of her but the wind turned contrary, which oblidged us to stop and put in att a small island on North Uist<sup>1</sup> where we stoped 3 or 4 days without any kind of provisions, but by accident found some stock fish, which was a great relief to us our provisions haveing run out. We arrived at Benbecula about the 15 May and from thence, about 24<sup>th</sup> made for Corridill<sup>2</sup> in south Uist from thence we sent our boat to the mainland on Monday 26 May for intelligence which came back to us in ten days or about the 5 June and finding by it that the enemy was in the Countrey finding it dangerous to go for the mainland until it was clear of the Enemy, we thought best to stay where we were, till we were chaced: (some were of the opinion we should go to the island of Eig, had we done so we had certainly been taken the island being so little and a narrow search having been made there in a few days after). On 13 June after 7 or 8 days we sent another boat again to the mainland for further intelligence, but a party of Sr Alex M<sup>c</sup>Donalds and M<sup>c</sup>Leods men came in search of us and landed att the south end of South Uist which oblidged us to go for shelter to a little island near Benbecula<sup>3</sup> there about 28 we received the return of our second boat which gave us ane account of the Enemys being in the Countrey, but were expected to go of in a few days, and also of there being a landing of five thousand French in Caitness (which afterwards proved false). Haveing had intelligence of the Enemys coming forwards, 20<sup>th</sup> we made for the north of Benbecula and from thence in the evening we made back coasting to the south of South Uist, it happen'd that the Enemys boats were so far within a loch that we crossed the mouth of it unobserved, we had also a prospect of several Men of War who did not observe us as we went close along shoar, we were not there 8 days or about 6 July<sup>4</sup> but a party of red coats from Fort William landed within a mile and a half to the southward of us. We had the black coats to the north of us, and the Men of War cruising before us as near as the coast would allow; their design was that both partys should meet and seise us in their way; there was no

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<sup>1</sup> In Loch Uskevagh or Wiskaway.

<sup>2</sup> They were actually at Coradale from 16 May to 5 June. It was from there that Donald Macleod was sent to the mainland to try and get some money for the Prince from Murray of Broughton, who declined to send any—saying he had only about sixty pounds for himself.

<sup>3</sup> Oua.

<sup>4</sup> The Prince's dates are hopelessly at variance with those worked out by Dr. Blaikie from the accounts of his companions and tabulated in the Itinerary. He parted with MacLeod and Sullivan on 20 June and he and O'Neil met Flora MacDonald on the evening of 21 June in the hut near her home in S. Uist.

appearance of our escapeing either by sea or land so as to pass the enemy that was to the north so as to meet them to one side of us. The Prince parted there with M<sup>r</sup> Sullivan and carry'd M<sup>r</sup>. Oneil along with him (Sullivan not being able to undergo the fatigue of traveling) and one Neil M<sup>c</sup>Donald<sup>1</sup> for our guid, that evening we made 24 miles without stopeing, to the northward so as to attempt passing the Enemy next night about 7<sup>th</sup> in our way we met with a trusty girl whome we sent of to have intelligence of the motions of the enemy, upon which we got notice that the Enemy was immediately to march to the southward to join the other party, we hapen'd luckily to get a small boat which carry'd us to Benbecula att the same time that they crossd the sands to go south which agreed with the intelligence we had; in our way to Benbecula we called att the island we were in before oposite to it, which we found quite deserted upon which we made for Benbecula 8<sup>th</sup> July. As we came upon the Shoar, the Prince as soon as he was Landed was in great doubt whether he was not upon another little iland than that of Benbecula, But being assured by the Pilot that he really was upon the continent of Benbecula he dismissed the Boat, but finding no access & himself surrounded by water as he thought, he called back the Boat, but 'twas too farr off to hear the call, so he waited to see whether at low water he might not find to make way, but found 'twas still the same and consequently thought himself surrounded, upon w<sup>ch</sup> he enquired if any of those about him knew how to swim, proposeing in that case to hold by him that should swim over. This was thought impracticable, w<sup>ch</sup> put them upon searching out more narrowly for a passage w<sup>ch</sup> the Prince to encourage them affirmed positively there must be, tho' in reality was in as much doubt of it as they, but said so in order to keep up their spirits, and accordingly behold when they come to examine, a passage or track is actually found by the Prince who had gone a different way to look out one w<sup>ch</sup> led to the continent of Benbecula by a narrow neck of Land. Having had neither meat or drink all the while, & suffered much by the heavy rain. He came to a house there where he refreshed himself, & made to the northward that evening where he had given an appointment, but those he expected unluckily failing to be there, he was obliged to wait there the whole night & next day during all w<sup>ch</sup> time it poured most heavy rain, & had neither meat or drink of any kind, he staid there 3 days, waiting to contrive either securing himself there, or

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<sup>1</sup> Also called Neil MacEachain.

getting over to the main Land, the last of w<sup>ch</sup> he found the most expedient, but was obliged to wait for a Boat, having heard his own was sunk, but contrary to his expectation his own Boat arrived, & finding as he was proposed that the best method was to disguise himself in womans cloaths w<sup>th</sup> a young Lady that had a protection, he took his party to do so. 11<sup>th</sup> <sup>1</sup> the very night before he was to go off, Landed Gen<sup>l</sup> Campbell w<sup>th</sup>in a mile or two of him w<sup>ch</sup> obliged the Prince to go a couple of miles Southward to avoid the pressing danger, & wait the glooming of the evening to get away, and for his comfort he had the men of warr cruising before him, who luckily towards night fall sailed off, w<sup>ch</sup> gave him the opportunity of making for *Mungaster*<sup>2</sup> in Skie, Lady Margaret M<sup>c</sup>Donalds house, N<sup>a</sup>.B. the Prince left M<sup>r</sup>. Oneil at Benbecula, as also his own arms, as the young Lady refused to go if he, or any other should carry any, He Insisted he might safely carry his pistols under the pettycoats as in case of search all would be discovered, but he could not prevail.

In the way to Mungaster before mid[day] as he was crossing a point, a Guard of the MacClouds Challenged the Boat, but, he not minding to answer, they fired on the Boat; as soon as he Landed the young Lady went to Lady Margaret's & the Prince at some distance to wait a friend and that Evening he walked 8 miles to a Gent<sup>ns</sup> house where he was to meet the young Lady again, but being unused to pettycoats he held them in walking up so high that some common people remarked an awkwardness in wearing them, w<sup>ch</sup> being told, he was obliged to change his habit again next day, & went 12<sup>th</sup> <sup>3</sup> being advised that Rasay was the best place to go to, he walked that Evening Eight miles it pouring rain all the while to get to the shoar at (*illegible* [Portree]) there being in mens Cloaths he parted w<sup>th</sup> the young Lady, and embarked in a little Boat for Rasa being told, the Ennemy was still on the main Land. He staid there 3 or 4 days,<sup>4</sup> and had accounts of french vessels being in Pollien, [Poolewe] but he was in doubt whether he should go there or not, from the uncertainty of the intelligence; however he took a

16<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This was actually 17 June.

<sup>2</sup> Monkstadt.

<sup>3</sup> He actually went to Raasa on 1 July, so he is perhaps now using New style—eleven days later; as already stated, the confusion between New and Old styles of reckoning is constantly occurring.

<sup>4</sup> One night only.

resolution w<sup>th</sup>out advising any ab<sup>t</sup> him to go back to Skie,<sup>1</sup> & there in order not to let any one know his design he pretended to wait for Intelligence and that Evening by giving out he was going to look for a Boat to go to—but went to one J<sup>n</sup> Mackennan,<sup>2</sup> walking 25 hours w<sup>th</sup>out stopping, or having anything to refresh himself w<sup>th</sup>. On the

road he called at a little hutt for <sup>18<sup>th</sup></sup> intelligence, his situation being very critical by the Country's being full of Enemys, & <sup>19<sup>th</sup></sup> the next Evening having refreshed himself & met w<sup>th</sup> the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>Kinnon he went off w<sup>th</sup> him, leaving Mac<sup>m</sup>, M<sup>c</sup>Cloud, for the ———at Sea he met w<sup>th</sup> a Boat, and having sent for Rasa a few days before he conjectured it must be he, w<sup>ch</sup> accordingly proved so, as he heard afterwards. He arrived at the main Land in Glengary, Morar or North Morar at the point of Loch Neves,<sup>3</sup> and having waited there 3 days to have Intelligence, but to no Effect, he resolved the 4<sup>th</sup> day to try w<sup>t</sup> Intelligence he could get, and to cross the Logh w<sup>th</sup>in a mile of Scotus's house. (N<sup>a</sup>.B./ all that time he waited, he was exposed to wind & weather and was excessively straightened for any kind of provision) w<sup>ch</sup> he executed and just as he crossed a little point, entering the Logh, he stumbles on a Boat w<sup>ch</sup> startled them a little, but the Prince having along w<sup>th</sup> him Mackennan (& 3 Common men) consulted w<sup>th</sup>. Him w<sup>t</sup>. best to do, & he saying that there was no possibility to avoid them, the best method was to put on a bold face & make up to them w<sup>ch</sup>. Accordingly was done & proved to Effect, for as luck would have it they happened to be only five, and so only questioned them & let them go on, but upon reflection after we had passed them & gone down the Logh, fearing that more of them might have been at Land, & joining the others might come up to them he thought proper to stop & to climb up to the top of a verry high hill the South Side of the Logh w<sup>ch</sup>. he did verry quickly, but it being there he observed the Boat steering off to that part of Skye called Slate, w<sup>ch</sup>. made him go down to the place whence he had gone, & afterw<sup>ds</sup>. went to Moror. But his house being in his way to Barradale, it was no small fatigue being obliged to march the whole night. he met there w<sup>th</sup>. Angus MacEachine of Burradele & skulked w<sup>th</sup>. him in a Cove near the side of Logh-nonoua,<sup>4</sup> for 8 or 10 days in w<sup>ch</sup>. time he had sent

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<sup>1</sup> 2 July.

<sup>2</sup> John Mackinnon.

<sup>3</sup> Date in margin is 19 July, but it was actually 5 July.

<sup>4</sup> Loch nan-uamh.

for Glenaoludin<sup>1</sup> who came to him at y<sup>e</sup>. end of that time, upon w<sup>ch</sup>. hearing of the Ennemys were coming into that Country obliged him to go further tow<sup>ds</sup>. the hills and did so taking Glenalodin w<sup>th</sup>. him to a place near Meryrell<sup>2</sup> in Morar. there he intended to go into a private coave but haveing gote ane alarm that the enemy was comeing on all hands by sea and land, those by land were detauchments of red coats and highlanders from the north and highlanders from Strontian being resolved to search for him knowing he was chased to the main land and land locked betwixt lochs, att the same time a great part of Cumberlands army to the number of 6000 red coats and highlanders were posted from 15 july in three paralel lines from the West to the East, at 10 or 12 miles distance the one line from the other, the main and crossest extended from Fort William to Inverness (being the breadth of Scotland in that part. the countrey favour'd such a design as that tract is mostly composed of large lochs and rivers in a line betwixt those two forts) another line was more Westward from the Sound of Mull by the pass of Strontian, head of Lochiel, Glenfinnin, head of Locharkag, head of Lochcoighnushnacraik and head of Lochuirec; the third line from Lochleven a branch of the sea continued along the Lochs and rivers of Iskdue in the moor of Ranoch, Gleneves moore Iskra both ends of LochTraig (Treig) cross Glenspaian Daichnassy brearog and joined on to the main line att Fort Augustus.

(Here the account breaks off, abruptly. It is known to have been taken down on board ship, and possibly rough weather prevented its completion.)

Warren's own letter, announcing their safe arrival in France, to the King in Rome is appended. Also one from the Cardinal de Tencin who, it is usually held, was largely responsible for the Prince having left Rome and come to Paris, preparatory to the expedition to Scotland.

And one from Prince Charles's cousin, Francis, second son of the first and great Duke of Berwick. Francis succeeded to the title on the death of the second Duke (the former Duke of Liria), but being a churchman, he resigned it to a younger brother, Charles; Edward, the youngest brother, was known as the Count of Fitzjames. Two others died young.

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<sup>1</sup> Glenaladale.

<sup>2</sup> Meoble (see *The Lyon in Mourning*, iii. 172).

Also John Hay of Restalrig's letter, endeavouring to exculpate himself from the charges of mismanagement and the Prince's brief reply.

## Colonel Warren to King James

Ros-coff 10<sup>th</sup> October 1746.

*(New style)*

*(Old style 29 September)*

Sir,

**I**HAVE the happiness to advise Your Majesty of my wished for success in meeting his Royal Highness the Prince on the continent of Scotland and bringing him safely back to France, having landed at this moment at Ros-coff in Lower Brittany within 4 leagues of Morlaise at half an hour past two the afternoon Monday 10<sup>th</sup> October 1746; tis scarce to be imagined what a crowd of dangers run thro' by sea and land, but Providence has him visibly in special care and will doubtless in time complete his wishes.

His Highness intends sending me forward with the account of his arrival to the Duke of York and the French Court, and this I intend to be forwarded to your Majesty by Cardinal Tencin as the most speedy way of reaching your hands. I congratulate your Majesty on this happy event and think this is the happiest day of my life to see our great Hero delivered so miraculously from his enemies. I shall send your Majesty next week a Journal or more particular account. I found means while I was at Loghnonoua where I took the Prince on board, to lay hold of Barastel who wanted to betray him and have brought him and his son prisoners here. I am with the most profound respect Sir, Yr. Majesty's most humble, most loyal and most faithful subject

Rd. Warren.

## (Cardinal de Tencin to James)

Fontainebleau, le 15. 8<sup>bre</sup>. 1746.

Sire,

**J**E respire, Le Prince est Sauvé; il est hereusement arrive a Rosehof, qui est vieux rade entre Rennes et Morlaix. C'est a Waren a qui on en a l'obligation. Je suplie tres humblemen Votre Majeste de me permettre de la felicite de cet heureux Evevemem; Elle ne doute pas qu'en consequence je ne fasse tout pour le bien de son service.

Nous avons gagne une Bataille en flandres le II de ce mois, le Marquis d'Armentieres en a apporte avant-hier la nouvelle au Roy en meme tems Sa M<sup>te</sup>. a appris que les Anglois qui avoient fait une descente sur nos Cotes de Bretagnes, avoient ete obliges de se rembarquer sans rien faire.

Je suis avec un profonde attachment le plus tendre

Sire  
De Votre Majeste  
Le tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur  
Le Card. de Tencin.

(**'Fitzjames, Eveque de Soisson' to James**)

Soissons, 17 Octobre, 1746.

Sire,

**J**'APPRENDS que Monseigneur Le Prince de Galles est heureusement debarque en France. Souffres que le plus fidel de ses serviteurs vous en temoigne la joye. Je revois depuis six mois toutes les peines et l'inquietude que Votre Majeste aura eu elle meme pour une tete si chere. Enfin voila sa vie en surete, et si son expedition n'a pas eu le succes qu'on pourroit attendre de sa valeur, La famille Royale c'est les esprits de sa nation a faire paraitre d'elle meme de plus grands efforts en faveur de son Roy legitime. Je vais a Paris pout tacher de faire ma couer a Son Altesse Royale, que ne puisje etre a portee de renouveler de vive voie a Votre Majeste les assurances de l'attachment sans bornes et du profond respect avec lesquels je suis

de Votre Majeste  
Sire  
le tres humble, tres obeissant, et le plus fidel serviteur  
Fitzjames Eveque de Soissons.

## (John Hay to Prince Charles)

Paris, 5 Dec. 1746.

Sir,

I HAVE the misfortune to be charged with the guilt of sundry very criminal actions while I had the honour to be in the service of Y.R.H. in Scotland.

I am accused of having behaved to Y.R.H. with great disrespect and even insolence on many occasions—That I abused the constant access I had to Y.R.H. to the wicked purpose of misrepresenting and insinuating into your Highness mind unjust impressions of many worthy Gentlemen in the Army—That by my gross neglects and mismanagements the body of troops which attacked Fort William and afterwards the whole army were starved to which in great measure is imputed the misgiving of that attack and also the unhappy catastrophe at Culloden—and, that to me are owing the fatal consequences of the then defeat and the measures so dangerous to Y.R.H. when you first quitted the Continent.

These several things having been reported with abundance of industry at the same time that my person and character were treated with contempt and ridicule occasioned my taking the liberty to represent my melancholy situation to Y.R.H. verbally And as you have done me the honor to declare in a general manner in writing your satisfaction with my conduct It is with great reluctance I now presume to offer your Highness further trouble. But I depend on your goodness for pardon of my anxiety in what so nearly concerns me and my family, and that Your Highness will permit me to make it my humble request That Your Highness will do me the honor to signify in writing—for my justification to mankind as you have been pleased already to tell me—That I am not guilty in any respect as to any of those things which are laid to my charge.

I have the honor to be with the greatest truth and the highest respect your Royal Highnesse's

most humble and entirely devoted subject and servant,

John Hay.

(Prince Charles to John Hay, endorsed 'a Copy of  
H.R.H.'s answer to Mr. Hay Dec. 10<sup>th</sup>, 1746.)

Paris, Dec. 10<sup>th</sup>, 1746.

**I** AM surprised at the contents of your Letter, for you always behaved very respectfully to me, never gave me a bad impression of any person in my Army, and discharged your duty in every thing to my satisfaction.

VI.  
A PORTION OF THE DIARY OF  
DAVID, LORD ELCHO  
1721-87

# A PORTION OF THE DIARY OF DAVID, LORD ELCHO

1721-87

## *Introduction*

**T**HE account of the campaign of 1745-6 known as *The Affairs of Scotland*, by Lord Elcho, the Colonel of the Prince's Life Guards, had been well known to all Jacobite historians ever since it was edited from the original manuscript by the Hon. Evan Charteris (and published by David Douglas) in 1907, and is of great value.

The account was probably written with a view to ultimate publication, though it had to wait 150 years for this. It gives a fairly impartial account of the various operations, though coloured here and there by personal and racial prejudices. Elcho disliked all Irishmen, most Englishmen, and a good many Scots! It also, not unnaturally, shows the bitterness of the man permanently exiled from his family and country for a cause in which he has ceased to believe and for a leader whom he has come most heartily to dislike. Besides *The Affairs of Scotland*, it has always been known that Elcho left another manuscript, a history (so-called Journal) of the whole of his own life, written in French, and this has never been published, though Sir Walter Scott was allowed to make extensive use of it in *The Tales of a Grandfather*. On the present occasion, by the extreme kindness of Captain Michael Wemyss of Wemyss Castle (the owner of the manuscript), the Roxburghe Club is enabled to print that portion of the manuscript which deals with Prince Charles's campaign, 1744-6, giving many otherwise unknown and picturesque details and notably revealing the personality of the writer, as well as those of other protagonists of the Cause.

David, Lord Elcho, was the eldest son of the fifth Lord Wemyss (sometimes called the fourth, since the third holder was a woman). James, fifth Earl, married Janet, only daughter and heiress of the

notorious Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield, East Lothian,<sup>1</sup> who had a large fortune. David was born on 30 July 1721.

There are two other sons, Francis, who inherited by the will of his grandfather all the Charteris money and estates and took that name, still borne by the family of Lord Wemyss—and James, once a naval officer, who succeeded to Wemyss Castle, the Fifeshire estates, and the family papers. From him descends Captain Michael Wemyss, whereas from Francis descends the present Lord Wemyss who owns Gosford.

Of both the younger brothers there are to-day many descendants, but David left no legitimate issue.

Both before and after the Rising of 1745, he had made many attempts to marry heiresses, but something always intervened. At the age of 55 he contracted a love-match with a well-born Swiss girl of 20 and enjoyed one year of happiness with his young wife, but she died in 1777 along with her new-born son and Elcho was left alone again for the remaining ten years of his life.

The family of Wemyss had always been attached to the House of Stuart, and David, and subsequently Francis, were educated with a deliberately Jacobite bias, though their father never took any active part either in the 1715 or the 1745 Risings.

In his journal, David gives an amusing description of how the boys at Winchester, and the masters too, were 'divided into Jacobites and Georgites', and it was in the charge of a Jacobite tutor of the name of Mackenzie that he afterwards made an extended grand tour, starting in 1738, when he was 17. After two years of education in France in various academies, this tour led him eventually to Rome where he had private interviews with King James, and lived much in the society of the young Princes, though he never seems really to have liked Prince Charles. At his first meeting with King James, the proud father made Charles Edward and Elcho stand back to back to see which was taller and found the advantage on the side of the Prince. Elcho, like any other discomfited school-boy adds that 'the Prince was a year older'.

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<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with [Amisfield](#), a remarkable small peel tower near Dumfries.

Strictly speaking, there was actually seven months difference between them.

He also notes that Prince Charles, in the daily meetings which followed, 'kept apart and spoke little with those who came to pay him court. The Duke of York was friendly and a talker.'<sup>1</sup>

Of Charles, Elcho further says 'he appeared to have no tastes except for hunting and music and had no conversational power'. Later in his journal he remarks that 'the Prince had very little genius', and much later he sarcastically refers to his 'good understanding' in having even for a moment considered that futile scheme known as 'the Elibank plot' of 1752. He also makes several unfounded strictures on the Prince's personal courage, which can be completely refuted by the accounts of eye-witnesses of the various episodes. He even goes so far as to say that when the Prince found how little support was actually ready for him in Scotland, he wished to return to France, whereas it is well known that he obstinately refused even to consider the possibility of what Macdonald of Boisdale called 'going home'. 'I *am* come home' (to Scotland), he said. It must, however, be emphasized here that the story quoted by Sir Walter Scott (and by so many others after him) of Elcho's words to the Prince after Culloden does *not* occur in the journal. Scott says (and no doubt *believed* himself to be quoting Elcho) that when the latter failed to persuade the Prince to rally his troops and to charge again at their head on the stricken field of Culloden and saw him ride away, he hurled at the departing figure the insult 'There you go for a damned cowardly Italian', and never would see him again.

Elcho certainly blamed the Prince for giving up the cause so quickly and seeking his own safety, but that he said or wrote the above words *is untrue*, and this story must, therefore, join the other anti-Jacobite fiction about the 'No quarter' order to the Highlanders at Culloden as unworthy of consideration by any serious writer. Prince Charles had many faults, as no one knows better than his biographers, but he was no coward.

As already stated, only that portion of Elcho's diary which deals with the years 1744-6 has been here printed. Although the whole

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<sup>1</sup> The Cardinal certainly was garrulous in his old age, as shown in the accounts of many British travellers who visited him in Rome and at Frascati.

manuscript is of *very great interest* as throwing light on the manners and customs of eighteenth-century and of polite education both in England and in France, on provincial life in the latter century, on the tangled intrigues which led up to the '45 and those which followed it, and on Elcho's own remarkable life and adventures all over Europe, the inclusion of the whole would have added too greatly to the size of the Roxburghe Club Miscellany. The earlier portion, about half, of this manuscript was transcribed, translated, and typed many years ago by the Rev. Thomson Grant, and this transcript has been largely used on this occasion, as it was by Evan Charteris in the notes made from it for the Introduction to his edition of *The Affairs of Scotland*: some passages have been retranslated, the whole having been carefully collated with the original.

After a full account of Elcho's early education and travels, including the visit to Rome, a sojourn in Venice, and another in Paris, the story brings him back to England in October 1741 at the age of 20. Here his foreign clothes caused him to be dubbed by the mob 'A French dog', pelted with stones as he rode from Dover to London, and insulted in the theatre, and he complains bitterly that Frenchmen are as unpopular as Scotsmen. He remained for two years in Scotland. While there, the former master of Sinclair<sup>1</sup> tried to persuade him to abandon the Jacobite cause and seek Government service. He seems to have toyed with this idea and to have been dissuaded from it by that enigmatic figure Sir James Stuart of Coltness and Goodtrees, who shortly afterwards became his brother-in-law.<sup>2</sup> In the autumn of 1742, Elcho passed some time in Edinburgh with his father and then went visiting all over Scotland, to Luss, to Alloa, to Broughton, to Donnybristle, and finally to Dunrobin, where he was greatly impressed by the state kept up by the Earl of Sutherland, his uncle. The following spring, 1743, he went to England again and arrived in London in time to hear the news of the battle of Dettingen. He had rooms in Suffolk Street and lived a gay life. In September 1743, he and a cousin went abroad again, reaching Boulogne on the 5<sup>th</sup>, and after a visit to the Earl Marischal, arrived in Paris on the 9<sup>th</sup>. Here Elcho joined his brother and his old tutor, Mr. Mackenzie. The latter successfully

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<sup>1</sup> Author of the *Memoirs of the Rising of 1715*, the manuscript of which is also preserved at Wemyss Castle. He was third cousin to Elcho's father as well as brother to the latter's stepmother and very intimate with the family.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 131, 134, 135.

combated Elcho's desire to apply for a commission in the army of King George and tried to persuade him to take his brother to Rome, but a long journey in the winter was too great a strain for Elcho's Jacobitism and the brothers, after a false start, returned to Paris where they remained frequenting the theatre and all the entertainments of the court. It is at this period that our extract from the journal begins, and covers the period from December 1743 to October 1746.

In the summer of 1744 Elcho was, as shown in the journal, in London, and after a short stay went abroad again in company with John Murray of Broughton who was definitely on his way to Paris to concert plans with Macgregor of Balhaldy and Lord Sempill for the Rising and for the landing of Prince Charles in Scotland. They went by the Low Countries and arrived at Ostend on 21 August 1744.

During his stay in the Netherlands as the guest of the allied armies, Elcho (like his master Prince Charles at Gaeta ten years earlier) had a few days soldiering, 24-31 August 1744, and took part in some cavalry expeditions. This was his only qualification (except time spent in the various French riding schools of his boyhood) for acting as Colonel of the Prince's Lifeguards and the sole justification for his constant criticism of the disposition and strategy of such military veterans as Lord George Murray, Colonel O'Sullivan, and Brigadier Stapleton.<sup>1</sup>

From the headquarters of the allied armies, Murray went to Paris, and concerted with Charles upon the expedition to Scotland. Murray himself says that he tried to dissuade the Prince from coming to Scotland without effective French help, but he cannot have been very emphatic and he returned to Scotland with messages and letters to the Jacobites of that country. Elcho who had meantime made a little tour of Holland, joined him at Rotterdam on 24 September and they returned to Scotland together, having hidden the incriminating documents in the barrels of their pistols, to ensure instant destruction if they were questioned and searched on arrival in England. They, however, landed there and returned to Edinburgh without incident. To this period belongs the foundation of the famous 'Buck Club' of the Prince's supporters. Elcho gives a list of these and it includes the

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<sup>1</sup> Who died from his wounds received at Culloden.

names of Macleod, who turned against him, and of Nithsdale, Traquair, and Kenmure whose support was of little value.

In April 1745 Elcho went to London and again led a gay life there.

While in Paris, in 1744, he seems to have been hand and glove with the Prince and in his confidence with regard to all plans for the invasion of Scotland.

There is a paper among the Stuart archives at Windsor, drawn up in the hand-writing alternately of the Prince and of John Murray of Broughton, outlining these plans. It is undated, but it was only during the autumn of 1744 that the Prince and Murray were in Paris together, which places the date of this paper as about September of that year. It is noted that: 'The Prince's resolution of going to Scotland, without forces if necessary, is to be kept private from the Earl Marischal<sup>1</sup> and the Court of France, but at the same time those in Scotland who may be trusted with the scheme are to be acquainted with it. Among those to whom silence as regards my Lord Marischal is to be particularly recommended are Lord Elcho and Sir James Stuart.' Charles wrote further that he was 'keeping his secret within his own breast and that two of the other people he meant to carry with him'—presumably Kelly and Sheridan—who hardly left his side. Sempill and Balhaldy particularly are to know nothing. There is also a letter addressed to Elcho under the cypher name *Duncan Cant*, but it is of no importance.

He left France not very long after the failure of the projected Saxe expedition to England, as he himself relates, and returned to Scotland where he remained until his flight after Culloden, after which he never saw it again.

Following that portion of the Journal which deals with the fateful years 1745-6 and is here reproduced, the rest (about half of the whole) is devoted to Elcho's own life as an exile on the Continent and his unsuccessful efforts to make his peace with the British Government; much of it forms most entertaining reading.

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<sup>1</sup> The veteran of 1715 and 1719, who was known to be both wise and cautious, as well as of great experience, greatly respected by the prince and his father, but despised by those intriguers, Sempill and Balhaldy, who described him as 'an honourable fool'.

He died (just nine months before Charles Edward) on 29 April 1787 in Paris, but is buried at Bole<sup>1</sup> near Neuchatel, in a fine tomb, which he had caused to be erected in memory of his wife and infant son, and adorned with the arms of both Wemyss and d'Uxhull, which were hers. This still exists.

By the advice and help of the Earl Marischal, governor, for Frederick the Great, of Neuchatel, Elcho (or as he called himself after his father's death in 1756, *Lord Wemyss*<sup>2</sup>, had become naturalized there and had purchased a property named La Prie, on which he lived for many years. He frequently complained that his brothers Francis and James did not treat him well, but they seem, on the whole, to have been extremely generous in money matters, as was his mother, who resided abroad and became in her old age very eccentric. Elcho always maintained a certain state wherever he lived, and kept many servants.

To his four sisters he seems to have been very much attached. With Lady Fanny and her husband, Sir James Stuart, also a proscribed Jacobite, he lived a good deal in various parts of the Continent. She was married before the Forty-five and left a son, who preserved his uncle's papers. Of the others, two Walpole and Helen, lived for some time with their mother in France and did not marry until 1754. Previous to this, on returning to Scotland, they each took charge of one of Lord Elcho's natural daughters (one by a Frenchwoman and one by an Englishwoman). The one consigned to Helen died in Scotland before Helen's marriage to Hew Dalrymple of Fordel, but the other, Margaret, was brought back to France by Walpole, who against her brother David's wishes, married a Frenchman, Louis de la Barthe, and died the following year, it was said from ill usage. Margaret was then placed in a *pension* at Montauban in 1755, and is not heard of again during the remaining thirty-two years of her father's life. Anne married Hamilton of Bargany in 1746.

Elcho made many attempts to obtain his pardon from George II and George III and employed many go-betweens, including the famous Bishop, the Earl of Bristol, but always unsuccessful. He also, curiously enough, solicited favours from the French King and from James Stuart in Rome, and did in fact obtain some

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<sup>1</sup> [Bôle](#), Switzerland.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of the attainder.

'gratifications' from the former and unpaid appointments to various regiments, but he lived and died a disappointed man, and never retrieved the money advanced to Prince Charles in 1745. On this account he cherished to his dying day a grudge against the Stuarts and their cause.

## EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF DAVID, LORD ELCHO

*Translated from the French*

(Beginning in December 1743 or January 1744)

MR. MACDONALD, our banker, to whose house we [his brother Francis and himself] often went, had a Scotchman who used to live with him, named Buchanan. Not seeing Mr. Buchanan any more at Mr. Macdonald's house, I asked one day where he was, Mr. Macdonald told me in confidence that he had left for Rome with Mr. Macgregor of Balhaldie, and that I should learn the reason of their journey shortly. As a matter of fact these gentlemen, who had travelled by Switzerland, arrived at Rome, and departed thence with Prince Edward. They came to Genoa, embarked in a [felucca](#), passed through the middle of the English fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews, and landed at [Antibes](#).<sup>1</sup> Thence they proceeded to Paris, where the Prince lodged in the house of my lord Sempill on the Estrapade<sup>2</sup> Fifteen days after, my lord Sempill brought my lord Marechal to see the Prince, and some days later, I went. I found the Prince all alone in his chamber, drinking tea. He opened the door for me and shut it himself, and seemed very uneasy because his arrival in Paris was not known.<sup>3</sup> He told me that the King of France had invited him and had promised to send into England an army of 10,000 men, commanded by Marechal Saxe who was to assemble and embark at Dunkirk towards the end of the month of February 1744. My lord Marechal, who had not been hitherto consulted, and had not known what was going on, was much embarrassed, in preparing to go to Dunkirk, by want of money. I induced my brother

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<sup>1</sup> For full details of the Prince's journey from Rome to Paris, see the first item in this Miscellany, p. 2.

It will be noted that Elcho's information was incorrect in several particulars, being only from hearsay.

<sup>2</sup> [Rue de l'Estrapade](#), Paris.

<sup>3</sup> That is, not publicly announced.

to send him 700 louis d'or. My brother<sup>1</sup> left some time after for Scotland, to take charge of our house, and to take our three sisters<sup>2</sup> that were not married home with him. My father had placed them at a boarding house in Edinburgh, and had not paid their board regularly. He<sup>3</sup> gave me 300 louis d'or for my expedition with the Prince, a sum which I repaid to his banker Mr. Smith<sup>4</sup> at Boulogne when the expedition was over. The Prince left some time after with Mr. Macgregor of Balhaldie, to go to Gravelines, where he kept himself incognito all the time he remained in that town. My lord Marechal left for Dunkirk, having with him my lord Louis Drummond,<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Macdonald of Glengary,<sup>6</sup> and Mr. de la Guerche as his aide-de-camp. I joined my lord Marechal at Dunkirk on 11 March 1744. Marshal Saxe was there with 10,000 men, all foot-soldiers except a regiment of dismounted dragoons. The Irish Brigade was at Berg St. Winox.<sup>7</sup> There were also two Swiss regiments at the embarkation. All the rest of the army was French. Marshal Saxe had under him the Marquis de Luttezux, the Viscount du Chaila, Lieutenant-Generals the Marquises de Beranger, d'Apeher, de Langeron, and de Rambure as Camp Marshalls; the Comte d'Heronville was Major-General, and Messrs. de la Groilee, Bernier, de Robert, and d'Espagnac assistants general, charged with the accomodation of the army. Mr. de Sejan was intendant, and M. de Thomassin commanded the artillery. There were four men-of-war in the roads, for the protection of the embarkation, commanded by M. de Barail, chief of the squadron, and M. de Roquefeuille, sailed from Brest into the Channel with a fleet of twenty-one men-of-war to meet the English squadron. Large merchant vessels had been collected to take the troops on board. These vessels remained in the roads, and the troops were taken on board them from the harbour in [bilanders](#). A great number of arms, saddles, bridles, cannon, and Friesland horses were embarked, because the French said that they expected to be joined by many Englishmen on disembarking, e.g. the Earl of Barrymore, whose son

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<sup>1</sup> Francis, afterwards seventh Earl of Wemyss.

<sup>2</sup> Walpole, who married in 1744 Louis de Chastel de la Barthe. Anne, who married in 1746 John Hamilton of Bargany, and Helen, who married in 1754 Captain Hew Dalrymple of Fordel.

<sup>3</sup> Francis.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Smith, a well-known Jacobite agent.

<sup>5</sup> Second son of the second Duke of Melfort. He commanded the Royal Ecosais at Culloden, and was afterwards a General in the French service.

<sup>6</sup> Pickle the Spy.

<sup>7</sup> [Berg St. Winox](#) now Bergues.

was with Marshal Saxe, and was said to be a sort of hostage. The Earl of Derwentwater,<sup>1</sup> who had been in the affair of 1715, was there also. My Lord Marechal went often to Marshal Saxe to see if he had any orders for him. The Marshal told him that he would have to go to Scotland with the Irish Brigade, but this expedition could not start until after the departure of that which was destined for the Thames. I was to go with the expedition of my lord Marechal. The sixteen battalions destined for England were made up as follows: three of Monaco, two of Gondrin, two of Eu, two of Diesbach, two of the Court, one of Chantre, one of Royal Marines, one of Languedoc, one of Soissons, one of Baufremont, one of Royal Horse, and the regiment of Royal Dragoons. When eleven of these sixteen battalions had embarked in the vessels in the roads with the Prince of Monaco and the Duc d'Antin, a violent tempest arose, which wrecked nine of these vessels on the coast between [Mardyke](#) and [Dunkirk](#). By the exertion of Marshal Saxe, few of the soldiers were drowned. The same storm had prevented M. de Roquefeuille from engaging the English squadron at [Dungeness Bay](#). This squadron, consisting of twenty-five men-of-war, commanded by Sir John Norris, came out from the English ports looking for the French, but the two squadrons were dispersed. M. de Roquefeuille died in the Channel,<sup>2</sup> his ships regained Brest and Norris returned with his to the Downs. Thus ended the expedition from Dunkirk. We received the news of a naval battle at Toulon, between the English fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews and the fleets of France and Spain. The English had the advantage, which would have been more considerable but for a misunderstanding that existed between Admiral Matthews and Vice-Admiral Lestock. After the project of the embarkation had been abandoned, my lord Marechal went to see Prince Edward at Gravelines. The Prince proposed to him to hire a vessel and to go to Scotland. This the Marechal refused to do.<sup>3</sup> The Prince was very ignorant of the affairs of Great Britain, and his tutor the Chevalier Sheridan, had persuaded him that the House of Hanover was detested and that if he appeared in that country, all the people would range themselves on his side, and desert the

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Radcliffe, taken prisoner with his brother, the third Earl of Derwentwater, at Preston, 13 Nov. 1715. He escaped from Newgate and lived abroad. He was taken again on his way to England in 1745 and beheaded in 1746 on Tower Hill, as his brother had been.

<sup>2</sup> He had an apoplectic stroke brought on by disappointment.

<sup>3</sup> Legend says that the Prince proposed to the Earl Marischal that they two should go to Scotland alone in a rowing-boat!

reigning sovereign. The Prince who had always preserved his incognito at Gravelines, returned to Paris; and I went to Boulogne. My lord Marechal persuaded [tried to persuade] me to go to Stockholm where his brother was Russian Ambassador, to pass some time with him. He considered it dangerous to go to England, after our having appeared publicly at Dunkirk. But I adopted the course of embarking on 3 April, in a Scotch vessel, with a brother of my lord Seaforth, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> I landed on the coast of East Lothian and went to the house of my brother-in-law the Chevalier Stuart at Goodtrees.<sup>1</sup> The next day I went to Edinburgh to pay a visit to my lord Justice Clerk Milton. He asked me many questions about my voyage and the affair of Dunkirk. He was one of the ministers of the King in Scotland. I answered him that I had passed the winter at Paris and had gone to the coast of France to find a vessel to take me to my native land, but that on my arrival I had found an embargo laid on all the vessels along the coast, and that as

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<sup>1</sup> Lady Francis Wemyss had married in 1743 Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees and Coltness, whose father had been Solicitor-General and Lord Advocate, a Whig, and his grandfather also a Covenanter. The whole career of Sir James is rather mysterious, but he seems to have been trusted both by Prince Charles and by his father in Rome. He did not join the Prince on his arrival in Scotland, but waited until October, when he had himself presented at Holyrood by Elcho, in the guise of a prisoner. He was shortly afterwards despatched on a mission to France, still in a rather clandestine manner, from Stonehaven.

In a government list in the P.R.O. of 'Rebels not contained in the first Bill of Attainder 5 Nov. 1746', he appears thus: 'Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, never in arms, but the Pretender's principal adviser. Took shipping for France from Stonehaven Oct. 1745' The Rev. John Bisset, Minister of St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, says in his diary under date 5 Dec. 1745, 'I hear the prisoner whom Governor Mergie (*Jacobite Governor*) some time ago took at Stonehaven and sent prisoner to France, was one of the Pretender's agents, a degenerate plant, in that way to cover his embassy.' The alleged prisoner was Sir James, recognized by onlookers. He did not return to Scotland during or after the Rising and being excepted by name from the Act of Indemnity of 1747, lived in various parts of France till 1763 when he ventured home, was eventually pardoned in 1771, and died in 1780. During his time on the Continent, he was, in 1752, imprisoned by the French on suspicion of anti-French sympathies because he rejoiced too openly at the success of British arms in the Seven Years War. He was confined in Luxembourg for some time but at length released.

Of Sir James's grandfather the following uncomplimentary account is given in a note to Mark Napier's *Memoirs of Dundee*, vol. iii, p. 475:

'Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, brother of Coltness, was a thorough-paced traitor. ... He was an active member of the Dutch plot in 1666. Becoming implicated in the Ryehouse plot, he fled to Holland. Engaged in Argyle's rebellion, he was at length taken, tried for high treason and condemned to be hanged on the 23 of July 1685. He was reprieved, however, most undeservedly, through interest exercised on his behalf (according to Fountainhall) by the Earl of Dumbarton. This '*cheat the woodie*' became Lord Adcocate to the King of Glencoe.

soon as the embargo was removed, I had taken advantage of the first vessel that was sailing, to quit this land where they were about to declare war on England. I described to him the affair at Dunkirk, as a person who happened to be there by accident. He asked me to sup with him, and received me most politely.<sup>1</sup>

My brother Mr. Charteris, on arriving in Scotland, had sent our three sisters to the house of their sister Madame Stuart, with a promise of paying their board, and consequently he gave 500 pounds sterling to Chevalier Stuart for this purpose. I spent my time in Scotland partly at the Chevalier Stuart's, partly at my brother's, and partly with my father, and my aunt, the Countess of Moray.<sup>2</sup> The house of Chevalier Stuart was a rendezvous for all the partizans of the House of Stuart, and the Chevalier, who aimed at making as many converts to this cause as he could, kept a good establishment, entertained all his friends, had many schemes, and added many to the number of the supporters of the Stuarts in Scotland. My father, having perceived that the embarrassment of his affairs would prevent him from residing in England, and settled down upon his estate, and had somewhat arranged his affairs. I went to visit Elcho Castle in the country of Perth, a property belonging to my father. One of my ancestors was created Baron Elcho and Peer of Scotland in the year 1628.<sup>3</sup> This property is situated on the bank of the river Tay. On 18 July [1744], I left Scotland and went to Berwick. I was at Durham on the 19<sup>th</sup>, Batry on the 20<sup>th</sup>, Stilton on the 21<sup>st</sup>, and on the 22<sup>nd</sup> at London, where I took up lodgings in [Suffolk Street](#). I found Mr. Murray of Broughton in London. He was agent for the Chevalier St George in Scotland and carried on a correspondence with him and with his son Prince Edward. After having passed a month in London, where I received much attention from General Dalzell and other Scotsmen, Mr. Murray and I proceeded to Dover, whence we embarked for Ostend, which we reached on 21 August 1744. There was an English garrison at [Ostend](#). We spent the night at [Bruges](#), were at [Ghent](#) on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, [Oudenarde](#) on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, and Tournay<sup>4</sup> on the 24<sup>th</sup>. On the 26<sup>th</sup> we reached the allied army, which was encamped on the plains of

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<sup>1</sup> Elcho seems here to have, very successfully, played the diplomat.

<sup>2</sup> Second wife of James, eighth Earl.

<sup>3</sup> The title granted was actually Lord Wemyss of Elcho-in 1638 he became Earl Wemyss, Lord Elcho and Methil.

<sup>4</sup> [Tournai](#).

Lisle.<sup>1</sup> General Wade commanded the English and the Hanoverians and had his headquarters at Austin. The Duc d'Areberg commanded the Austrians and had—with the Count of Nassau who commanded the Hollanders, his headquarters at Sijoin.<sup>2</sup> The army amounted to 10,000 men. Marshal Saxe was encamped near Courtray<sup>3</sup> on the Escaut, with 30,000 men. The Generals of the Allies were not in agreement, and they had no cannon wherewith to undertake the siege of Lisle, so that nothing was done. On reaching the camp, General Campbell,<sup>4</sup> Colonel of Dragoons—Scots Greys—provided me with two horses and a groom, and on the 27<sup>th</sup> I took part in a general foraging expedition, commanded by General Wentworth. The Duke of Argyle invited me to his tent. On returning to the camp I dined with General Campbell, who had with him his nephew, the Earl of Loudon,<sup>5</sup> and many Scotch officers. On the 28<sup>th</sup> I dined with General St. Clair.<sup>6</sup> The Earl of Panmure<sup>7</sup> and many Scotch officers were present as on the day before. On the 29<sup>th</sup> I dined with the Earl of Crawford, Lieutenant-General. Forty of us sat down to dinner, all Scotchmen, among others the Earl of Rothes, my lord Cathcart, my lord Charles Hay.<sup>8</sup> The Earl of Crawford had fought with the Russians and the Austrians against the Turks, and had received a serious wound at the battle of Krotzka. On the 30<sup>th</sup> I dined with Mr. Barrington and the officers of the third regiment of footguards. Mr. Stuart, brother of the Earl of Moray, Captain of Cavalry in the regiment of Ligonier, had the goodness to give up his

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<sup>1</sup> [Lille](#).

<sup>2</sup> [Soignies](#) (Dutch: *Zinnik*).

<sup>3</sup> [Kortrijk](#).

<sup>4</sup> James, third son of the second Earl of Loudon—distinguished for his conduct at Dettingen and mortally wounded at Fontenoy.

<sup>5</sup> John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudon, eldest son of the third. He was afterwards unsuccessful in his operations against the Duke of Perth, north of Inverness, in March 1746, and withdrew with President Forbes to the Isle of Skye until after Culloden.

<sup>6</sup> James, the brother of John, the Master of Sinclair, who left such a bitter account of the Rising of 1715. John died without issue in 1750 having married first the widow of Lord Southesk of the Fifteen and secondly, in his old age, the younger daughter of Lord George Murray.

General James Sinclair married Janet Dalrymple of New Hailes and died *s.p.* in 1762.

<sup>7</sup> William, second son of Henry Maule of 1715. The title of Lord Panmure was forfeited by the Earl who was wounded at Sheriffmuir and died abroad—but had been revived 6 Apr. 1763 in the person of his nephew above. He died without issue in 1782. The title was again revived in 1821. It is now merged in that of Dalhousie.

<sup>8</sup> Lord Charles Hay, second son of the second Marquis of Tweeddale, commanded the Guards at Fontenoy. Died unmarried 1760.

tent to me. In this army there was very little association between the English and the Scotch. On 31 August we left the army and slept at Tournay; on 1 September we were at Halle, and on the 2<sup>nd</sup> at Brussels, where Mr. Murray parted from me to go and see Prince Edward at Paris. He found him living in the house of Mr. Macdonald, his banker. The Prince saw only the Scotch and Irish that were at Paris, and the French court allowed him a pension of 6,000 livres [*francs*] a month. He said to Mr. Murray that he would remain at Paris all that year to see if the court would undertake any expedition on his behalf, but that if the French court did nothing, he was determined to go to Scotland the year following to try his fortune. He charged Mr. Murray with many letters for his supporters in Scotland, and with patents from his father for others. There were commissions—appointing my father governor of the county of Fife—a patent that I delivered to him on my arrival in Scotland) and the Duke of Hamilton Lieutenant-General. The latter Mr. Murray took to the Duke, who accepted it. Mr. Murray was a very well-educated man, had travelled widely, and had spent a great part of his capital. As his affairs were disordered, he had good reason to encourage the Prince in his project of coming to Scotland, that he might have the chance of fishing in the troubled waters.<sup>1</sup>

I left Brussels on 5 September for Antwerp, was at Rotterdam on the 6<sup>th</sup>, at the Hague on the 8<sup>th</sup>, at Leyden on the 9<sup>th</sup>, at Amsterdam on the 10<sup>th</sup>, at Utrecht on the 12<sup>th</sup>, and at Leyden again on the 13<sup>th</sup>. I made this little tour in Holland in boats that sail at a fixed hour from one town to the other. The whole country is flat and intersected with canals. The towns are extremely clean and well-built. I made this journey with a Mr. Mackenzie whom I had known first as a Jesuit at Paris, and afterwards as a protestant in London, where he was in search of military employment. He was at the Hague in the suite of the Prince of Waldeck. On the 17<sup>th</sup> I was again at Amsterdam to see the Guildhall, the Exchange, the Harbour, and the canal that leads to Utrecht, where the burgesses of Amsterdam have their country houses. The gardens are near the canal, and more elaborate ones are nowhere to be seen. On the 19<sup>th</sup> I returned to Leyden, where I met the famous Comte de St. Germain, whom every one in the country knows, who passed as a maker of gold, and

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<sup>1</sup> Elcho never misses an opportunity of belittling his fellows, and always disliked Murray personally.

pretended to have a secret for prolonging life. All that I know about him is that he played very well upon the violin.<sup>1</sup>

On 23 September I left for the Hague, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> I was at Rotterdam, where I met Mr. Murray of Broughton on his return from Paris. He showed me the letters and the patents that he was charged to deliver to Scotland. For fear that we would be searched on our arrival in England we agreed that we would buy two pistols, fill them with powder, put the packets on the top and blow them into the air in case anyone should want to search our arms. We embarked at Helvitsluyes<sup>2</sup>, and arrived at Harwich on 1 October and at London on the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Here I found my brother Mr. Charteris. His maternal grandfather had left him his property on condition of his taking his name and arms: and there was a clause in the testament providing that if ever he became Earl of Wemyss, the property should pass to his younger brother Mr. Wemyss.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly my brother [Francis] proposed to me that he should give me 500,000 francs in case I were willing to marry. I accepted the proposal and promised to go to Scotland and look out for a wife. My younger brother Mr. Wemyss had left in April on board a squadron bound for the East Indies where he became lieutenant of a vessel in the year 1749. On my arrival in London I learned the news of the capture of [Fribourg in Brisgau](#) by Louis XV in person. His Majesty had left the army at Flanders to Compel Prince Charles<sup>4</sup> to recross the Rhine, and he fell dangerously ill at [Metz](#). It was from the time of his recovery that he bore the surname of 'Louis le bien aimé'.

I passed a month in London, where I lived much of the time with the Earls of Morton, Lauderdale, Pomfret, and Thomond. On 11 November 1744 I left London and was at Ware, on the 12<sup>th</sup> at Stamford, on the 13<sup>th</sup> at Ferrybridge, on the 14<sup>th</sup> at Northallerton, on the 15<sup>th</sup> at Newcastle, on the 16<sup>th</sup> at Berwick, on the 17<sup>th</sup> at Edinburgh. I went to see my brother-in-law the Chevalier Stuart at his house of Coltness and thence we went to pay a visit to the Duke

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<sup>1</sup> The enigmatic personage, who enjoyed a great reputation as an alchemist, died in 1784. He was the model for Balthasar Claës, the hero of Honoré de Balzac's famous novel [La Recherche de l'Absolu](#).

<sup>2</sup> [Hellevoetsluis](#).

<sup>3</sup> James, M.P. for Sutherland and a Naval Officer. He inherited by his father's will the Fifeshire estates, married Elisabeth, daughter of the sixteenth Earl of Sutherland, and was ancestor of Captain Michael Wemyss.

<sup>4</sup> Prince Charles of Lorraine, Austrian general.

of Hamilton. We found the Duke a very zealous partisan of the House of Stuart.<sup>1</sup> From [Hamilton Castle](#) I returned to pass the winter at Edinburgh. Mr. Murray of Broughton was there, and he had formed a club where, once a week, the supporters of the House of Stuart were to sup and to pass the evening together. No one was admitted unless he had been balloted for and elected by the votes of *all* the members. This Club had the name of 'Buck Club'. Mr. Murray told the members, who were very numerous, that he had been at Paris, that he had seen the Prince, and that the Prince had said to him that he intended to come next summer and throw himself into the arms of his friends in Scotland, and he asked what was to be done under such circumstances. The majority, such as the Earl of Buchan,<sup>2</sup> the Chevaliers Macdonald of Slate and Stuart of Coltness, and my lord Lovat, were of the opinion that an express should be sent to the Prince to say that if he were able to enter the Kingdom with 6,000 regular troops, with arms for 10,000 more, and 30,000 louis d'or in ready money, then he might come, and all his supporters would join him, but that if he was unable to do all this, they counselled him very strongly not to come, for his presence would only effect his own ruin, the ruin of his cause, and that all those who embarked with him on an enterprise so dangerous. Mr. Macdonald of Glengary was chosen to carry this resolution to the Prince and set out. It was suspected that Mr. Murray, who was charged with preparing the despatches, had not sufficiently dissuaded the Prince from coming, as the club had recommended. He was involved in debt and strove to keep things disturbed: so also, as in the club, he aimed at encouraging everyone to join the Prince, even if he came alone. The Dukes of Hamilton and Perth, the Earls of Nithsdale and Traquair, Viscount Kenmure, my lord Nairne, Viscount Strathallan, Mr. Murray, father of the Earl of Dunmore, Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, Messrs. Macdonald of Glengary, Clanronald, Keppoch, Mr. Stuart of Ardshiel, Mr. Oliphant of Gask, Mr. Hepburn of Keith, Mr. Hamilton, my lord Pitsligo, Mr. Carnegy of Boisack, Macdonald of Lorn, and numbers of others promised to join the Prince *in any event*, and all these gentlemen kept their

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<sup>1</sup> He seems to have cooled later. This was the sixth Duke of Hamilton and third Duke of Brandon, who married Elizabeth Gunning. He died in 1758, having managed to keep clear of participation in the Rising.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Buchan, like Sir James Stuart, came to Edinburgh to be presented to Prince Charles at Holyrood in Oct. 1745 in the character of an unwilling prisoner, but H.R.H. declined to receive him save as a declared supporter. Buchan was married to the sister of Sir James Stuart; he did nothing further for the Cause.

word, except the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Traquair, Mr. Macleod of Macleod<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Macdonald of Lorn. The Earl of Buchan, the Chevalier Macdonald of Slate<sup>2</sup>, my lord Lovat, Mr. Nesbit of Dirleton, and a great number of others in this club would have joined the Prince if he had brought the reinforcements which they demanded. It was a shameful thing of the Chevalier Macdonald of Slate and Mr. Macleod of Macleod to take up arms against the Prince after having taken part in the plots that his friends had hatched in his favour. In Edinburgh this winter I frequented the public assembly where dancing went on once a week, the assembly of my lady Glenorchy, and the theatre; and we often gave private balls to the young ladies, who are very pretty in Edinburgh. As I had not forgotten my brother's proposal to give me 20,000 pounds sterling as my portion, with a wife, I asked the hand of Miss Graham of Airth in marriage and was accepted. I went to see my father, who was at Wemyss, to communicate my project to him, and he executed a deed, whereby he declared me heir to all his lands, divesting himself of any power to make another disposition or to contract debts in the future for more than the sum of 2,000 pounds sterling. The Earl of Leven, my lord Balmerino, and my brother-in-law, the Chevalier Stuart, were present when my father signed this deed and the deed was written out by Master Forbes. As my brother Mr. Charteris had not the 20,000 pounds sterling in Scotland, he proposed that I should accompany him to London with a view to getting it. I left Edinburgh on 5 April 1745 and went to Dirleton. I was at Alnwick on the 7<sup>th</sup>, at Northallerton on the 8<sup>th</sup>, at Tuxford on the 9<sup>th</sup>, at Stilton on the 10<sup>th</sup>, and at London on the 11<sup>th</sup>. My brother and I lived in Suffolk Street. My brother made every effort to raise the 20,000 pounds sterling for my marriage, but although he had 300,000 of rental he could not do it; because his property being entailed, he was able neither to mortgage nor to sell it. He granted me a deed by which he bound himself to pay me 11,000 pounds, or 500 pounds sterling of income during his life until he had 20,000 pounds sterling to give me, and then I was obliged to marry at his

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<sup>1</sup> Macleod of Macleod even took up arms against the Prince and was defeated by Lord Lewis Gordon's Aberdeenshire levies at Inverurie 23 Dec. 1745. Highlanders beaten by Lowlanders.

The Prince retained, to the last, hopes of Macleod's fidelity and wanted to send Donald Macleod the pilot to him, after Culloden, asking for shelter, but Donald refused to go.

<sup>2</sup> The Baronet of Sleat though he visited Cumberland, did not actually take up arms. He died 28 Nov. 1746 and was succeeded by his 4-year-old son.

request. My mother, the Countess of Wemyss, who lived in the country near London, sent me a present of 1,000 pounds sterling out of 4,000 which my maternal grandmother had left at the disposal of my mother to give to any of her children whom she thought fit. My maternal grandmother was of the house of Swinton.<sup>1</sup> I found myself rich then, with 22,000 pounds of income, and 22,000 [*sic*] of ready money. In London we frequented the house of the Duke of Montrose, and we went to the house of the Duke of Argyle who was a minister for Scotland. We dined in a tavern with the Earls of Lauderdale, Home, Traquair, my lord Cranston, the Earl of Balcarres, the Chevalier Dundass, the Chevalier Douglas, and Mr. Stuart, brother of the Earl of Moray. Chevalier Douglas<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Stuart<sup>3</sup> were members of Parliament and very zealous Partisans of the House of Stuart. Mr. Stuart, who was at the time a general in the service of Holland, was so violent for this cause, that he said to me that if Prince Edward landed in Great Britain and found any gentleman that would join him more readily than himself he would cut his own throat. Some days later he entered the service of England as a captain. I made him prisoner some months afterwards at the battle of Preston and reproached him with his conversation in London. He said to me, by way of excuse, that he had done his best to desert and join us but had failed. He gave his word of honour never to bear arms against the Prince any more, but he broke it and we found him at the battle of Culloden with the Duke of Cumberland. The Chevalier Dundass, who has since acquired so great a fortune, had then, as his whole property 800 pounds sterling. His intention was to buy a cornetcy of dragoons. I went every day to the theatre, to Vauxhall and Ranelagh, and one evening to a masked ball at Ranelagh. I allowed myself to play at roulette. I had five guineas in my pocket and in a short time had gained eighty. Next day I returned with 300 expecting to have the same fortune and to gain more by playing for larger stakes; but in a few minutes I lost my 300 guineas. There were gentlemen there that staked 1,000 guineas at this game, on the

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<sup>1</sup> Helen, daughter of Lord Messington.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Douglas, M.P. for Dumfries Boroughs, 1735, Dumfriesshire, 1741-7, afterwards visited Prince Charles at Bannockburn, in secret, and told him that £10,000 awaited him on arrival in London. He was imprisoned in the Tower for his Stuart sympathies 1746-8.

<sup>3</sup> John, second son of Francis, sixth Earl of Moray, M.P. for Anstruther Easter. He was also Colonel of Drumlanrig's Regiment in the service of Holland. He died unmarried in 1790.

issue of a single stroke. On 4 June my brother and I left London, after having spent two months there, among the objects of interest and amusement. In the mornings I went often to the House of Commons, Mr. Stuart, the Provost of Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> had the goodness to present me to the Speaker, Mr. Onslow. It was at this time that the House was engaged in investigating the conduct of Admirals Matthews and Lestock. Matthews was discharged from the service although he had fought bravely. Lestock had held back, but Matthews had forgotten to give the necessary signals to cause him to advance. If these two admirals had been working in unison the combined fleets of France and Spain would not have escaped so well in the battle of Toulon.

On 4 June we were at St. Albans, on the 5<sup>th</sup> at Creek, on the 6<sup>th</sup> at Litchfield, on the 7<sup>th</sup> at Warrington, on the 8<sup>th</sup> at Preston, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> at Hornby Castle, a property belonging to my brother. We went to Lancaster, where my brother gave a grand dinner to the magistrates of the town. They had some time before sent a representative to Scotland to offer to elect my brother as their member of Parliament. He had refused, that is to say he had thanked them for their kind intentions on his behalf and asked them to choose me instead of him. This they had promised to do at the first election, and they immediately presented me with the freedom of the city. Some days afterwards we left for Edinburgh, travelling by Kendal, Carlisle, and Moffat. On our arrival my brother proposed marriage to the sister of the Duke of Gordon and was accepted.

On 2 August 1745 Mr. Buchanan, brother of Mr. Buchanan of Arnprior, came to me at Edinburgh with a letter from Mr. Murray of Broughton, by which he gave me to understand that the Prince had arrived on the coast of Lochaber. I met Mr. Murray who was about to set out in order to join the Prince. I entreated him to conjure the Prince to return, in case he had come without the reinforcements that we had demanded. He promised to do so, but did not, for the Duke of Perth and he and some others had advised the Prince to

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<sup>1</sup> Archibald Stewart who was afterwards tried for his life for not maintaining a better defence of Edinburgh. During his imprisonment in the Tower his wife petitioned that he be allowed to take exercise lest he grow too fat! He was eventually acquitted and returned to Edinburgh.

come at all hazards, and the Chevalier Maclean<sup>1</sup> had been sent (by the Prince) to prepare them for his immediate arrival. I determined to remain inactive and watch the progress of events and not join the Prince till he was near Edinburgh. At this time I left for the county of Fife to be within better reach of news. Here I passed my time with my father—whom I informed of all that was going on—and with my aunt, the Countess of Moray. I crossed in the boat between Leith and Kinghorn with President Forbes. He told me, as a piece of news, that the Prince was landed in Scotland and said that he himself was on his way to the north, to prevent, as far as he could, the chiefs of the clans from joining him. In this, however, he had little hope of success, knowing their zeal for the Stuart cause. He was very sorry nevertheless, because the Prince (in his opinion) would merely kindle a fire of straw, which would be quickly put out by the energy of General Cope, and would end in the ruin of many very honourable gentlemen, whose prospective fate he deplored. Among others, he referred sadly to the Duke of Perth and Mr. Cameron of Lochiel. I did not tell him that I had heard the news. He informed me that General Cope, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, was preparing to march to the north with 2,500 foot soldiers and that the troops were to assemble at Stirling.

Prince Charles had left Navarre for Nantes in the month of June. [Navarre](#) is a chateau in the country belonging to the [Duc de Bouillon](#).<sup>2</sup> He had with him the Duke of Athole, the Chevalier Macdonald (Captain of the Carabineers), his tutor, the Chevalier Sheridan, Mr. O'Sullivan (aide-de-camp of Marshal Maillebois), Mr. Kelly, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Macdonald, and Mr. Buchanan. He arrived at Nantes, at the house of Mr. Welch, an Irish banker, who had got ready for him a vessel of fourteen guns, in which they embarked at Pleinboeuf and sailed for Scotland. The Prince had with him 4,000 louis d'ors, 1,000 guns, and 1,800 sabres which he had bought with his own money, for the French Government had no share in this enterprise. At Bellisle he was joined by the *Elizabeth*, a vessel belonging to Mr. Ruttlige, an Irish banker in Dunkirk. The

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Hector Maclean of Duart. He was for some time in Edinburgh unsuspected and might have escaped arrest if he had retired to his estates in good time, but he lingered too long in the capital having special boots made for his misshapen feet, and was arrested. He was, however, treated as a prisoner of war. He died in Rome in 1750. He had previously been heard of as having violent quarrels in Paris with Lord John Drummond (Stuart papers at Windsor).

<sup>2</sup> The [Duc de Bouillon](#) was the husband of [Queen Clementina's sister Catherine](#), thus uncle to Prince Charles Edward.

*Elizabeth* carried many cannon and was commanded by Captain D'O<sup>1</sup> of the barque *St. Winox*, who had orders from Mr. Ruttlige to escort the Prince to the coast of Scotland. A few days after their departure from Bellisle they encountered an British man-of-war, of sixty guns—the *Lion*—commanded by Captain Brett. There was a furious fight, which lasted five hours, between the *Elizabeth* and the *Lion*, and both were much damaged and lost many of their crews. Mr. D'O and his brother were killed. The *Elizabeth* returned to Brest; the vessel that carried the Prince took no part in the fray, but as the *Lion* fired some shots at her during the combat, the Prince left the deck and went below. This fact is indisputable; and it is surprising that at the commencement of an expedition so perilous, the Prince should have displayed so little courage.<sup>2</sup> Shortly before the end of the engagement the Prince's ship made for Scotland, and she reached the Island of Barra, on the south-west. There Mr. Macdonald landed and met Mr. Macdonald of Buisdale,<sup>3</sup> who was instructed to say to the Prince—in case he should arrive in that country—on behalf of the Chevalier Macdonald and Mr. Macleod of Macleod, that if he landed in the country without the stipulated supplies, they would not join him; and Mr. Macdonald of Buisdale advised him very strongly to return to France. The Prince and all his company landed and took counsel whether or not to return. With the exception of the Chevalier Sheridan they were all for returning to France.<sup>4</sup> But as the Chevalier Sheridan had great influence over the mind of the Prince he induced him to remain. They embarked and reached the bay of Lochness,<sup>5</sup> where they landed—at Borodale.

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<sup>1</sup> This name is sometimes spelt D'Eau.

<sup>2</sup> This suggestion of cowardice on the part of the Prince has *no foundation in fact!* The account of Duncan Cameron, the pilot, brought from France on board the *Du Teillay* to show the way, who was present at the fight (as Elcho was *not*), is printed in *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 203. It shows how the Prince, who watched the naval combat all the time, constantly urged Walsh to join in and the latter had to exercise his authority as captain of the ship to restrain the wishes of the passenger.

O'Sullivan also, who was present, writes: 'It is surprising the ardour the Prince showed. He'd absolutely have a share in the fight.' See *1745 and after*, pub. Thos. Nelson, 1938, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> It was, as already noted, Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale who advised the Prince to 'go home', meaning France, to be met by the reply: 'But I am come home.'

<sup>4</sup> According to O'Sullivan, Walsh also approved the Prince in his decision to remain.

<sup>5</sup> Loch-nan-uamh.

The Prince said farewell to Mr. Welch, giving him 500 louis d'or, and letters patent appointing him an Earl and Peer of Ireland, on his father's behalf. He also gave a patent of Knight Baronet to Mr. Ruttlige. From Borodale he proceeded to the house of Mr. Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, brother of Mr. Macdonald his banker who had come from France with him. A guard of Highlanders was got together for him, and it was here that the expedition commenced. Without Mr. Aeneas Macdonald he could have done nothing; not one of the Highlanders would have acknowledged him; and it was Macdonald that persuaded his brother and Mr. Macdonald of Clanranald to take arms for the Prince.<sup>1</sup>

Some days later the Prince was joined by 1,800 Highlanders commanded by Mr. Macdonald of Clanranald,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Macdonald of Glengary, Mr. Macdonald of Keppoch, Mr. Macdonald of Glencoe, Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, and Mr. Stuart of Ardshiel. Mr. Murray of Broughton joined the Prince at Kinloch Moidart and persuaded him to march forward. The Prince made him his secretary. The Prince began to march with his little army about 19 August 1745.<sup>3</sup> On the way they defeated and made prisoners two companies which were going to garrison Fort William.

General Cope had set out from Stirling to look for the Prince, but when the two armies were near each other at Coriery<sup>4</sup> General Cope held a council of war which decided that it would be dangerous to attack the Prince, and he deployed<sup>5</sup> towards Inverness, and left the way clear for the Prince to march towards the South of Scotland. General Cope had 2,500 regular troops, while the Prince had only 1,800 undisciplined Highlanders, and consequently the General ought to have attacked him. This timidity on the part of General Cope at the outset of the expedition encouraged the Highlanders greatly. The Prince advanced to Perth where he proclaimed his father King, and himself Regent, of the three kingdoms. In the

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<sup>1</sup> Aenaes Macdonald is one of the few Jacobites praised by Elcho. According to his own account at his trial, he was but a lukewarm partisan and had accompanied the expedition unwillingly.

<sup>2</sup> According to O'Sullivan, Clanranald's own men numbered 100.

<sup>3</sup> According to O'Sullivan, it was 12 Aug.

<sup>4</sup> Corrieyairack.

<sup>5</sup> Rather, he 'retreated', O'Sullivan says: 'Cope having an account the Prince was marching in great diligence towards him, made his rear his front and marched towards Ruthven in Badenoch, and from thence in the greatest hurry and disorder to Inverness.'

course of this march he was joined by my lord George Murray, brother of the Duke of Atholl, the Duke of Perth, with 200 men, Viscount Strathallan, Messrs. Oliphant of Gask, father and son, and Mr. Mercer of Aldie. I was with my father when the Prince arrived at Perth. I sent my Valet de Chambre with a letter for the Secretary Murray in which I prayed him as a friend to give me a statement as to the Prince's army and the officers that he had brought with him from France. He replied that the army of the Prince consisted of 6,000 men, that he was expecting as many more who were on their way to join him, and that he had with him the Spanish General Macdonald, and the French General O'Sullivan. It was with fictions such as these that the Secretary Murray deceived everybody into embarking on this enterprise. He wrote the same answer to Viscount Kenmure<sup>1</sup> who had appealed to him like myself, but when the Viscount went to join the Prince and saw the Secretary Murray had imposed upon him, he returned home again.

On 11 September the Prince left Perth to cross the river Forth at the [Frews](#), above Stirling. Two regiments of dragoons under the command of General Fowke were stationed there to guard the passage, but on the approach of the Prince they fell back towards Edinburgh, and the Prince crossed the river. I left my father on the 11<sup>th</sup> for Edinburgh, communicating to him my intention to go and join the Prince. He approved of my decision very strongly, and charged me with his respects for the Prince. He said that the Prince might count on his attendance to the royal house of Stuart, that he had been greatly honoured by the commission of Governor of the County of Fife which the Prince's father had conferred upon him, and I had delivered to him.

On my arrival in Edinburgh, I was informed that the magistrates had taken steps to defend their city against the army of the Prince; they had enrolled the burgesses in regiments, and had placed cannon upon the ramparts. The Lord Provost Stuart, who was a man of intelligence and courage, was a zealous supporter of the Prince, and, seeing that he could not prevent the magistrates and burgesses from taking up arms and resolving to defend themselves, he formed the design of causing their arms to fall into the hands of the Prince's army, which stood in great need of them, since it was

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<sup>1</sup> The son of the unfortunate victim of the 1715 Rising who was beheaded Feb. 1716.

half-unarmed. When the Prince's army drew near, the burgesses assembled many times, and at these assemblies the Lord Provost appeared to be very little disturbed by what was going on. This behaviour induced the more violent of them, who suspected his attachment to the Prince, to propose to him that he should place himself at their head and lead them to battle against the Prince's army. The Lord Provost accepted the proposal immediately, but perceiving afterwards that their courage failed them, he ordered them to lay down their arms, as men that were unworthy to bear them; and when the Prince arrived in Edinburgh he found arms awaiting him for 1,500 men.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> I left for [Preston Hall](#), a house belonging to the Duchess Dowager of Gordon<sup>1</sup> and on the following day I was present at the marriage of my brother to the sister of the Duke. On the 15<sup>th</sup> I said farewell to my brother—when I told him that I was going to join the Prince, he took a key from his pocket and bade me go to his house of Newmills, and take all the money that I found in his bureau. I spent a night there, and found in the bureau 1,500 guineas which I took.<sup>2</sup> I had besides with me 1,000 guineas of my own. On the next day, 16 September 1745, I joined the Prince at Gray's Mill near Edinburgh. It was night when I arrived. The Prince, whom I had known at Rome and at Paris, received me very politely and appointed me his aide-de-camp. He talked with me a long time, and told me, among other things, to be on my guard and not speak of his affairs before my Lord George Murray, because he knew that Murray had joined him to betray him. The Prince was extremely credulous and readily believed whatever was told him by those that he had confidence in. The Secretary Murray had determined to manage all his concerns. He completely controlled the Duke of Perth, who was a very brave man, and than whom there was not in Scotland any more zealous for the house of Stuart; he had no will save to obey the orders of the Prince, and his creed was that the

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<sup>1</sup> Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of the famous General, Earl of Peterborough—mother of Cosmo the third Duke, who sided with the Government; of Lord Lewis Gordon, who became one of the Prince's commanders; of Lord Adam, later Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, and seven daughters.

The one who married Francis, afterwards seventh Earl of Wemyss, was Catherine the sixth.

Francis did not actually assume the name of Charteris till 1771.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the 1,500 guineas for the repayment of which Elcho continued to press the Prince until the end of his life was actually his brother's money, given for the Cause.

commands of the sovereign are laws for his subjects. But the Duke had very little genius and no one had any confidence in his capacity. My Lord George Murray was a man of spirit, very brave, and one that would not let himself be ruled by anybody, and with good reason. Being the most capable man in the army, he aimed at directing everything. The Duke and my Lord George were both appointed Lieutenant Generals. And upon one of them therefore the supreme command could not fall.<sup>1</sup> The Secretary Murray, who wished the Duke of Perth to be Commander, said to the Prince that my Lord George had sworn the oath of fidelity to the house of Hanover, and that although he had taken up arms for the House of Stuart in 1715 and in 1719 when he had borne himself most bravely at the battle of Sheriffmuir and at that of Glenshiel, quite recently, before the arrival of the Prince, at an assembly of gentlemen in his country he had declared himself a friend of the House of Hanover. That which the Secretary Murray insinuated in the hearing of the Prince against my Lord George gave Murray exercised such an influence on the Prince's mind that in spite of the convincing proofs of attachment to his cause that my Lord George gave every day, he continued to regard him with suspicion to the very end of the expedition.

At ten o'clock that night Mr. Coups came with a deputation to the Prince to negotiate about the capitulation of the city. But the Prince would not hear him speak and he dispatched Mr. Cameron of Lochiel with 800 men, who made himself master of the city the same night without firing a single shot. The Prince confided to me that night that he was in the greatest distress for want of money, not having the wherewithal to pay his army in which the soldiers had 12 sous<sup>2</sup> and the officers a half-a-crown a day. I asked his highness of how much money he stood in need. He told me that he needed 1,500 guineas and I at once took out my purse and counted out the 1,500 guineas to him, saying that I was charmed to find myself in a position to advance this money to his highness, since I had still 1,000 guineas to go on with. The Prince took it and thanked me much. On the 17<sup>th</sup> the Prince marched for Edinburgh at

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<sup>1</sup> And at first they commanded on alternate days, as had also been the case at one time with the great Marlborough and a German Commander.

<sup>2</sup> Sixpence.

the head of 12,000 men.<sup>1</sup> All the people came out to meet him and displayed much pleasure on seeing him. He entered Edinburgh on horseback, having the Duke of Perth on his right hand and myself on the left, and rode down to the palace of the King. The court of the palace was filled with the people who showed their satisfaction by cries of 'Long live the Prince and the royal House of Stuart'. In the afternoon, the Prince proclaimed his father King, and himself Regent of the three kingdoms at all the cross ways in the city; and in the evening many ladies came to pay their court to the Prince. The Earl of Kelly,<sup>2</sup> my Lord Balmerino, the Chevalier Murray, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, Mr. Graham of Airth, Mr. Rollo of Powhouse, Mr. Stirling of Craigharnock, Mr. Hamilton of Bangor,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hamilton of Kilbrackmont, Mr. Hepburne of Keith,<sup>4</sup> and several other gentlemen came to join the Prince. On the 18<sup>th</sup> my Lord Nairn<sup>5</sup> arrived at the head of 1,000 men, whom the Duke of Athole and my Lord George Murray his brother had raised for the service of the Prince. Mr. Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan, Mr. Robynson of Stewar,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Robynson of Blairfetty, Mr. Menzies of Shien, and Mr. Stuart of Kinnochin came with their troops—reinforcements which made the army of the Prince consist of 3,000 men. General Cope had marched from Inverness to Aberdeen, had there embarked his army which consisted of 2,400 foot soldiers, and had landed at Dunbar on the 17<sup>th</sup>. Here he was joined by General Fowkes with 600 dragoons and six cannons for the campaign, and the Earls of Home and Loudoun and my Lord Napier were with him. As soon as the Prince received the news he marched to the encounter, and on the 20<sup>th</sup> the two armies were face to face near Preston. General Cope seemed indisposed to attack the army of the Prince, but on the contrary he took up a defensive position. This line of conduct greatly encouraged the army of the Prince, which demanded loudly to be led to the attack, but Cope's

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<sup>1</sup> This estimate is, of course, excessive. Only at the time of Falkirk had the Prince anything like that number of troops. Elcho probably meant 2,000 though he did in fact write 12,000.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Kellie is unkindly described in Murray of Broughton's *Memoirs* as 'A man of obscure life, small fortune and his understanding of an inferior size not much removed from the very lowest'.

<sup>3</sup> The Jacobite poet.

<sup>4</sup> A member of the Buck Club. He exercised his traditional right to escort the Prince to his apartments in Holyrood with drawn sword.

<sup>5</sup> The third Baron.

<sup>6</sup> Actually Robertson, a veteran of Killiecrankie and of the Fifteen, nearly 80 years of age.

army was protected by a ditch. On the following day at daybreak, the Highlanders found a passage through the ditch and marched against Cope in two lines.<sup>1</sup> Cope's army was arranged so that the infantry were in the centre and the dragoons at the side, with a small body in reserve. The first line of the Prince's army, advancing with a rush, exposed itself, but General Cope did not take advantage of the opening, and the second line advanced with the Prince at its head and filled up the gaps. The Prince's received the fire of the cannon and infantry of General Cope, and having discharged their own pieces, they threw away their guns and siezed their claymores and charged the army of Cope.<sup>2</sup> It turned and fled. My Lord George Murray who commanded the left wing, captured the battery of six cannon. All the foot soldiers were killed or taken prisoners. Only 400 dragoons and General Cope, who made for Berwick, escaped. The army of the Prince had 60 men killed and 80 wounded: the army of Cope had 500 killed and 900 wounded. The prisoners, including the wounded, numbered 1,400 men. The Highlanders captured all the baggage and the war chest in which they found 2,500 guineas. They took all the colours and some standards. This battle which was fought on 21 September 1745 made the Prince master of the Kingdom of Scotland. The Prince gave me on the field of battle a commission as Colonel of his own Horse Guards, and I raised a squadron of gentlemen, whose uniform was a blue coat and a red vest and red cuffs.

The Prince slept that night at Pinkie and the next day he returned to Edinburgh. The officers that had been taken prisoner were discharged after having given their parole not to bear arms against the Prince any more; but to their lasting disgrace the majority of them broke their promise and served again against the Prince.

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<sup>1</sup> Elcho omits to mention that this passage over a narrow causeway was shown to the Prince's Army by Robert Anderson of Whitburgh, who was acquainted with it from his own snipe-shooting expedition.

<sup>2</sup> Since Cope's gunners ran away, his artillery was served by two officers, Lt.-Col. Whitefoord and Mr. Griffiths. Only a very few rounds were fired. The Highlanders on their side always preferred cold steel. The following story is characteristic:

Peter Grant of Dubrach was the last survivor of Prince Charles's Army, who died 11 Feb. 1824, aged 110. He is buried in the [cemetery at Caselton at Braemar](#), and had a [real Highland funeral](#), with 3 pipers and 4 gallons of whisky. At the battle of Culloden when chafing at not being allowed to come to close quarters with the enemy, he is said to have cried to his officer: 'Oh, let's throw awa' they fushinless things o' guns and get down upon the smatchets wi' o'or swords.' Smatchet is a term of contempt for small men.

The Prince formed a Council at Edinburgh which assembled every morning in his chamber. It was composed of the Duke of Perth, my Lord George Murray, myself, the Chevalier Sheridan, the Secretary Murray, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, Mr. Stuart of Ardshiel, Mr. Macdonald of Clanranald, Mr. Macdonald of Keppoch, Mr. Macdonald of Glencoe, and Mr. Macdonald of Glengary.

My Lord Pitsligo came to join the Prince with a squadron of 120 gentlemen.<sup>1</sup> His Lieutenant-Colonel was the Chevalier Gordon of Park,<sup>2</sup> and his Major Mr. Hay of Ranas.<sup>3</sup> Lord Lewis Gordon<sup>4</sup> came also; my lord Ogilvy with 200 men,<sup>5</sup> General-Major Gordon of Glenbucket<sup>6</sup> with 200, and Mr. Stuart, called Roy Stuart or the Red Stuart, arrived from France where he was Captain of Grenadiers in the regiment of Royal Scots. He had raised a regiment of 200 men. Mr. Macpherson of Clunie with 300 men, many of them Highlanders in the Prince's army, had returned to their homes with the booty that they had captured at Prestonpans so that the Prince had not 2,000 men with him at Edinburgh. If all the people that were truly attached to the house of Stuart in Scotland had joined the Prince and he had been able to form an army of 10,000 men to march straight on London, there is no doubt that he would have succeeded in his enterprise, for King George II was then in Hanover and he had only 3,000 troops in England. Soon afterwards the King returned to London and recalled the English troops from Flanders. Marshal Saxe, who was in command of the French army, took advantage of their absence to capture nearly all the towns in the Low Countries. The Hollanders sent 6,000 men to the succour of King George, but they were not able to fight against the French, having been made prisoners of war in Flanders, and on a summons addressed to them by Lord John Drummond, commander of the French troops in Scotland, they returned to their own country.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Gordon of Park escaped to France after Culloden and became Lt.-Col. of Ogilvy's Regiment. He long resided at Douai where he died and is buried in the ramparts. His wife was Lady Janet Duff, daughter of the Whig Lord Braco.

<sup>3</sup> The Jacobite giant 7ft. 2in. in height.

<sup>4</sup> A naval officer not yet 21. It is curious that Burke's Peerage omits all mention of him. He died unmarried at Montreuil, 15 June 1754, before he was 30. According to J. M. Bullock, he left a wife and daughter, but nothing is known of them.

<sup>5</sup> David, eldest son of the fourth Earl of Airlie. Attainted and spent many years in France, where he commanded the Regiment raised for him. Pardoned in 1778. His younger brother Walter became the fifth Earl of Airlie.

<sup>6</sup> John Gordon of Glenbucket, a veteran of Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir.

King George assembled his Parliament, which set a price of 30,000 pounds sterling on the Prince's head. The Irish set 50,000 in case he came into their country. The Prince's Council at Edinburgh put a price of 30,000 pounds sterling in the head of King George.<sup>1</sup>

The Prince had borne himself well at the head of the second line at the battle of Preston, and used his victory with great moderation in the face of his enemies. He had thus given rise at the commencement of his enterprise to high hopes of his future course. But in the Council at Edinburgh it was perceived that he was remarkably ignorant, having no acquaintance with the history or the government of the country and no knowledge of geography; unable to tolerate any advice that did not coincide with his own opinion, and firmly convinced that the whole country belonged to him and that all the people in it were his slaves. His tutor, the Chevalier Sheridan, a zealous Irish Catholic, had filled his head with these notions.

The court of France, having learned of the Prince's victory, determined to profit by it. They dispatched four or five vessels which disembarked at Montrose and on that coast some Irish officers, arms and cannon, besides about 120,000 pounds in silver. M. de Boyer d'Equilles, President of the Parliament of Aix, came with these vessels. He described himself as a Minister sent on behalf of the King of France to be with the Prince. He was in fact a man of intelligence whom the French court had sent to study the situation in Scotland in order to make use of it for its own advantage. He flattered the Prince with the hope that France would help him to take possession of the three kingdoms, and he brought the news that the Duke of York was at Boulogne-sur-mer with an army commanded by the Duc de Richelieu, which was about to cross over into England.<sup>2</sup> In his conversation with us, however, he gave us to understand that it was all one to France whether George or James was King of England but that, if the Scotch wished to have a King for themselves, then the King of France would help them to the utmost of his power. This proposal had many supporters, but

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<sup>1</sup> The Prince was most unwilling to do this, deeming it an ungentlemanly act, but was constrained to it by the rank and file of his army.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Stuart papers at Windsor is a long letter written by the Duke of York to Colonel O'Bryen in Paris, lamenting his inaction and describing his intense boredom while at Boulogne.

the Prince declared himself strongly against it, and said often that he would have the three kingdoms or nothing at all.

About this time the Prince proposed to me that I should go to Paris to attend to his interests at the Court of France: and, on my refusal, he sent the Chevalier Stuart, my brother-in-law who was very gouty, to the Court of Versailles. The Prince gave him a thousand louis d'or for his voyage.

The Court at London, having heard of the arrival of the French vessels on the coasts of Scotland, sent a squadron of four or five men-of-war under Admiral Bing to the Firth of Forth. The Prince thought of attacking Edinburgh Castle, but as he had no large cannon he was obliged to abandon his project; wherever he was supreme, he levied all the imposts which people had been accustomed to pay to the Government: and Secretary Murray, who was his Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who had nothing at the time of the Prince's arrival, offered to place the money out at interest—a circumstance which led many persons to suspect his fidelity.

About 30 October the Prince had gathered together an army of 5,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. He expected my Lord Lovat, the Chevalier Macdonald, and the Lairds of Macleod and Mackintosh, who would have been able to bring to him 4,000 men. But the Earl of Loudoun who was in command in the north of Scotland and President Forbes prevented these gentlemen, and induced the Chevalier Macdonald, Macleod, and Mackintosh to raise levies for the service of the Government. All these gentlemen had been partisans of the House of Stuart. My Lord Lovat lost his head for the Cause, and the Chevaliers Macdonald and Macleod their reputation for having put interest before honour and having acted against their former friends.

Marshal Wade had assembled an army of 12,000 men at Newcastle. All the militia of England were under arms. The Earl of Loudoun was in command of 2,000 men at Inverness and the Duke of Argyle had levied 1,500 men for the service of the Government in his country.

Such was the position of the kingdom when the Prince proposed in his Council to march into England, alleging that the Duke of York, his brother, was landing in the South of England with the

French, and that, on showing himself in England, he would be joined by all the partisans of the House of Stuart. The majority of the Council was not in favour of a march to England and urged that they should remain in Scotland to watch events and defend their own land. This was also the opinion in secret of the Marquis d'Eguilles; but the wishes of the Prince prevailed and he set out for Carlisle on 31 October with an army of 5,000 men—foot soldiers and 500 horse. On entering England, the army of the Prince was deserted by 1,000 men.<sup>1</sup> The Prince was so determined to march into England that he would not wait for 2,000 men that had taken arms for him in the North under Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Cromarty and his son, Mr. Frazer eldest son of my Lord Lovat, and Mr. Mackintosh of Doumaglass.<sup>2</sup> The Prince had several Irish officers who had come from France. He preferred them to the Scotch and followed their advice rather than that of the others. The reason of this was that these gentlemen were of his own religion, and having nothing to lose flattered him at all points. They represented to him that the people of England were for him, and that he had nothing to do but show himself in order to make them declare themselves openly on his side.

On his arrival at Carlisle, he decided to beseige it although he had only seven pieces of cannon. There were 2,000 militiamen within the town, and the Castle was strongly fortified with twenty cannon and guarded by 100 old soldiers under the command of a Lieutenant Colonel. The Prince marched to Brampton on the road to Newcastle to cover the siege and oppose Marshal Wade who had set out from Newcastle with his army, but having found the way too bad and the season too inclement, he retraced his steps and returned to Newcastle.<sup>3</sup>

The Duke of Perth and his men dug a trench in front of Carlisle and during two days the garrison kept up a continual fire from every side, wherever they caught sight of the troops of the Prince. On the third day the town offered to capitulate. The Duke would not

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<sup>1</sup> This statement seems quite without foundation. In Maxwell of Kirkconnell's narrative it is stated that the Prince reviewed his army at his return to Scotland at Glasgow and 'found he had lost very few men during the expedition'. The number is given elsewhere as forty.

<sup>2</sup> The Laird of Drumnaglass was Alexander McGillivray, but he did in effect command the Mackintoshes raised by the chieftain's wife; he was killed at Culloden.

<sup>3</sup> There was snow on the ground and Wade was old (72) and gouty.

accept the capitulation of the town without the Castle also. Finally the inhabitants consented to surrender the town and the Castle on condition that the garrison of the Castle should march out with their arms and drums beating, that they should lay down their arms at the gate of the Castle, and that the Lieutenant Colonel should give his word that neither he nor the garrison would serve against the Prince for a year. The Prince arrived; at the city gate he was received by the Mayor and Town Council who congratulated him and then proclaimed his father King and himself Regent of the three kingdoms. The Prince placed a garrison in the castle and his troops in the town, and named Mr. Hamilton, Governor.<sup>1</sup> They levied all the taxes and all the public money destined for the Government, not only here, but wherever they went in England, and this money served to pay the army during its sojourn in England for the Prince brought back to Scotland all the money that he had taken with him. At Carlisle it was seen that the people of the country were not favourably impressed with the Prince; and it was proposed to await the arrival of 3,400 men who were then at Perth. The Prince consented to send for them and dispatched Colonel Maclauchlan, but at the same time, relying on assurances that all his English supporters would join him in the country of Lancashire, he persuaded the army to advance and marched to Penrith on 18 November, to Kendal on the 21<sup>st</sup>, to Lancaster on the 24<sup>th</sup>, to Preston on the 26<sup>th</sup>, to Wigan on the 28<sup>th</sup>, and to Manchester on the 29<sup>th</sup>. In all these towns the people did not appear to be much interested in the Prince's Cause, indeed quite the contrary. But at Manchester he was better received than anywhere else, and 200 burgesses took up arms for him and formed a regiment and made Mr. Townly Colonel. On the report of the Prince's advance Marshal Wade marched to Doncaster with his army of 13,000 men. The Duke of Cumberland was before the Prince at Lichfield with an army of 10,000 men, and King George II had an army of 7,000 near London.<sup>2</sup> Besides, the militia of England were all in arms against

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<sup>1</sup> John Hamilton of Sandiestown, Huntly, Chamberlain to the Duke of Gordon. He was taken at Carlisle, hanged on Kennington Common 28 Nov. 1746, and his head sent to be affixed to the gate of Carlisle.

<sup>2</sup> The famous Guards at Finchley of Hogarth's picture (now in the Foundling Hospital). They were largely rabble and would not have put up much resistance if the Prince had arrived in London victorious, when it is probable that the populace would have joined him.

the Prince, who had with him only 4,500 men.<sup>1</sup> It must be observed that the English militia is the most cowardly body of troops in the world. Forty or fifty Cavaliers of the Prince's army would suffice to make 1,000 of them afraid. Nowhere did they stand firm.

On 1 December the army marched to Macclesfield, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> to Ashburn, and on the 4<sup>th</sup> the whole army entered Derby, about 100 miles from London. As the army of the Duke of Cumberland was on that day at Stone, the army of the Prince was between the Duke and London—an incident which caused such consternation in the city of London that King George II set about embarking on vessels in the Thames a large part of his effects. As the army of the Prince remained on the 5<sup>th</sup> at Derby, the Duke of Cumberland marched back and placed himself between us and London. At Derby we learned by the Gazettes that the French had landed in Scotland, to the number of 4,000 men. We then discovered that it was my Lord John Drummond and Brigadier Stapleton who had left Dunkirk with the regiment of Royal Scots, six pickets of six Irish regiments, six pieces of large cannon in a battery with some cannoneers, 150,000 pounds in silver, and many arms and munitions of every description. On their way, three Irish pickets and two companies of Royal Scots were taken prisoners by the English.<sup>2</sup> The rest arrived at Montrose where the French captured an English frigate.<sup>3</sup> The Prince had marched from Edinburgh to Derby on foot dressed as a Highlander<sup>4</sup> at the head of his infantry. He was very strong, supped liberally, was often drunk,<sup>5</sup> would throw himself on a couch at eleven o'clock at night without undressing, and was up again at three o'clock in the morning. He had a body formed for war: but his disposition did not correspond with his constitution: he liked those only that flattered him—the Irish did so: he could not endure an opinion contrary to his own, and was extremely ignorant, never having had the least education. At Derby on the 6<sup>th</sup>, a Council of all the Colonels met in the chamber of the Prince. The Prince who

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<sup>1</sup> Lord George Murray and Maxwell of Kirkconnall make the number about 5,000. Records in Derby make it about 6,000.

<sup>2</sup> On board the *Soleil*. Among those taken were Macdonald of Glengarry who was kept prisoner for a very long time and Charles Radcliffe, de jure Earl of Derwentwater, with his young son, who was by some believed to be the Duke of York.

<sup>3</sup> The *Hazard*, afterwards renamed the *Prince Charles*.

<sup>4</sup> In tartan breeches, not a kilt; there are many pictures of him at this time, broadsheets and others, and his costume is described by many contemporaries.

<sup>5</sup> No other observer ever suggested this at this period.

knew nothing of the map of the country or of the forces that were opposed to him proposed to march to London. All the Scotchmen represented to him that they had come to England to join the Duke of York if he landed with the French, or to join his English supporters if they had taken up arms for him, that they had passed the centre of England without any person of rank having declared for him, that, in every place through which they had passed, the people had appeared to be against him, that the French had not landed, that Marshal Wade was marching so as to place himself between them and Scotland at Preston, that there were two armies between them and London, that they had come to aid his English friends if they had chosen to join them but did not propose to make a King of England for them. When the Prince had nothing to say, they offered to march to London, if the Prince could show them a letter from his supporters inviting them to do so. But the Prince who had no correspondence with any English people, could not show them what they desired, and so it was determined to return to Scotland to join the other Scots who were at Perth to the number of 3,500 men, and the French who had arrived under the command of Brigadiers my Lords John Drummond and Stapleton.

My Lord John Drummond, brother of the Duke of Perth, had issued a manifesto in Scotland, of which the following is the tenor:

We, Lord John Drummond, commander in chief of the forces of His Majesty<sup>1</sup> in Scotland, declare by these presents that we have come into this Kingdom with written orders from His Majesty to make war on the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and on all his adherents. Our instructions positively direct us to attack all his enemies in this realm and declare that we are to regard as such those that do not submit themselves as soon as possible to the Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, his ally, whom his Majesty has determined in concert with Spain to support and to aid in taking possession of the Kingdom of Scotland, England and Ireland and for this end to employ in case of need all the troops and the money that are in his power. The claims of the House of Stuart to those realms being just and indisputable the positive orders of His Majesty are that his enemies shall be treated according to the wrong they do, or aim at doing, to the Cause of His Royal Highness.

Signed at Montrose, 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1745.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. His Majesty of France.

The court of Versailles at once disallowed this manifesto and said that Lord John had made it up himself. In all the towns of England the Prince's father had been proclaimed King, and the Prince, Regent; and manifestoes had been issued assuring the liberties and franchises of the three nations and the safety of the established religion, and declaring the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland null and void<sup>2</sup> as having been made to exclude the House of Stuart from the Crown. The Prince seized all the public money belonging to the Government and in all the towns. In the case of subscriptions which had been openly raised for the purpose of resisting him, he turned these to his own profit. On his return to Scotland, he found the towns everywhere armed to resist him, and levied contributions from them. Many towns had risen in arms to fall upon the fugitives who would

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<sup>1</sup> Lord John Drummond had always been something of a stormy petrel. Quarrels between him and Sir Hector Maclean in Paris had even called for the intervention of King James from Rome. This manifesto was unauthorized; vide *Stuart Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase does not occur in *any* of the manifestoes issued by the Prince or his father. (Elcho alone is responsible for it.)

In the declaration dated Rome, 23 Dec. 1743, written and promulgated in the name of King James himself, is this passage: 'We see a nation always famous for valour and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province under the specious pretence of a Union with a more powerful neighbour. In consequence of the pretended Union grievous and unprecedented Taxes have been laid on'—and later, 'We declare that we will with all convenient speed call a free Parliament that by the advice and assistance of such an Assembly we may ... free our people from the unsupportable burden of the Malt Tax and all other hardships which have been the consequence of the pretended Union', but then it said nothing about 'repealing' it. (Both James and Charles were very firm in their refusal to sign in Scotland alone.)

In the Prince's *first* declaration dated Paris 16 May 1745, there is nothing further on the subject, the word Union is not mentioned, only the intention to call a free Parliament to settle everything.

In the *second*, dated Holyrood House, 10 day of Oct. 1745, is the following, 'With respect to the pretended Union of the two Nations, the King cannot possibly ratify it. Since he has had repeated remonstrances against it from each kingdom. And since it is incontestable that the principal point in their view was the exclusion of the Royal Family from their undoubted right to the Crown, for which purpose the grossest corruptions were openly used to bring it about. But whatever may be hereafter devised for the Joint benefit of both Nations, ye King will most readily with ye request of his Parliament, establish it.'

It will be seen that King James intended to revise the details of the Union, but he steadfastly declined to proclaim Scotland a separate kingdom, as was the wish of the French. They were all for the resumption of the 'Auld Alliance' and an independent Scotland as a perpetual thorn in the side of England. The object of the Prince's expedition was always to restore to his father 'the three kingdoms', and he was equally firm in his refusal of the suggestion that Ireland might be handed over to France, as was the wish of Amelot.

have tried to find safety in them in case the army of the Prince had been defeated in England.

On our march into England I had been the first, with my squadron of guards, to enter nearly every town in England.

On 6 December the army left Derby to return to Scotland. On the 7<sup>th</sup> it was at Leek, on the 8<sup>th</sup> at Macclesfield, and on the 9<sup>th</sup> at Manchester. So soon as the Duke of Cumberland knew of the retreat of the Prince, he put himself at the head of his cavalry, seized 1,000 horses from the inhabitants for 1,000 of his infantry, and pursued the prince. He dispatched a courier to Marshal Wade to direct him to cut off the Prince from Scotland at Preston. On the 10<sup>th</sup> the Prince arrived at Wigan, and on the 11<sup>th</sup> at Preston, where he stayed till the 12<sup>th</sup>. On the 13<sup>th</sup>, when the rear guard of the Prince's army commanded by my Lord George Murray (a very brave officer), left Preston to go to Lancaster, the vanguard of the army of Marshal Wade consisting of cavalry under the orders of General Oglethorp entered the town, and the Duke of Cumberland with his body of troops reached Preston on the following day. The Prince, who loved to contradict my Lord George Murray, wished to stay some days at Manchester, knowing nothing at all of the country roads. If he had followed his own opinion, he would have been caught between two fires and would never have got back to Scotland. At Lancaster, the Prince having said to my Lord George Murray that he made him march too quickly before his enemy, Lord George who was anxious to see whether it was bravery or the spirit of contradiction that made the Prince speak, said to him that at present the army of Marshal Wade could not come between him and Scotland and that as he knew the Duke of Cumberland was pursuing with only 4 or 5,000 men, the whole army was ready to turn round and await the Duke at Lancaster. But on the morning of the 15<sup>th</sup>, a party of our cavalry having taken prisoners some horsemen in the Duke's vanguard, the Prince ordered the army to march to Kendal, on the 16<sup>th</sup> to Shap, and on the 17<sup>th</sup> to Penrith. My Lord George Murray who commanded the rear-guard and had not been able to reach Shap till the 17<sup>th</sup> was attacked on the 18<sup>th</sup>, towards the evening, at a village named Clifton, by the Duke of Cumberland. My Lord George was stationed with his infantry behind the hedgerows along the ridges. The Duke dismounted his dragoons and attacked the infantry, but the Highlanders took to

their claymores, and fell upon the dragoons killing about fifty of them. Night put an end to the affair, and my lord George Murray reached Penrith the same night. He had dispatched a messenger to the Prince, praying him to come to his assistance, but the Prince continued his march to Carlisle. The whole army was at Carlisle on the 19<sup>th</sup>. In nearly all the towns through which the army of the Prince had passed they had found the people armed, and at Kendal they had attacked the vanguard commanded by the Duke of Perth, who was obliged to fall back on the army.<sup>1</sup>

On the 20<sup>th</sup> the army of the Prince left Carlisle and entered Scotland. Against the advice of everyone the Prince left Mr. Hamilton in Carlisle Castle with a garrison of 300 men.<sup>2</sup> On the 21<sup>st</sup> the Duke of Cumberland commenced the siege of Carlisle Castle, and on the 30<sup>th</sup> the garrison surrendered at discretion. On arriving in Scotland, I was sent to Dumfries to demand from the town 2,000 pounds sterling, and the army of the Prince marched by Douglas and Hamilton to Glasgow where the Prince arrived on the 27<sup>th</sup>. He reviewed his army at Glasgow: and during the English march they had not lost a hundred men. He imposed a tax of 10,000 sterling on Glasgow, as that city—like Dumfries had displayed great animosity to his cause.

On 3 January 1746 the Prince left Glasgow and march to Stirling, where the whole army arrived and took up its quarters in the suburbs on the 5<sup>th</sup>. On the 8<sup>th</sup> my Lord John Drummond arrived with 4,500 men, so that the Prince had an army of 9,000 men. My Lord Lewis Gordon arrived with my Lord John. He had defeated in the north the Laird of Macleod, who had marched against him with 700 men. The Earl of Loudoun had made the latter's father prisoner in the north, but he had found means to escape. My Lord John Drummond announced that the King of France had named M. d'Eguilles to be his ambassador to the Prince, and from this moment the Prince and all his followers called him 'Your Excellency'. About this time there arrived in the

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<sup>1</sup> Leaving his baggage in the hands of the enemy. Part of this consisted of letters from the men of Prince Charles's army to their families in Scotland and these are still to be found among the Domestic State Papers in the Record Office and afford some amusing reading.

<sup>2</sup> Elcho does not here fall into the usual error of so many writers who state that the Prince only left behind the Manchester Regt. The total left in Carlisle was 396 men of whom 114 were English, 8 French, and 274 Scots. Two Scots escaped over the wall—Maxwell and Brown. All the rest were either hanged or transported.

north a Spanish vessel which brought 100,000 francs for the Prince. It landed the money at the Isle of Bara with 2,500 arms for the soldiers. The Prince, who lived in the house of Sir Hugh Paterson, a league's distance from Stirling, there made the acquaintance of Miss Walkinshaw, who forthwith became his mistress.<sup>1</sup> For a long time he had summoned no Council and consulted only his favourites, Messrs. Murray and Hay. All Irish officers coming from France were well received and he preferred them to the Scots. Those gentlemen had nothing to lose, and were always of the same opinion as the Prince, while the Scots, whose properties and lives were at stake, very often found fault with the Prince's projects. My Lord George Murray was at the head of the Scots. The Prince and the Irish did not like him. The Scots, on the other hand, all liked him much and had great confidence in his capacity. Nothing displayed the Prince's want of insight better than to see him throwing himself into the arms of some Irishmen come from France to make their fortune by him or at least by his recommendation on their return to France rather than consult the Scotch who formed his army and who were in their own land. But such was the case. His tutor Chevalier Sheridan, who was Irish, had inspired him with the highest opinion of the attachment of that nation to him, and the same person, who did not like the Scotch, in teaching him the little history that he knew had given him to understand that the Scots had taken part against his great-grandfather, Charles I. After having secured the town of Stirling the Prince laid siege to the Castle, under the guidance of an engineer, a French Knight of St. Louis, named M. Mirabel de Gourdon; but General Hawley, who arrived at Edinburgh at the head of an army of 13,000 men, raised the siege—at least for some time—and the Prince determined to give him battle.

About this time I was very nearly made prisoner. I was in command of a battery of cannon near the river Forth, to protect the arrival by the river of cannons and munitions for the siege of Stirling. I had my quarters near the river in the house of a gentleman named Wright at Keissy above the battery which was at Elphinston. One night, at midnight, the enemy passed the

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<sup>1</sup> This statement is disputed by many writers. Miss Walkinshaw joined him in France in 1752, their child was born in 1753, and she left him in 1760. In his old age Charles sent for his daughter, Charlotte who faithfully tended his declining years, and herself died very soon after her father's death.

battery in boats, surrounding the house of Keissy and searched all the rooms in the house. By good luck I was in the battery that night, and on their return we fired on the boats and killed some of those on board. Some days after, they came to attack the battery with nine ships of war, but were repulsed.

On 13 January my Lord George Murray marched from Falkirk to Linlithgow with 1,200 men to reconnoitre the army of General Hawley and carry off the provisions which they had stored at Linlithgow. While we were there General Huske arrived with half of Hawley's army, and my Lord George made a very admirable retreat under the very nose of the enemy without the loss of a single man.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> the whole army of General Hawley pitched its camp at Falkirk. On the 16<sup>th</sup>, if it had advanced to Stirling, it could have prevented the army of the Prince from assembling because the quarters of the Prince's army were scattered at great distances from one another. But on the 17<sup>th</sup> the Prince at the head of 6,500 men marched against Hawley who had 10,000 and 10 pieces of cannon, of which last the Prince had none. Hawley had his camp at Falkirk with a hill on his left hand. My Lord George Murray marched with all the Highlanders to gain the summit of this hill, while my Lord John Drummond with all the cavalry and the French troops marched along the high road direct to the camp of the General. Hawley believed that the army of the Prince would approach him on that side, and was only undeceived when he saw the Highlanders on the summit of the hill on his left. Thereupon he despatched six squadrons of dragoons to stop the march of the Highlanders, and put his army in motion with a view of ascending the hill; the corps of my Lord John Drummond joined the army of the Prince and formed the second line. My Lord George Murray was on foot at the right of the first line and the Prince was with the body of reserves. The army of General Hawley covered the army of the Prince on the right, and the right of the Prince's army covered the left of the army of Hawley. The summit of the hill prevented the two armies from seeing each other. About four o'clock in the afternoon,<sup>1</sup> the six squadrons of dragoons commanded by Colonel Ligonier, after having for a long time essayed to draw the fire of the Highlanders, advanced

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<sup>1</sup> When on a winter's evening it was already beginning to get dark.

to attack them in line. My Lord George Murray who had ordered the Highlanders to keep silence, to march in good order, and not to fire till he gave the signal, then discharged his own musket; the Highlanders fired, and brought half of the dragoons to the ground and the rest took flight. Then the whole Highland army advanced, but the right found no enemies before it, and nightfall arrested its progress. The left of the Prince's army, in its advance, fell upon the centre of the army of the enemy, defeated it and put it to flight. But its rout was arrested by Hawley's right wing, which fearing to be attacked by our right (which had never seen the enemy's infantry) had left the field of battle and followed the fugitives. If it had been day and our right wing had been able to see the confusion in which our enemies found themselves, and what was passing on our left, the whole army of Hawley would have been destroyed. A great part of our left went to join itself to our right, and the rest (of the English army) took flight towards Stirling. During the action a squadron of dragoons, having been rallied, came behind our army to seek out the Prince, but the French and a squadron of our cavalry forced them to withdraw. Lord George Murray, who believed that the army of Hawley had returned to their camp, despatched a certain cavalier to ascertain the truth. The officer returned with the news that they had abandoned their camp and the town of Falkirk and had taken the road to Edinburgh in the greatest disorder. The Earl of Kilmarnock was dispatched with his squadron of cavalry to pursue them, and he made some prisoners. The night was so dark and the weather so wet that it was impossible to pursue them with the whole army. The Prince's army entered Falkirk and the Prince ate the supper that had been prepared for General Hawley. Mr. Hawley had set fire to his camp before leaving it. His army lost 30 officers killed and 600 men; 600 prisoners were made. Colonels Monro and Ligonier; Lieutenant-Colonels Whitney, Biggar, and Powel were killed; and seven or eight officers were taken prisoners. Seven pieces of cannon, three standards, and some colours were captured, also all their camp and baggage. The fire which Hawley had lighted in the camp was put out by the rain. The army of the Prince lost 60 men killed and 60 wounded; five or six officers were killed and only one was taken prisoner. This was a Major Macdonald<sup>1</sup> who had mounted

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<sup>1</sup> Of Tiendrish. It was he who had captured the first English soldiers at High Bridge on 18 Aug. 1745. He was afterwards hanged at Carlisle.

the horse of a dragoon and the horse bore him into the middle of one of the enemy's squadrons. Mr. Cameron of Lochiel and his brother were wounded and my Lord John Drummond was shot by a soldier whom he made prisoner in entering Falkirk.

The army of General Hawley passed the night of the battle at Linlithgow, and next day entered Edinburgh. On the 19<sup>th</sup> the Prince returned to his quarters at Bannockburn, near Stirling. The Duke of Perth had been carrying on without intermission the siege of the castle with 1,500 men. On the 29<sup>th</sup> the battery of the Prince commenced to fire against the castle; but in a short time General Blackny, who commanded within the Castle, silenced the battery and destroyed the cannon: the siege was abandoned, and the Prince lost 30 men killed and 50 wounded.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> the Duke of Cumberland arrived in Edinburgh with reinforcements and took command of the army of General Hawley. The officers taken prisoner at the battle of Preston broke their word of honour given to the Prince not to serve against him and joined the Duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh. There were some persons, however, who kept it and were disgraced by the Duke in consequence.

The Prince sent one of his Irish officers named Brown to France to carry the news of his victory at Falkirk. These gentry to obtain the favour of the court never communicated any but agreeable news and always made out the Prince's position to be better than it really was. Hence it came to pass that the French court did not send as much assistance as it would have done if it had known the true situation in Scotland. It was to the interest of the French court that the Scotch war should continue in order by this means to prevent the English troops from returning to Flanders. While the English troops were employed in Scotland, Marshal Saxe had profitted by their absence to capture Brussels and nearly all of the towns in the Low Countries. After the battle of Falkirk many of the Highlanders returned to their mountains with the little booty that they had taken at the battle just as they had done after the first battle; so that on 31 January 1746 when the Duke of Cumberland began his march to Stirling, the Colonels of the Highlanders represented that their regiments were too weak to risk a battle. Thereupon it was resolved to march to the north of Scotland to Inverness. Here they would

find all their followers and would have an army in the spring of 10,000 men. For this purpose it was necessary to destroy the small army of the Earl of Loudoun at Inverness, and to take and demolish all the forts in the north of Scotland. The retreat was ordered for 1 February. The Prince with half of the army took the Highland road, and my Lord George Murray with the other half took the way along the sea coast by Montrose, Aberdeen, Elgin, and Nairn. The Prince captured the fort of Ruthven, and the day after took up his quarters in the castle of Moy, belonging to Mr. Mackintosh. The latter was an officer in the army of the Earl of Loudoun but his wife was a zealous partisan of the Prince, and had a regiment of 500 men in his army. As Moy Castle was only eight miles from Inverness, the Earl of Loudoun, knowing that the Prince had but a few people with him there, formed the plan of taking him prisoner. He marched one evening from Inverness. His army encountered a patrolling party of the army of the Prince on the high road. The night was dark and they could not see. The officer in command of the patrols<sup>1</sup> imagined that he could make his enemies believe that the whole army of the Prince was with him; he began to call, like a general, on all the Colonels to advance and form themselves in battle array to the right and to the left, addressing them by their names, and ordering them to fire on the vanguard of the Earl of Loudoun. The latter believed that his project had been discovered and returned to Inverness. The Prince, having been saved from this danger, assembled his forces and marched to Inverness, took the castle, and compelled the Earl of Loudoun to go further north into the Country of Sutherland.

During the time of the march of Lord George Murray to the north, there arrived at Peterhead a vessel with 2,500 arms for the soldiers, and 100,000 francs which the court of Spain had sent to the Prince. This was the second vessel that the King of Spain had sent. Mr. Halliburton came from Dunkirk to join the Prince at Inverness. He informed him that the court of Versailles had abandoned the project of sending into England the Duc de Richelieu with 10,000 men that he commanded at Boulogne-sur-mer and that the Duc de Richelieu, the Duke of York, the Prince

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<sup>1</sup> The 'officer' was Fraser the blacksmith, who had with him 10 men! Elcho did not perhaps know the details of this remarkable episode, one of the most picturesque of the whole Rising; or else he was unwilling to give the credit to one not a soldier. The story is given in full in *The Lyon in Mourning, vol I, p. 134 passim*.

of Turenne, the Prince of Rohan, my Lord Marshal of Scotland, and the Chevalier Stuart, who were to have come with this embarkation, were all on their way back to Paris; but that the court would send from Dunkirk the regiment of Fitzjames Cavalry, under the command of the Duke and the Earl of Fitzjames, and my Lord Tyrconnel, Messrs. Booth, Cook, and Nugent. The regiment of Clare and five pickets of the regiments of Bulkely, Dillon, Rooth, Berwick, and Lally under the orders of the Marquis of Fimarçon, Lieutenant-General, and my Lord Dunkeld, Camp Marshal. Of all this embarkation there arrived in Scotland only one squadron of Fitzjames (the three others were taken at sea) and the picket of Berwick's Regiment. Mr. Halliburton also informed the Prince that 300 Swedish officers in the service of France had orders to come by Gothenburg to Scotland with the Brigadier Lesly to serve in the army of the Prince.

On 5 February the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel disembarked near Edinburgh with 5,000 infantry and 50 Hussars. He came to take the place of the 6,000 Hollanders who had returned to their own country.<sup>1</sup>

When the Duke of Cumberland arrived on the 17<sup>th</sup> with his army at Aberdeen the Prince of Hesse marched with his Hessians to Perth and Crieff; about this time one of the vessels of the Dunkirk embarkation landed 200 louis d'or for the French; another, which had landed in the country of Lord Rea a picket of 50 men and 30,000 luis d'or, was captured by Lord Rea's vessels. Lord Rea had armed his clan—the Mackays—for the Government.

The Prince had sent a body of troops to lay siege to Fort Augustus and Fort William. Brigadier Stapleton, who was in command, captured Fort Augustus but was obliged to raise the siege of Fort William. My Lord George Murray undertook the siege of Blair Castle, belonging to his brother the Duke of Athole. The Chevalier Agnew, with a garrison of 500 men, defended it. The Hessian troops marched to the help of the beseiged, and on their approach my Lord George was obliged to raise the siege. The Duke of Perth, having crossed the arm of sea that separates the country of Ross from Sutherland, attacked the rear-guard of

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<sup>1</sup> Since by the terms of the treaty with France the Dutch were not permitted to fight against the King of France or his allies.

the Earl of Loudoun's army, and made prisoners Major Mackenzie, and Messrs. Mackintosh and Sutherland of Fors with 100 men. The Earl of Loudoun and President Forbes withdrew with the rest of the army to the Island of Skye. The Earl of Cromarty and his son Viscount Macleod remained in the county of Sutherland, in command, but they were attacked by the vessels of the Earl of Sutherland,<sup>1</sup> defeated, taken prisoners, put on board an English vessel, and sent to the Tower of London. Mr. de Warren, an Irish officer,<sup>2</sup> was despatched to France to carry the news of the advantage that the Duke of Perth had gained over the army of the Duke of Loudoun. An Irish officer named Glasgow cut off an advance-guard of the army of the Duke of Cumberland at Keith, consisting of eighty men. While the Duke of Cumberland occupied Aberdeen and Strathbogie, the Prince remained at Inverness with his army stretched out from the river Spey to Fort William (more than 100 miles) and from Athole to the country of Caithness—another 100 miles—so that his army which consisted of 10,000 men occupied a circle of country whose diameter was 100 miles. There were many misunderstandings in the army of the Prince. He never consulted the Scots lords, but was entirely under the influence of his Secretary, Mr. Murray, and no opinion at all of the capacities of Mr. Hay, who, although honourable, was a man of very limited intelligence. Everything was regulated by their counsel, and the Prince detested my Lord George Murray so heartily that he spoke of him as one that would betray him, although no one had borne himself better than Murray had on every occasion. He would give the preference in everything to the Irish officers who came from France, and took more pleasure in their company than in that of the Scots. We saw this with distress, and in general the Prince was not loved by the principal lords in his army. He carried his suspicions against Lord George Murray so far that he engaged two officers to watch his conduct, and to shoot him in case they discovered he wished to betray him—according to the belief that the Prince had got into his head. This incident was told me in confidence by one of the officers, a very honourable man in other

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Cromarty and his son were not 'attacked and defeated'. They were taken prisoners while dining at Dunrobin with Lady Sutherland the day before the battle of Culloden. They were both ultimately pardoned.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Warren (who has no right to a de), was despatched from the little post of Findhorn, whence he sailed in the very day of the battle of Culloden, and later returned to rescue the Prince.

respects, but one that believed that the Prince's charge against Lord George Murray was true.

The Prince had had Lord Dunbar, brother of Viscount Stormont, for his tutor and the Chevalier Sheridan as his undertutor. The Earl of Dunbar was an amiable man and a man of the world well fitted to instruct a young Prince. The Chevalier Sheridan was a zealous Irish Catholic, deeply attached to his religion and his country, imbued with the true principles of absolute monarchy, and totally ignorant of the constitution and privileges of the British nation. The Prince was very badly educated; he knew nothing of geography or of history, and he believed that the whole country was his property, and that the word subject meant slave. When anyone had given him a bad opinion of any person, as he was very suspicious, he allowed it to prejudice his mind against that person and would never get over it. He could not bear the slightest contradiction, and when any one differed from his opinion, he attributed it to want of attachment to his person. All his good qualities were physical, he could endure the very greatest fatigue, and was not delicate either as to his food or his clothing, or as to where he lived. Mr. Murray, his secretary, had ruled him since the commencement of the expedition by flattery, and had placed next to himself Mr. Hay, so that the Prince might never be alone, should he be unable to be there. Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, Lord Ogilvy, and I did not like Mr. Murray and looked on him as a dishonourable man. Time has shown that we were right. As for Mr. Hay, we thought him a man of little ability; but what annoyed us most was the preference that the Prince gave on every occasion to the Irish. He gave no thanks to the rest of us, for all that we had done for him. On the contrary he sometimes told us that we had only done our duty as his father's subjects. He discussed all his projects with the Irish and never summoned us to his Council. He had despatched to France three Irishmen<sup>1</sup> to carry the news of the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk, and of the operations against the Earl of Loudoun. He raised them all to the ranks superior to those that they had in France, and appeared to be more interested in their advancement than in what was to happen to us. As they knew that we disliked them, they had

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<sup>1</sup> George Kelly was sent with the news of Prestonpans, Brown with that of Falkirk, and now Warren with that of the last success of the Prince's army in Ross-shire.

inspired the Prince with a hatred towards Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond and Mr. Macdonald his old banker, who was ever true to him, and in fact he had no braver and more honourable men in his army than these. I have heard my Lord George Murray (who did me the honour to make me his friend) say sometimes that if the Prince had been willing to be guided by him he would have been able to maintain the war in Scotland for several years and possibly to oblige the Crown to come to terms, because the war rendered it necessary that the English troops should be occupied elsewhere. They would have been assisted by France and would have been able with 8,000 Highlanders to defend the Highlands for a long time. Cattle were not wanting, and incursions into the Lowlands would have supplied them with food.

On 12 April 1746 the army of the Duke of Cumberland appeared on the banks of the Spey and crossed the river. The Duke of Perth withdrew with the troops that were cantoned near the Spey, towards Inverness; and the Prince issued orders for his army to assemble at Inverness. The Duke of Cumberland had an army of 9,000 men, and 28 vessels coasted along-side his army with their baggage and provisions. The Prince had time to assemble 7,000 men of the 10,000 that he had, and he drew them together in a plain near the castle of Culloden, belonging to the President Forbes. I supped that evening with the Prince at Culloden. He had no doubts as to the issue of the conflict with the Duke of Cumberland; he had the most exalted ideas as to the justice of his cause; he believed that the English soldiers would with difficulty be got to attack him, and was persuaded that his presence would of itself make the enemy afraid. All those that spoke of a retreat and of waiting for the 3,000 men of his army that were away, were not listened to. When they would have arranged a rendezvous in case of defeat, he answered that only those that were afraid could doubt his coming victory. In short he indulged that evening in boastings unworthy of a Prince; as he had consulted only his favourites, everything was in the greatest disorder. The persons capable of serving him were suspected or neglected and those in whom he had placed his trust had not the ability to be useful to him. They had managed to collect a considerable quantity of corn, but with unpardonable negligence

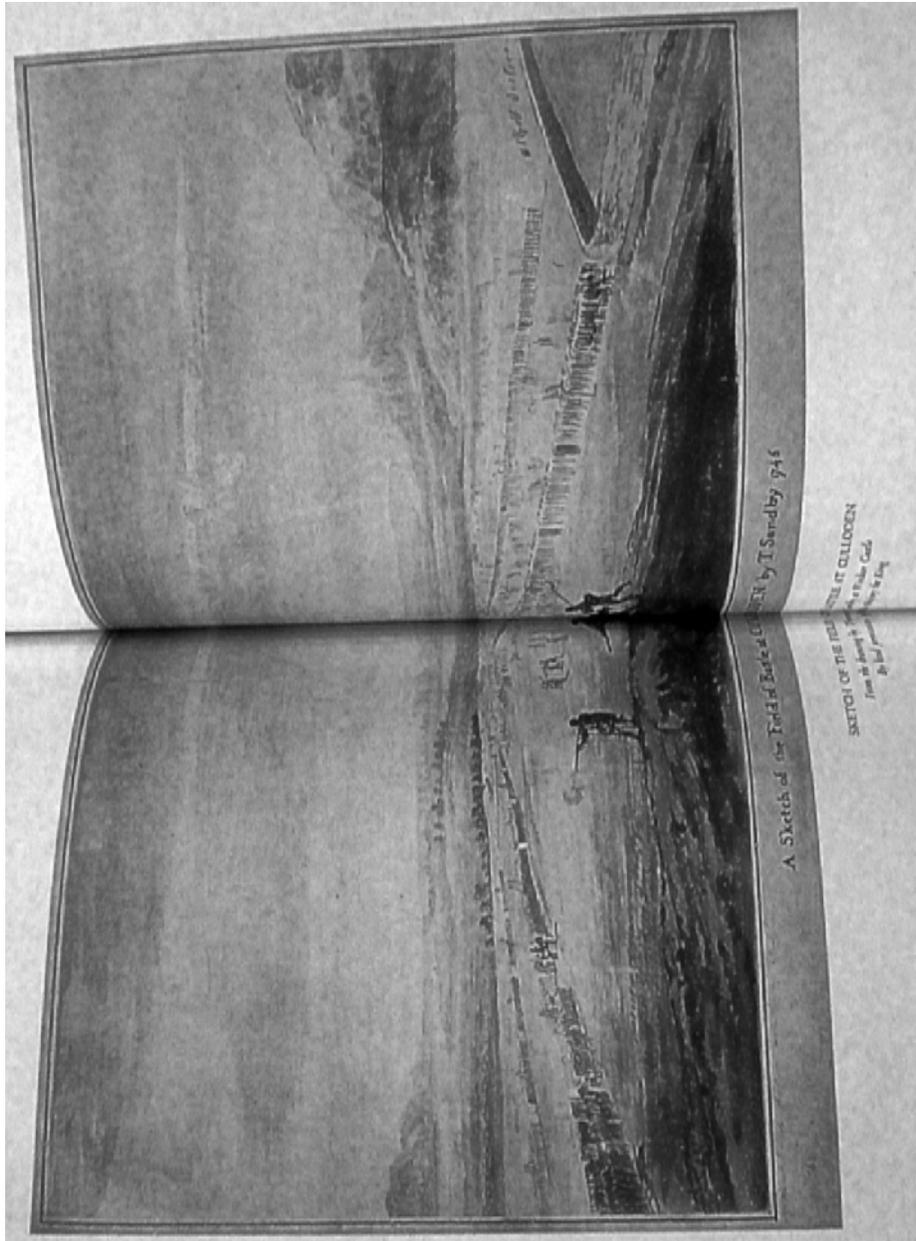
they had forgotten to make it into bread, so that the army had nothing to eat.

On the morning of the 15<sup>th</sup> the Prince drew up his army in battle array, in two lines, the first consisting of 4,500 men, the second of 2,500. Lord George Murray commanding the right of the first line, the Duke of Perth the left, and Lord John Drummond the centre. Brigadier Stapleton commanded the centre of the second line, and the regiments on the right and the left wings respectively were under the command of their several colonels. There were five cannons on the right and four on the left. The second line, being inferior to the first in strength, was in three divisions, one to support the right of the first line, the second, the left, and the third the centre. The Prince had only 250 horsemen.

The army of the Duke of Cumberland consisted of 8,000 men, drawn up in two lines of equal numerical strength, and 1,000 horsemen with 36 pieces of cannon. The Duke had under him Lieutenant-Generals the Earl of Albemarle, Messrs. Hawly and Bland, Major-General Huske, and Brigadiers my lord Sempill, Cholmondely, and Mordaunt. About ten o'clock in the morning I was despatched with a body of cavalry to reconnoitre the army of the Duke. I discovered the army of the Duke encamped near Nairn, eight miles from the army of the Prince. I remained watching them for about three hours, and as I saw no single movement in their camp presaging a march I returned to the army to make my report. A council of all the colonels in the army was held, and the Prince, who had not taken any advice for a long time, asked their opinion as to the best course to follow, Lord George Murray proposed to march to Nairn at nightfall in three columns: he, at the head of the first, would gain the rear of the Duke's camp and attack it. The Duke of Perth at the head of the second would attack the camp in front: and the Prince would support the Duke of Perth with the third. Everybody endorsed the opinion of Lord George Murray and it was resolved to march at nightfall. At seven o'clock in the evening, after having set fire to Culloden Heath to make the enemy believe that our army was still there, the march was made, but by the negligence of the guides, instead of taking three different ways, only one was taken and the whole army found itself thereby much hindered in its progress, so that when the army was three miles from the camp

of the Duke, day broke and the column halted. Mr. Cameron of Lochiel was at the head of the column and he said to the Prince that, as day had dawned, the night attack had miscarried, and that the opinion of Lord George Murray and himself was that it was necessary to march back again. The Prince wished to advance, and while they were reasoning on the point, they saw approaching the head of a column that was marching back towards them under Lord George Murray. The Prince, seeing this, believed that he was betrayed by my Lord George, and he began to abuse all the Scots attached to Lord George. The whole army returned to Culloden, overcome with fatigue, sleepiness, and hunger, and 2,000 men dispersed themselves throughout the country-side in search of something to eat. It was on this that the Prince gave instructions to two Irish officers to keep watch on Lord George Murray in case they should perceive any treasonable conduct on his part. The enemies of Lord George had made the Prince believe that he could have captured Blair Castle if he had wished to do it, and that he was carrying on a correspondence by letter with the Prince of Hesse, who had made his peace for him with the Government. Lord George knew of all these rumours, and so had simply confined himself to doing his duty as a soldier without offering any advice to the Prince.

On arriving at Culloden, the whole army lay down to sleep, worn out with fatigue. Two hours afterwards an alarm was raised that the Duke of Cumberland was not far off, and that part of his cavalry was in view. Thereupon the Prince and all the officers took to horse, assembled about 5,000 men, and ranged them in battle array on the field of Culloden, with a ridge surmounted by a wall on the right. The army of the Duke advanced in order of battle with their cavalry on their left. Our guns fired first, and soon after those of the Duke, which did no serious damage. The Prince was placed behind the second line. No council was held; everyone knew that he wished to fight; and yet there was only one proper course to follow, viz. to retreat, but there were no provisions. When the army of the Duke was close at hand, a terrible fire of musketry commenced. The army of the Duke, being much the larger of the two, extended beyond that of the Prince on the right and on the left and enclosed it. The first line of the Prince's army rushed forward to attack that of the Duke, and in this movement, as they had to face a terrible fire of guns



and musketry, the entire left wing of the Prince's army wheeled round and fled. The right and the centre of the first line advanced, with Lord George Murray at their head, and broke through the left wing of the first line of the Duke's army, but the second line put them to flight in turn and killed many of them. In their retreat they were attacked on the flank by the light troops and the cavalry. Mr. Stapleton, with the French pickets, advanced to the support of the first line, but he was killed,<sup>1</sup> and his corps was compelled to retire. After having made several charges, the right of the second line withdrew in good order. The Prince, so

<sup>1</sup> Stapleton actually died of his wounds as a prisoner in Inverness.

soon as he saw the left of his army yielding and in retreat, lost his head, fled with the utmost speed, and without even trying to rally any of his scattered host. The Duke advanced against the fugitives in order of battle and did not dispatch his cavalry in pursuit, which gave many of them time to save themselves. The reason was that he saw the right of the second line retiring in good order. On the way to Inverness all the French troops surrendered as prisoners of war. We lost a thousand men killed; among others Brigadier Stapleton, Viscount Strathallan, Colonels Mercer, Menzies, Frazer, Maclachan, Magilvray, Chisholm, Macdonald, and many captains and Lieutenants. The army of the Duke lost only 300 men and Lord Robert Ker. The Duke gave orders to kill all the wounded and set fire to some barns where some wounded people had taken refuge. On the following day he made his soldiers scour the field of battle to discover those that were still breathing.

I had left the field of battle with Lord Balmerino. He said to me that if the Prince's troops did not reassemble, he thought he would give himself up as a prisoner to the Duke of Cumberland. I did everything in my power to dissuade him, telling him that he would lose his head. He answered me that he knew that very well, but he was too old to survive such a disgrace, whether he hid himself in this country or took refuge with strangers; that he knew he could meet death with firmness, and that he would gain reputation thereby. He surrendered the following day, and was beheaded in London in 1746 with the Earl of Kilmarnock, and no one ever died on the scaffold with greater coolness and courage.

The Prince made a halt four miles from the field and I found him in a deplorable state. As he had ever been flattered with false hopes that the army of the Duke would fly before him like those of Cope and Hawley, he believed that all his disaster was caused by treason, and appeared to be afraid of the Scotch as a whole, thinking that they would be capable of giving him up to the Duke to obtain peace, and the 30,000 pounds sterling that the King had offered for his head. He consulted no one and spoke with no one but the Irish that were along with him. He asked if all the Irish officers had obtained superior grades in his army, which might be of use to them in their return to France. He appeared to be concerned only about the lot of the Irish, and not at all about that of the Scots; and seeing the number of Scotch officers

around him increase, he ordered them to go away to a village a mile's distance from where he was, and he would send his orders thither.

I remained after their departure and asked if he had any orders for me. He told me that I might go anywhere I liked: as for himself, he was about to leave for France. I told him that I was surprised at a resolution so little worthy of a Prince of his birth, that it was unworthy to have engaged all this people to sacrifice itself for him, and to abandon it because he had possibly lost a thousand men in battle, that he ought to remain and put himself at the head of the 9,000 men that remained to him, and live and die with them. I pointed out to him that he came into the country without troops, and that he would have an army of 9,000 men still in spite of the loss of the battle: consequently his position was better than when he arrived. I represented to him also that all his followers, finding themselves without a leader, would separate, and thus fall into the vengeful hands of the Duke of Cumberland. But all these reasons made no impression upon him. He told me that he was determined to seek safety in France: whereupon I left him, thoroughly resolved never to have any more to do with him.<sup>1</sup> He went next to the house of Lord Lovat, who gave him the same advice and with the same effect; and on the following day, he left, disguised as a domestic carrying the portmanteau of Mr. O'Sullivan, who passed for his master,<sup>2</sup> and gained a place called Glenbuisdale not far from the place where he had first set foot in Scotland. Lord Lovat was taken some time after and beheaded in London in 1746.<sup>3</sup> His son had led his vassals, to the number of 800 men, at the battle of Culloden. I travelled with my Lieutenant-Colonel, Mr. Maxwell, and two servants who had remained with me after the battle of Culloden (the others, seven or eight in number, had surrendered to the Duke with all my equipages), and we reached Fort Augustus on the 17<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This categorical statement disposes of the stories told by other writers to the effect that Elcho went with the Prince to the house of Gortuleg, had a quarrel there with old Sheridan, and set out, riding with Lochiel more or less in company with the Prince, for Fort Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Untrue, compare the first-hand account of O'Sullivan, in his diary.

<sup>3</sup> Actually 1747.

As the Prince had despatched my friend Mr. Macdonald to the Isle of Barra to get the money that a Spanish vessel had landed there,<sup>1</sup> I determined to go to his house at Kinloch-Moydart. On reaching Loch Argeg<sup>2</sup> we learned that the Prince had passed there with Mr. O'Sullivan. At Loch Argeg, the roads being very bad for horses, we gave up our horses, and proceeded on foot to Kien Lochyell,<sup>3</sup> and thence to Kinloch Moydart, where we were received by Mr. Macdonald, who had arrived from the Isle of Barra with the Spanish money. He told us that the Prince was at Glenbuisdale, and that the Prince had despatched a person named Macleod to Stornoway in the island of Lewis to hire a vessel to take him to France,<sup>4</sup> and that some one had advised the Prince to write letters to all the lords of his party to meet on a certain day at Loch Argeg and that he would come and put himself at their head: this gathering would engross the attention of the Duke of Cumberland and in the meantime the Prince would effect his escape more easily: without this precaution the Duke would occupy himself entirely in his pursuit.<sup>5</sup> The Prince had the falseness to write these letters. I received one in which he said that he was going to assemble the remnants of his army at Loch Argeg, and prayed me to be there on a certain day. The day after writing these letters he embarked at Borodale on board a sloop for the island of Uist with Mr. O'Sullivan and Mr. O'Neil, and the person named Macleod who had returned from Stornoway and had hired a vessel for the Prince. On arriving at Uist they proceeded to Stornoway,<sup>6</sup> but the captain of the vessel had set sail and departed. He had heard the news of the battle of Culloden, had suspected that his vessel had been hired to take the Prince to France, and feared that it would be a bad business if, having such a passenger on board, he encountered any English men-of-war.

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<sup>1</sup> *Aeneas*. It was owing to *Aeneas* being in Barra at the time of Culloden that he was able to access the services of Donald Macleod and send him to the Prince's assistance at Arisaig, to act as his pilot to the Outer Isles.

<sup>2</sup> Arkaig.

<sup>3</sup> Kinlochiel.

<sup>4</sup> This was an error. The Prince with O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and Macleod all started together for Stornoway, but were storm-stayed on Benbecula, and Macleod was only despatched from thence.

<sup>5</sup> There are no grounds whatever for ascribing to the Prince this dastardly plan. None of these letters exist. That to Elcho was no doubt purely personal, but does not exist.

<sup>6</sup> Again erroneous—see p. 115 for how they waited for news from Macleod.

The Prince, having missed his vessel, could do nothing but keep himself hid among the peasants in these islands. If he had had the good fortune to escape from Scotland at that time, he would have had the worst opinion of the nation: for the Irish, who had not been well received by the Scotch, strengthened his belief that he had been betrayed and that the Scotch would give him up to the Duke to make their peace and get the 30,000 pounds sterling that Parliament had set upon his head. But Providence had willed that he should spend six months among the Highlanders, constantly pursued by the troops of the Duke, and always in the hands of these poor Highlanders who could have surrendered him to the Duke and who all knew the sum they would get for so doing. Not one of them ever dreamed of betraying him: they all did everything in their power to save him, even in the peril of their own lives, and to let him go. About the month of October<sup>1</sup> there arrived two French frigates with Colonel Warren, whom the court of Versailles had dispatched to seek the Prince. Colonel Warren found him after he had undergone fatigues, dangers, and terrible misery and conducted him to France. He disembarked on the coast of Brittany in the month of October 1746,<sup>2</sup> having with him the brothers Cameron of Lochiel, Mr. Macdonald of Lochgary, and Mr. Stuart.<sup>3</sup>

All Europe had the highest opinion of the fidelity of the Scots and even the Prince was obliged to avow that he had proved their attachment to his person and that their fidelity was proof against money. This conduct on the part of the Highlanders redounded to their honour and closed the lips of their calumniators.

The Prince arrived in Paris about 12 October.

Mr. Macdonald having received word that the Duke of Argyle, their General Campbell, and the Duke of Cumberland, were preparing to send troops to the mountains, we left the house of Kinloch Moydart, and built a cabin at a place named Irin. One day that I was out walking, I saw two large vessels enter the bay of Loch Nova. They cast anchor and sent boats with a number of people ashore. Seeing by means of a telescope that the crews

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Oct. in New Style; 19 Sept. Old Style.

<sup>2</sup> 10 Oct. in New Style; 29 Sept. Old Style.

<sup>3</sup> The valet, afterwards Sir John Stuart, 'an Athole man', who was with him till his death.

mingled freely with the Highlanders, I judged that they were French. On returning to Irin, we dispatched an express to Borodale, and on his return we learned that these vessels were the *Bellona* with 34 cannon, and the *Mars* with 32, come from Nantes by order of the court with some 36,000 louis d'or for the Prince. I left at once with my Lieutenant-Colonel, Mr. Maxwell of Kirconel, for Borodale. We left Mr. Macdonald at Irin, as he did not wish to quit his brother's land. He was made prisoner by the Duke of Argyle and sent to London, where, after having suffered a long imprisonment he was condemned to death, but the King pardoned him, and he went to France in 1750 and died at Paris in 1770.<sup>1</sup> When we arrived at Borodale we found there the Duke of Perth and his brother Lord John Drummond, Secretary Murray, Mr. Hay, the Chevalier Sheridan, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, and a great number of Highland officers. They all complained that they had been abandoned by the Prince who had often said that he would never leave the Kingdom while two persons remained faithful to him, and abandoned 9,000.<sup>2</sup>

The day after my arrival I dined on board with the commandant, who was called Mr. Roullie. He had learned that the Prince had quitted Scotland. Mr. Brown, Irishman, who was charged with the 36,000 louis, refused to give up the money save under the authority of the sign manual of the Prince. Mr. Roullie offered to take me to France, and I fixed with him the day of our journey. On my return to Borodale, Messrs. Murray and Hay had forged a letter,<sup>3</sup> purporting to be from the Prince, in which he said that he had gone to France to seek for succour and that he would return soon afterwards to the country. This letter was written to calm the minds of the Highlanders, who began to speak very ill of the Prince for having abandoned them. Mr. Hay had the baseness and the effrontery to propose to me that I should remain to aid in keeping the Highlanders together; I

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<sup>1</sup> He actually survived for some time longer, but did not die, as often stated, in the French Revolution.

<sup>2</sup> Elcho also seems also to have been principally occupied with securing his own safety.

<sup>3</sup> The letter of the Prince to the Chiefs in the handwriting of Hay is now among the Stuart papers at Windsor, having no doubt been taken to Rome by Sheridan, whose instructions were to show it, and not to leave it with the chiefs. O'Sullivan did show it to Lochiel and others. There is no suggestion that Murray had any hand in compiling it. Nor did the Prince repudiate it. O'Sullivan describes the letter as 'a very feelling one'—this may be a matter of opinion.

demanded of him why then he wished to go to France himself. He answered that the affairs of the Prince demanded his presence, and I replied that my personal safety demanded mine. On one occasion I asked the Secretary Murray why he had always been of the same opinion as the Prince against that of the whole army, and on points too whereon he himself knew that his advice was not founded on reason. He told me that the Prince had very little genius, and that he could not endure any one differing from his opinion, that to govern him, one must appear always of the same mind as himself, since he very often came to think differently; that without himself, the Prince would have fallen into the hands of the Irish, that I had seen how (during an illness Murray had) he was ruled by Mr. Hay, who, I must know was a man of very poor calibre. In a word, Mr. Murray spoke of the Prince with much contempt.

The Highlanders were much annoyed to see all the money I have spoken of on their shores, and yet not able to get it. Since it was intended for their use, Lord Drummond and I thought that it would be much better for this money to remain in Scotland than be taken back to France; and we advised them to arrest Mr. Brown who was on land, and threaten him if he would not land the money. Mr. Brown was afraid and signed an order for the delivery up of the money which was in six casks holding 6,000 louis each. When it was brought to land, Mr. Murray, who loved money, changed his mind and instead of going to France with us, he remained to share in the money. He got 3,000 louis d'or. This money was his ruin: he was taken prisoner, and to save his life he turned King's evidence against his compatriots and was the cause of the death of Lord Lovat. The Government granted him a pension of 200 pounds sterling. He had intelligence and learning; he was loved before the arrival of the Prince in Scotland: but during the whole time that the expedition lasted, he behaved himself so badly that he made it clear that he was dreaming only of making a fortune whether the affair turned out well or ill. He endeavoured by deception to induce everyone that he knew to take part in the expedition, and while it lasted he amassed all the money that he could. He preserved the friendship of the Prince by flattering him, and filled his ears with calumnies against all those whom he deemed less worthy than himself to be in his presence. Of the 36,000 louis d'or that remained in

Scotland—and whereof neither my Lord John Drummond nor I saw a sou—3,000 were given to Mr. Murray, 6,000 to Mr. Cameron, Mr. Macdonald, and an Irish Officer named Kennedy: the rest was entrusted to Mr. Macpherson of Clunie, who never rendered an exact account of it.<sup>1</sup>

The French commander having given us notice to hold ourselves ready to embark, and that he would send sloops to take us on board, we went to the seashore on 3 May before daybreak. But when day dawned, we saw three English frigates-of-war entering the bay. These were the *Greyhound* of 20 cannon—Captain Noel; the *Baltimore*, Captain Ferguson, 12 cannon; and the *Terror*, Captain Duff, 8 cannon.<sup>2</sup> These three frigates approached the French Commander who lay at anchor, and discharged a broadside at him, having unfurled the English flag. The Commander replied and the other French frigate came to attack the English. The two vessels fought for three hours. As the English kept to leeward, the two French frigates were driven by the wind to the end of the bay. Here they cannonaded each other till four in the afternoon, when the English commander sent the two other frigates out of the bay and came down full sail upon the French, as if he were about to board them. But the French received him so well with their fire, that he tacked about and followed his comrades. On board the Commandant's vessel, 70 men had been killed, and on board the other frigate, 25. The French Commandant was blamed for having remained to receive the English at anchor. Major Hales of the regiment of Royal Scots was killed on board the Commandant's vessel. He was on the bridge, and when the vessel of the English Commandant began to fire, the Captain of the marines called on him to throw himself on his face. Mr. Hales answered that he was not in the habit of doing that, and was killed. We saw the combat as well as if it had been a spectacle prepared expressly for our benefit, and the vessels were sometimes so near the shore that we heard the word of command on board of each.

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<sup>1</sup> Untrue—very full accounts exist among the papers at Windsor and have been recently been published by the Scottish History Society, vol. 1941.

<sup>2</sup> The *Terror Bomb-Ketch*. Afterwards used to transport Sir James Stuart of Burray and other Jacobite prisoners to London. The cruel treatment meted out to them by 'the haughty Duff' is commented on in *The Lyon in Mourning* vol. iii p. 29.

The French, having repaired their vessel in the afternoon, sent their sloop for us towards evening and the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond and I, Messrs. Maxwell of Kirconel and Lockhart embarked in the Commandant's vessel, the *Chevalier Sheridan* and Mr. Hay went on board the *Bellona*, and the same night we sailed. Next day we doubled the point of the island of Lewis, and on the same day the three English vessels, having met with a fourth, returned to the bay of Loch Nova to seek for the French.

Opposite to Galway in Ireland a small vessel which was sailing for America came up to ask us the news about the rebellion in Scotland. We thought it English: but in answer to our inquiries it hoisted the French flag, and ran alongside of us. We encountered another vessel one night, but the Captain took it for a man-of-war and kept out of its way. We were pursued one day by an English vessel of three decks, which gained rapidly upon us, but we had the good luck to lose it during the night. Finally on 6 June, having left our vessels at the mouth of the Loire, we embarked in sloops and reached Nantes, having lost in the passage the Duke of Perth who died of a fever and was thrown into the sea. He was a very brave and gallant man and devotedly attached to the House of Stuart.<sup>1</sup> As we were badly dressed, having only the clothes we had worn at the battle of Culloden and having had no change of linen for six months, the people commenced to insult us: but when they knew that we were officers of Prince Edward's they loaded us with attentions. Mr. Welch did a great deal for us, and gave us linen. M. Roullie, who had treated us sharply enough on board his vessel, would not accept any payment for our passage and we parted from him good friends.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> I left with Lord Drummond for Angers. On the 9<sup>th</sup> we arrived at Blois, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> at Paris, at the Hotel Imperial, rue Dauphine; we learned at Paris that Lord Ogilvy, Mr. Hunter of Burnside, my major, Mr. Fletcher of Bouchie, Mr. Carden, Mr. Fotheringham, Mr. Blair, and several others had landed at Bergen in Norway and that the Governor would have kept them in prison, but the King of Denmark caused them to be released some time after, and they returned to Paris as well as my

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<sup>1</sup> Elcho forgets his earlier strictures on the Duke of Perth's intellect, p. 145.

lord Nairn, Messrs. Oliphant of Gask, Mr. Hamilton of Bangore, and some others who had disembarked at Gottenberg in Sweden.

On my arrival in Paris, I went to see my brother-in-law, the Chevalier Stuart, who had a house at Fontenay aux Roses and we went together to see my Lord and Lady Clifford, his mother, who had an hotel in Paris and kept an open table for all the adherents of the house of Stuart.

On landing at Nantes, I had spoken very freely of the Prince before the Chevalier Sheridan and had declared that for the future I would have nothing more to do with his affairs. In consequence of this I did not see the Duke of York who had a country house in the suburbs of Paris. I remembered that my Lord Marechal had told me how in 1716 he was at Paris after having escaped from the affair in Scotland, and how, when his name appeared in the Bill of Attainder of that day, the Earl of Stair, then Ambassador of King George I, came and said to him that if he would give his word of honour never again to intrigue against the House of Hanover, but to go back and live quietly on his own estates in Scotland, he might do so, and not only that, but his name would be struck out of the Bill of Attainder. My lord Mareschal refused, because as he has since told me, he then considered the establishment of the House of Stuart on the throne of Great Britain as an event that could not be long of happening.

About the month of July 1746, the Bill of Attainder came to Paris, and seeing my name on it, and that I was summoned to appear in London before 21 July or suffer outlawry, I bethought myself of what my lord Mareschal had told me and not knowing the animosity of the Government towards me, or reflecting on other days and other modes of thinking, but only because I was determined never more to serve the House of Stuart, I sent letters to the Duke of Queensbury,<sup>1</sup> to the Earl of Lincoln,<sup>2</sup> and to the Lord Justice Clerk Milton,<sup>3</sup> in which I said that if the King would grant me pardon and strike my name out of the Bill of Attainder, I would return to England and would give my word of

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<sup>1</sup> Charles, third Duke.

<sup>2</sup> Fourth Earl.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 135. The Lord Justice Clerk probably remembered how Elcho had tried to fool him.

honour that I would behave myself for the future as one of His Majesty's most peaceable subjects. I received no answer and was surprised some time after to see my letters printed in the *Gazette* of Utrecht. I learned since then that the Duke of Cumberland had a great hatred towards me; and that as he wished to discredit with the nation all those who were joined to Prince Stuart, treating some as of no account in point of birth, others as ruined gentlemen, and being unable to say such things of me, he had given out that I had counselled the Prince to cut off the thumbs of all the soldiers who fell into their hands to prevent them from serving against him any more; this atrocious lie, which I had never given any occasion for by my words, was generally believed in Great Britain. An anecdote that one of my relatives recounted to me will show to what a pitch the Duke of Cumberland carried his animosity against me. An English officer named Crou [Crowe], whose life I had had the happiness to save at the battle of Falkirk, having heard his brother officers say that I was a very cruel man, took my part and declared that but for me he would have been slaughtered at the battle of Falkirk. Some time afterwards, this officer Crou [Crowe] received a letter from the Duke of Cumberland wherein the Duke threatened to cashier him if ever he thought proper to take my part again.

On 13 August I left Paris to go to Boulogne-sur-mer, in order to be within better reach of news from my brother in Scotland. He had written to me that he would pay me regularly the 11,000 pounds of income that he had granted to me in 1745 until he was able to give me the 20,000 pounds sterling to enable me to marry. But about the marriage, since my exile, my brother had thought no more.

At Boulogne, I went to see the Commandant, the Comte de Tressau, Camp Marshal; I was often with him and the conversation frequently turned on the affairs of the Prince. I spoke out, like a young man, what I thought of him, and I have had reason to believe that he wrote to the Minister at Versailles everything that I said to him: for since that time I perceived that I was regarded at the French Court as a man detached from the interests of the Prince. As I expressed myself freely with regard to the preference that in Scotland the Prince had given to the Irish over the Scots, I secretly roused all the Irish in the service of France, and they became the enemies of all the Scots in general,

as much from jealousy as from national antipathy. I saw at St. Nicola near Gravelines the Chevalier Harington and Mr. Goring, an old Captain in the service of the King of Hungary. The Earl of Clancarty and the Chevalier Harington were come to France on behalf of the English Jacobites to try to persuade the French to invade England.

On 11 October I returned to Paris, and a few days afterwards the Prince arrived from Scotland and took up his abode in a country house at Clichy. His brother the Duke of York went to live with him.

The Prince went to Fontainbleau where Madame de Pompadour entertained him to supper. The King came to see the Prince after supper and conversed with him for some time. The Prince was surrounded by all the Irishmen that were in Paris, and placed his whole confidence in Mr. Kelly. He said haughtily that he had been betrayed in Scotland by Lord George Murray and that Mr. Macdonald, his old banker, had by his counsel aided the Duke of Argyle to discover his places of concealment. When he saw the Duke of Perth,<sup>1</sup> he said that the Duke had not paid him the money that the French Court had sent through his agency. All these charges were false for he had no more honourable man in his army. I had no desire to go and see him having declared that I had left his party for ever. But the Duke of Perth having persuaded me that it would seem an extraordinary thing in the eyes of the French if I were to remain in Paris without going to see the Prince, I yielded. I went one evening to present myself to the Prince. The Chevalier Graham<sup>2</sup> whom I found in the ante-chamber undertook to announce my arrival. He spoke to the Prince, and returned to tell me that the Prince did not wish to see me, as I had written to England craving pardon. I went home and made no further attempt to see him.

*Note 1.* From this period onward Elcho's journal is exclusively concerned with himself and his life on the continent as a homeless exile for forty-one years. The whole work consists of 366 pages of very legible manuscript, of which Mr. Thomson

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<sup>1</sup> Lord John Drummond (who had succeeded his brother James, the third Duke) had commanded the French in Scotland. He was killed at the siege of Bergen-op-zoom in 1747 and succeeded by his uncle, the 'old Lord John Drummond', as titular fifth Duke.

Grant transcribed 179—leaving 187 untranslated. A very great deal of this latter part is taken up with topographical descriptions.

*Note 2.* An unofficial epitaph on Lord Elcho occurs in one of the unpublished letters of Charlotte of Albany, then with her father in Rome, to her mother, Clementina Walkinshaw, in Paris. Under date May 23, 1787, she writes: 'My Lord Wims est donc mort—c'est un méchant homme (selon) de moi, qui n'auroit chercher (*sic*) qu'à faire de la peine à mon père en lui faisant des réclamations injustes'.

VII.  
THE LOSS OF THE  
*PRINCE CHARLES*

## The loss of the *Prince Charles*

The seventh item in the Miscellany is from the Archives Nationales in Paris. It was copied many years ago when the present editor was searching for any further details of the later years of John O'Sullivan, whose diary, from the Stuart papers at Windsor, was published in 1938 under the title of *1745 and After*. (The date of his death was not then found, though it is known to be after 1760, but it has been subsequently discovered that his tomb is in the church of the little village of Annisein-les-Bethune<sup>1</sup> in Normandy. The place figured in the drive after the D-day landing in 1944, the date was unfortunately not noted, and it has not been possible to verify it since.)

This letter was written by Captain Talbot of the French Navy, who was placed in command of the vessel known, when in English hands, as *The Hazard*. In 1745 it was commanded by one Captain Hill and had been cruising round the harbour of Montrose, where supplies from France for Prince Charles's army were occasionally landed. There also had disembarked Lord John Drummond with his own regiment of the Royal Scots and picquets from the six Irish regiments in French service (the only actual help in manpower to reach Prince Charles Edward from France). Here, furthermore, had arrived on 14 October, before the Prince left for England, the Marquis d'Eguilles—so-called envoy from the French King—sent to watch the progress of events. But, if some French vessels got through, many more were captured, and it was urgent to curb the activities of Captain Hill and *The Hazard*. For some reason he put into Montrose Harbour and, as inhabitants of Angus know, a great part of the basin is almost dry at low tide; there he was dramatically captured from the shore by a body of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment on 24 November 1745. The vessel was sent to France, refitted, and renamed the *Prince Charles*, in order to be used for the Prince's own traffic with his French allies.

It is next heard of in the Cumberland papers where there is the

Copie des instructions données au Captain Talbot, Commandant le snow, Prince Charles.

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<sup>1</sup> [Annezin-les-Béthune](#)

Versailles 20 fevrier 1745/6.

De par le roy

Sa Majesté ayant nommé le sieur Talbot pour commander son Senaw *le Prince Charles*, au port de Dunkerque, Elle mande au Commandant et à l'ordonnance de lui faire remettre ladite Senaw, pour suivre sa destination

fait à Versailles le 20 fevrier 1746.

(Signé) Louis

Par le roy

Phelippeaux.

The 'destination' was to land in Scotland as near to Prince Charles's army as was feasible and to convey to him a considerable supply, chiefly of money, but also of arms and men, including some officers who had come from Naples for the purpose. This 'destination' she was unable to reach as shown in the following letter.

Talbot had previously been known as a Jacobite partisan and had, it seems, already suffered for the Cause, as told by Sir John Macdonald in his account of the Rising, see Item III.

With him on board was Colonel Ignatius (sometimes called Nicholas) Michael Brown, mentioned in O'Sullivan's diary as having come, a volunteer from France and joined the Prince (curiously enough in Manchester), in company with Colonel Geohagan, who was afterwards appointed to command the small French contingent left with the Scots and a few English in Carlisle. Both these men held French commissions, Brown being of the Regiment Royale Ecosais (some accounts say Lally's Regiment). Geohagan was taken prisoner at the fall of Carlisle and carried to London, but afterwards released. Brown was one of the only two men to escape over the Scotch wall from Carlisle while Cumberland was beseiging it<sup>1</sup> and Brown was afterwards of great use to the Prince, becoming

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<sup>1</sup> The other was William Maxwell of Carruchan, of an old Jacobite family, and in *The List of the Persons Concerned in the Rebellion* (Scot. Hist. Soc. 1890) it is noted that 'Sir William Maxwell of Sprinkell, Annandale, Entertained one called Major Brown, and William Maxwell, Carruchan, after they had made their escape

his aide-de-camp, and is several times mentioned. After the battle of Falkirk he was sent to France with the news and was returning in March 1746 with fresh supplies. He was then called Colonel. In Manchester he was called Captain, which was probably his rank in the French Army when he came over.

Talbot's own unvarnished narrative of the loss of his ship reveals him as a very gallant officer. In particular, the attempt to walk across Scotland carrying the Prince's treasure, with the very vaguest idea of either where they were or where they were making for, bespeaks a man of rare courage and enterprise.

In the *Prisoner's of the '45*, Scottish Soc., 1829<sup>1</sup>, he appears as 'George Anthony Talbot, Capitain de Frégate, French service. Imprisoned at Berwick. Pardoned on condition of permanent banishment.' It is noted that he 'petitioned for the release of two of his pilots Bligh and Leslie, and that they should be treated as prisoners of war instead of as ordinary Jacobite prisoners'. These are the only men he took on board near Tongue.

Talbot seems to have been treated as a French prisoner-of-war, being described as 'a French-Italian'. Some accounts say he arrived in Scotland with the Marquis d'Eguilles, but he is first heard of in Manchester, and Sullivan who was present there should know.

Another contemporary anonymous manuscript<sup>2</sup> gives the following details of what was captured from Talbot's vessel.

On board the *Prince Charles* there was, by Col. Brown's confession, £13,600 sterling, all English gold except 1500 French guineas, all of which had been landed in 5 chests whereof one was missing (Whether Mackay of Melness seized the chest as a reward for sending his son to conduct the enemy, I shall not determine). Another chest was broken up in the skirmish and the country people shared amongst them a good part of the spoil of it. Three chests and a part of the fourth were brought to Aberdeen and his R.H. (i.e. Cumberland) distributed the money amongst the officers—each one's proportion about £850 sterling."

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over the walls of Carlisle, and provided them in horses to carry them to the Rebel army in Glasgow'.

<sup>1</sup> Actually 1928.

<sup>2</sup> Published by the Roxburghe Club in 1944-5.

Though it is unlikely that the arrival of financial help so late in the day could actually have averted the disaster at Culloden, it seems sad that such pathetic ill luck should have dogged everything to do with the Prince ever since Falkirk, and the withdrawal which followed, of which he said himself that he 'saw the fatal consequences but was powerless to prevent them'.

The account further adds: 'Capt. O'Bryen found on board chests of pistols and sabres and 13 barrels of gunpowder—I had almost forgotten the most valuable part of the ship's cargo which was (as my information bears) a cask of consecrated beads to be distributed by the Priests among their friends.' There is no record of what Cumberland caused to be done with *this* part of the spoils.

*From the 'Archives Nationales—Dépot Général de  
l'Armée'*

A<sup>1</sup>3154. 181

**Copie de lettre de M. Talbot commandant 'le Prince  
Charles' qui a été pris en Ecosse**

**M**ONSEIGNEUR—Conformément aux ordres qui m'étoient donnés par Monsieur Bart, Commandant de la Marine a Dunkerque Je suis party de la dite port le 26 Mars à 3 heures apres midy. Le 27 au matin ayant vent contrair et voyant deux vaissaux enemis qui faisait voile pour me joindre je pris party de relâcher à Ostende. Mais avant que de pouvoir me mettre dans le canonions, pendant trois heures et ensuite l'enemi prirent le large.

Pendant notre relâche à Ostende nous reparames le peu de dommage que nous reçumes dans l'escarmouche.

Le 1 avril a 7 heures du soir je partir d'Ostend pour suivre ma destination. J'eu le bonheur de parvenir à la hauteur de Buchaness sans aucune mauvaise rencontre.

Y etant et à l'environ 23 heures au large apres maturée delibération avec M. Brown, nous resolumes d'aborder a Portsoy,

petit port peu distant de Buchanesse pour y prendre langue.<sup>1</sup> Le 4 à 7 heures du soir je vis la terre de Buchanesse dist. De 7 a 8 lieues a L'O ¼ N.O.

Je pris alors mes précautions pour effectuer ce que nous avions resolu le jour precedent, faisant voile pour aborder pendant la nuit et n'étant que 4 lieues de terre, j'apperçue 4 vaisseaux enemis qui me bloquaient le passage. Alors je changeais mon dessein et pris le party de passer dans le nord de l'Ecosse. Ayant dirigé ma route pour cet effet, Sur les 9 heures du soir faisant beau clair de lune, J'apperçue un navire enemy qui me poursuivit. Je forçais de voile et faisant peu de vent je bordais mes avirons pour m'elarger, et en moins de 2 heures je le perdi de veue. Le 5 au matin, etant à l'entrée de Pentland firth passage extremement scabreux entre les Orcades et la terre Ecossoise et faisant manœvrer pour y entrer je vis le navire qui me chassoit la nuit precedente et qui forçoit de voile pour m'atteindre. Etant entré dans le fyrth, un bateau pêcheur vint abord, duquel je pris 2 pilotes; voyant que l'ennemi m'approchait et que malgre les difficultés du passage, il s'obstina a me poursuivre je consultais mes pilotes s'il n'y avoit pas quelque port autour ou je pouvois me mettre en sureté. Ils me repondirent que cinq lieues de là, il y en avait un extremement étroite à l'entrée et où n'ayant point de lune l'enemy n'oserait me poursuivre. Je fis manœvre pour atteindre ce port et y entrer, sur les 2 heures apres midy l'anglois était alors a une demie lieue de moy.

Etant dans la baie et carquant<sup>2</sup> mes voiles pour mouiller, le navire toucha derriere, et en meme temps je laissay tomber une ancre pour tenir mon coté à l'enemy en cas qu'il me poursuivi et me disposay au combat. Sur les 2 heures et demy j'aperçu l'enemy qui donnait dans l'entrée de la Baye et venoit à moy pour m'attaquer. Peu de temps apres la marée était a Environ ¾ ebb. L'enemy avoit 24 canon de 9<sup>#</sup> de balle et plusieurs pierriers.<sup>3</sup>

J'encouragais mes gens à faire une bonne diffence, leur recommandant l'honneur du pavillon françois et en criant 3 fois vive le roy j'arborois

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<sup>1</sup> Buchan-Ness is some twenty miles south of Kinnaird Head, which is the north-easternmost point of Aberdeenshire. Portsoy in Banffshire is more than twenty-five miles to the east of Kinnaird Head, along the northern coast, towards Inverness—thus a long way off. Talbot changed his course and went straight across the Moray Firth to Caithness.

<sup>2</sup> Clewing up.

<sup>3</sup> Swivel-guns.

pavillon françois. L'enemy arbore le sien en criant huza et me tire un coup de canon. Je luy repartis toute ma vollée. Ceci dura sans intermission jusqu'aux 6 heures et ½ du soir quand ayant tous mes canoniers tués ou blessés et 2 de mes canons hors de combat mon equipage abandonne le pont et se refugia dans la Calle,<sup>1</sup> en criant bas le pavillon. J'y descendis et à coups de sabre je fis reprendre leurs postes et leur donnais a soldats par canon pour les renforcer. A 7 heures ayant sondé la pompe je trouvais 5½ pieds d'eau dans la Calle, generalement emparé de tous mes mats, vergues et manoeuvres et voyant le courage de mon equipage beaucoup ralenty je pris le party d'echouer le navire sur les rochers. Pour cet effet je fis couper le cable sur le bite et comme il faisoit flot, la marée me jette sur ces rochers. Aussytot sur la cote tout mon equipage, à la reserve de mes officiers; et 6 matelots, malgré tous mes efforts s'elancirent a l'eau, et se sauverent à terre Je mis une vergue de rechange du bord sur les rochers et de concert avec Monsieur Brown nous envoyames leur Piquette et l'argent à terre, avec une garde de 10 officiers et 30 soldats. Avec bien de la peine nous trouvames moyen de débarquer de quoi les armer, et des munitions pour 50 hommes. L'enemy continuant son feu Je me trouvois dans l'affligeante situation de ne pouvoir luy repondre, qu'en criant vive le roy de temps en temps. J'etois resolu de bruler le navire avant que de le quitter mais 10 de mon equipage qui avoient perdu bras ou jambe et qui je ne pouvois mettre à terre me fis changer de resolution sur les 10 heures ½ du soir je débarquois avec Mr. Brown sur la nouvelle que les officiers qui etaient sur le hauteur nous dit que les enemis avoient envoyés à l'autre coté de l'anse du monde pour nous surprendre. Avant de débarquer je clouoit mon pavillon. Et étant à terre nous times conseil sur les moiens de joindre le prince et ne sachons si nous etions dans pays amy ou enemy, nous resolumes d'avancer et de nous defendre jusque l'extremité. Sur les 11 heures ½ nous nous mimes en marche et sur le minuit et ½ notre avant-garde ayant découvert une maison, nous nous y acheminoient pour prendre langue. Y etant arrivé, l'hote de la maison qui paraissoit fort de nos amis nous dit que nous etions dans pays enemy, qu'il y avoit quelques troupes et que nous etions éloigné d'Inverness d'environ 50 mille<sup>2</sup> Ecossoises. Nous luy achetames deux cheveux pour porter l'argent et il nous donna son fils pour nous servir de guide. Avant de quitter la Maison, peur de surprise nous mimes nos paquets hors de toutes Insulte—Nous continuames à marcher la nuit par des chemins affreux.

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<sup>1</sup> Câte = hold.

<sup>2</sup> It was nearer to seventy miles, but Scotch miles are long.

Le lendemain étant le 6, sur le 7 heures du matin nous aperçûmes environ 40 hommes sur le sommet d'une montagne voisine par où nous devions passer. Étant à portée de fusil l'un de l'autre, ils nous crièrent de mettre les armes bas. Sans répondre nous fonçâmes dessus et les dispersâmes dans l'instant. Nous continuâmes à marcher et aperçûmes les fuyards qui se joignirent à un autre corps plus considérable qui étoit avantageusement posté sur un ravin par où il falloit passer. Nous dispersâmes ce second corps comme le premier. Les fuyards joignirent à son 3<sup>me</sup> corps qui se posta derechef en notre chemin. Nous les chassâmes comme les deux premiers. Enfin, Monseigneur, pour ne nous fatiguer par répétition ennuyeuse, après les avoir chassés de 6 différentes postes et ayant perdu 11 de nos soldats tués ou blessés, étant entre les montagnes sans savoir quel chemin prendre. Les ennemis nous entouraient avec un corps de 320 hommes sur une éminence voisine. Ajouté à cela, le mauvais état de mes gens, presque morts de faim et de fatigue—Dans ces tristes circonstances nous nous trouvâmes dans le dure nécessité de nous rendre. Nous ayant privé d'armes et saisi l'argent, il nous conduirent de 6 milles de là, chez un gentilhomme écossais nommé my Lord Ray qui nous reçut avec beaucoup d'humanité et de politesse. Au bout de 12 jours de travail ils ont fait en sorte de tirer le navire de dessus les rochers et on compte nous mener à Edimbourg en attendant la volonté de la cour. Je suis à bord du vaisseau de guerre anglais, le Sheerness ce 15 Avril 1746. L'endroit où le combat s'est donné s'appelle Tongue bai. Il est environ 6 lieues de Strême<sup>1</sup> Ile qui est à l'entrée du Pentland Firth. Recapitulation faites, nous tirâmes pendant le combat 406 coups de canon

Matelots tués 17 Idem blessés 9 Soldats tués 3 Idem blessés 3. Deux officiers des troupes blessés

Liste des dommages faits au navire suivant l'état fourni par le cap. anglais

17 Coups de Canon au bas de l'eau

186 dans le haut du navire

2 Do dans le mat de misaine Le beaupré emporté à 11 pieds du bout La vergue de misaine emportée dans le milieu; nos manœuvres<sup>2</sup> démontés et

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<sup>1</sup> Stroma, about forty-five miles from Tongue.

<sup>2</sup> Top masts.

courantes, généralement toutes coupées, à la réserve des deux haubantes<sup>1</sup>  
devant et quatre derrière

Deux de nos canons hors de service.

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<sup>1</sup> Rigging.

**VIII.**  
**LETTERS OF FLORA MACDONALD**

## VIII

**T**he eighth article in this Miscellany is devoted to new light on Flora Macdonald. The papers are the property of the National Library of Scotland and are printed by kind permission of the Authorities there.

So much light has always been shed on the one brief episode of Flora's life in the early summer of 1746 and so little known authentically of the woman herself, that this first-hand account of her later life is of especial interest to Jacobite students. The picture of the gallant mother of seven children, who had two broken arms and one dislocated wrist; with her stalwart husband who had lost the use of his legs in the service of the Government the dearest project of which Flora had once thwarted, is unforgettable. The plight of Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald in their old age was indeed comparable to that of many of the European refugees of the last few years whose stories have wrung our hearts.

[The two papers  
are *addressed*:]

to The Honble  
Sir John McPherson  
Late Governor General of India

London.

[*and endorsed*:]

Mrs. MacDonald of Kingsburgh  
21<sup>st</sup> Octr 1789  
inclosing a Memorial

&c., &c.

(MS. 2618 f. 86.)

The true facts of Flora's parentage, birth, and upbringing are too little known.

She was the only daughter of Ranald Macdonald of Balnavich and Milton in Uist by his second wife, Marion Macdonald, who was

one of the Macdonalds of Sleat. Marion's father was the Rev. Angus Macdonald, Minister of Gigha, Argyleshire, and afterwards of S. Uist, known as 'the strong minister' from his size and physical prowess. Her mother was Marion Macdonald of Largie. After the death of her first husband, Ranald, a man much older than herself (being a contemporary of her father), Marion (Flora's mother) married again, it is said against her will; being forcibly carried off by another immense and strong man, Hugh Macdonald of the Kingsburgh family. He is believed to have coveted her estates of Balvanich and Milton, and thereafter managed them for her and her children—to whom he was a very kind stepfather. The eldest son, Ranald, died young, and when Flora's younger brother Angus grew up, Hugh obtained a 'tack' or lease of the small estate of Armadale in Skye, and removed there with his wife and her second young family. Flora seems to have made her home alternately with her brother in Uist and with her mother and stepfather in Skye. She was also a good deal with her relatives, the Clanranald family in Uist, and with Lady Margaret Macdonald of Sleat in Skye, but the legend that the latter had sent her for a time to a fashionable school in Edinburgh is now proved to be without foundation. She had *never* been out of the islands but once, when she stayed for some months with her relatives at Largie in Argyll. This was in 1744, when she was 22.

The sympathies of all her family were with the exiled Stuarts, though Clanranald himself did not go 'out' in 1745, and Sir Alexander of Sleat, who had assembled his men to join the Prince in July 1745, was at the last moment persuaded by Lord President Forbes and Macleod of Macleod to throw in his lot with the Government, and himself to 'wait upon Cumberland'.

Hugh Macdonald of Armadale had been at one time in the French Army. He had only one eye, but that apparently a very wary one. He met the Prince on the latter's landing on 25 July, having himself only recently returned from France, but after his return to Skye seems to have kept his Jacobite leanings very dark and was made Captain of one of the Independent Companies raised by Sir Alexander Macdonald to hunt for the Prince in 1746, and thus was enabled to give his step-daughter the necessary pass for Uist (where he was stationed) to her mother's home in Skye, with the famous open letter.

My dear Marion, I have sent your daughter from this country lest she be in any way frightened with the troops lying here. She has got Betty Burke an Irish girl, who as she tells me is a good spinster. If her spinning please you, you can keep her till she spin all your lint, or if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her. I have sent Neil MacEachainn along with your daughter and Betty Burke to take care of them.

I am, Your dutiful husband,

Hugh Macdonald.<sup>1</sup>

As already stated on page 98, note 3, the above mentioned Neil MacEachainn, or Macdonald, ascribes the original idea of smuggling the Prince to Skye dressed as a woman to the redoubtable Hugh himself. He was, however, never arrested. It is said that most of the inhabitants of Skye (which would include the Militia) were afraid of him, for besides his great physical strength, he was, in spite of the loss of his eye in France, a most expert swordsman. Just before the historic journey 'over the sea to Skye', Flora had been staying with her brother at Milton in Uist and in his little shieling at Alisary, and Angus was present at the supper-party in the hut before the Prince, Flora, and Neil started, but he also escaped arrest. The tone of Flora's own description of the episode is quite matter of fact, though its perilous nature is evident. This document disposes for ever of the legend that she had seen and known the Prince before. She was, as is well known, taken prisoner '8 or 10 days' after she parted from the Prince, and after having been confined in various British ships for over five months, was taken a prisoner in London and kept first in the Tower and then in a messenger's house,<sup>2</sup> until the following July—over a year in all. She was twice at least in Edinburgh after her release, and in London again in 1747, when Allan Ramsay painted her.

On 6 November 1750 she married Alexander Macdonald, son of the Worthy Kingsburgh, factor to Sir Alexander of Sleat (who had sheltered the Prince for one night on his arrival in Skye, and paid the penalty by a year's imprisonment.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. ii, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> 'Messengers' were government servants who were to take in and board such political prisoners as were not considered dangerous, the messenger or his wife made what charge he liked, sometimes fairly high!

Flora and Alexander had the following children:

Charles, born 1751, married and died 1795, without issue.

Anne, born 1754 married in 1770 Alexander Macleod of the Dunvegan family, and left issue.

Alexander, born 1755, lost at sea, unmarried.

Ranald, born 1756, Captain in the Navy, also lost at sea, unmarried.

James, born 1757 left a numerous issue.

John, born 1759 left a numerous issue.

Francis, born 1766, married Donald Macdonald and left issue who all went to Australia.<sup>1</sup>

The legend that she buried two children during her troublous sojourn in America is now found to be without foundation. But she and her husband were hard put to it to bring up those children they had, and before sailing for America she wrote the following letter to the Duke of Atholl (son of Lord George Murray), dated from Kingsburgh, the lease of which they were obliged to resign.

Kingsburgh in the Isle of Sky [*sic*]

29 April 1774

My Lord,

Necessity often forces both sexes to go through many transactions contrary to their inclinations. Such is the present one, as nothing but real necessity could force me to give your Grace this trouble and open my miserable state to your Lordship's view with the hope of getting some comfort through your wonted goodness of heart to many who have been in less tribulation of mind than I am at present.

The case is as follows—my husband by various losses and the education of our children (having no other legacy to leave them) fell

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<sup>1</sup> For full details of all these children and their descendants, *The truth about Flora Macdonald* compiled by the late Allan Reginald Macdonald of Belfinlay and Waternish, and edited by the Rev. Donald Mackinnon—the only authentic account of the heroine. *Pub.* Inverness 1938.

through the little means we had,<sup>1</sup> so as not to be able to keep the possession, especially as the rents are so prodigiously augmented; therefore of course, must, contrary to our inclinations, follow the rest of our friends who have gone this three years passed to America, but before I go I would wish to have one or two boys I have still unprovided for, in some shape or other off my hands. The oldest of the two called Alexander, is bordering on 19 years of age, hath a pretty good handwriting, as this letter may attest, went through the most of the classics and the common rules of arithmetick, so that he is fitt for whatever Providence and the recommendation of well-wishers may throw in his way; your Grace's doing something for him would be the giving of real relief to my perplexed mind before I leave (with reluctance) my native land, and a real piece of charity. I cannot, with any kind of modesty, apply to my known friends, they having shown repeated acts of Freindship and generosity already. Lady Margaret Macdonald and my good freind the Counsellor having got my oldest boy Charles ane officer into the East India Company's service, and my lady Dowager Primrose haveing rigged him out and paid for his passage. Another called Ranald I have in the Mareen service, a Lieutenant through good Capt. Charles Douglas of the Ardent ship of War, his interest with some about the Admiralty. A third called John, my good and worthy friend Mr. Mackenzie of Delvine took, two years by-passed, off my hands and keeps him at the high school at Edinburgh, where he promises to do well. Had I this boy [Alexander] off my hands before I leave the Kingdom, I could almost leave it with pleasure, even though I have a Boy and a lassie still depending on the protection of kind providence.<sup>2</sup> This freedom I am hopeful your Grace will forgive, as nothing but the care of my family could prevail on me to use such. Mr. Macdonald, though he once had the honour of a little of your Grace's acquaintance, could not be prevailed upon to put pen to paper, therefore I with the assistance of what remained of the old resolution, went through this bold task. And with the prayers of a poor distressed woman (once known to the world) for the prosperity of your family I am with the greatest esteem and respect

Yr Grace's most obedient servant,

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<sup>1</sup> He spent it all, being a waster and a drunkard, quite unworthy of his noble wife, as testified by many inhabitants of Skye.

<sup>2</sup> James aged 17 and Fanny 8.

Flora Mcdonald [*sic*].

It does not appear that Duke John did anything for Flora's second son, who accompanied his parents to America and fought with his father in the American Civil War.

To those familiar with Scots family usage, it is significant that her eldest son was christened Charles, relegating the names of their paternal and maternal Grandfathes respectively to the second and third sons.

Anne was 'named for' her aunt, Nannie Macdonald of Kingsburgh, the Mrs. MacAllister who waited on the Prince. She had a daughter Flora, as had her brother James and her brother John; and the names Flora and Charles or even Charles Edward appeared many times in the second and third generation.

Flora, grand-daughter of James, married Marshal Canrobert.

A son of John, christened William Pitt, left a family of twelve with an appropriate number of grandchildren.

Several of Flora's grandsons were in the Indian Army and that may have been the reason why Sir John McPherson, Governor-General, asked for the account of her experiences contained in the following letters or memorials.

When she wrote them she was 67. She died six months later, 4 March 1790, and is buried at Kilmuir in Skye.

## The Memorial of Flora MacDonald

**M**ISS FLORA MACDONALD was on a visit to her brother in South Uist, June 1746, when prince Charles came to that Country back from the Lews and Harris, after being disappointed of a vessel to carry him abroad, Collonell O'Neill,<sup>1</sup> who was then along with the prince met her at Clan Ranald's house and, introducing a Conversation with her about him, ask'd her what she would give for a sight of the prince. She reply'd, that as she had not that happyness before, she did not look for it now, but that a sight of him would make her happy, tho' he was on a hill and she on another. Nothing further pass'd at that time, but the Collonell some time after came to her to a Shealing of her brother's where she then stay'd, and being about midnight sent in a Cousine of her own who had been along with him and the Prince, to awake her, which he did and told her that they were both without and wanted instantly to speak with her, she was surpris'd and wanted to know what they had to say to her but went out as fast as she could throw on some of her Cloaths, and she met the Collonell at the door, leaving the prince behind the hut, he immediatly propos'd to her, (as he knew she had a desire to come to Sleat in Sky, where her mother then live'd, and did not like to stay longer in Uist, as all there were then in confusion) to take the prince along with her as her servant dress'd in womens Cloaths. She told him as there were so many dangers to encounter, it wou'd grieve her more that he shou'd be taken along with her, than in any other way, and begg'd he woud not insist on her undertaking that piece of service He answer'd that there was no other method to extricate him out of his present danger, and that tho' she deny'd him, he was sure She woud not deny himself as soon as she saw him don't think sir, said she that I am quite so faint-hearted as that comes to, He then whistled, the prince appear'd, he introduced him to Miss Macdonald and spoke to him in Italian, telling him her scruples and that she deny'd him her undertaking the propos'd scheme The prince himself then spoke to her, being previously perfectly wellknown to the Situation of the Country, and told her she wou'd be quite safe in undertaking what

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<sup>1</sup> He was actually only a captain in Lally's Irish French Regt. Sent from France with dispatches for the Prince just before Culloden.

he wanted, as her stepfather Hugh Macdonald of Armadale was commanding officer there, a gentleman he knew himself, and [who] waited on him personally when he landed first on the mainland, and was sure he wish'd him well, and that he woud give her a pass in to Sky. She still insisted on the danger, but her former resolution fail'd her and undertook the voyage, provided she got her step-fathers Pass. After taking a little refreshment, and fixing an appointment to meet at Roshinish in Benbecula the prince and the Collonell went to the hills, and Miss macdonald went to her stepfather to procure his pass, he being in the way to Benbecula. She told him what she had undertaken, what the prince said of himself and that he knew him, which Mr. Macdonald acknowledg'd, and immediately gave her the pass, with a letter to Mrs. Macdonald, his wife telling her, that her Daughter had accidently met with, & fee'd an Irish girl an excellent spinster, Betty Burke by name, and wou'd be very usefull to her. This letter was design'd to be shown to any that might happen to meet them by sea or land to prevent any closer search. Miss Macdonald then proceeded to ClanRanald's house and having told her story to the Lady, she gave her immediately a complete Dress for the Counterfeit Lady, and went along with her to Roshinish to see the prince, where they found him and Collonell O'Neil waiting for them, busy'd in dressing provision for the voyage. That very night an express came after Lady ClanRanald<sup>1</sup> informing her that Captain Ferguson had come to her house and that she must go home, which she did. The prince then got himself dress'd in his female attyre, and proceeded on their voyage to Sky, leaving the Collonell behind, as Miss McDonald wou'd by no means consent to his going along, which he much regretted, and the prince himself seem'd willing he shoud go, but did not insist much with Miss Macdonald. They set off about eight o'clock at night, the prince was very chearfull the whole night, sung several songs, among the rest 'The King shall enjoy his own again'. The night was dark and rainy. About day break it clear'd up, and they found themselves on the point of Waternish in sky, where there was a party of militia station'd to intercept any boats that wou'd come from the long Island, they were so near the shore that they saw the men arm'd, but luckily it was low water and the shore

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<sup>1</sup> Lady Clanranald's daughter, Peggy, who helped in making the Prince's disguise and was present at Roshinish (or Rusness) before the travellers started, was still living at Ormaclett in Uist in 1825, seventy-nine years later (according to Fraser Macdonald's *Antiquarian notes*) being then 98.

so rough that they cou'd not launch out their boat. They then saw some of the men running up to the house, where their commanding officer lay, they suppos'd to inform him about the boat. Miss McDonald said, she was afraid they wou'd be now taken; 'don't be afraid, Miss, said the prince, we will not be taken yet, you see it is low waterm and before they can lauch their boats over that rough shore, we will get in below those high rocks and thay will lose sight of us', which they did. They then stopt and took a little refreshment before they went further to sea. They then cross'd over to Mugstot<sup>1</sup> the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald. The prince went to the top of a neighbouring hill, where he was to stay till a proper rout shou'd be contriv'd for him. Miss Macdonald went to the house, where Mr Macdonald of Kingsburgh and several other government officers then were, Sir Alexander being at fort Augustus.<sup>2</sup> The secret was discovered to Kingsburgh, who chearfully undertook to convey him to his own house; he instantly went and found the prince on the hill and they proceeded directly to Kingsburgh, Miss Macdonald to prevent any suspicion stay'd to dine with Lady Margaret<sup>3</sup> and proceeded late in the evening to Kingsburgh where the prince had arrived before her. The worthy Landlady of the house was very happy with her guest, and he himself was so well pleas'd with his reception and lodging that he took a chearfull glass with his landlord, and having got a good clean bed (which he was a stranger to for some time,) sleep'd soundly till ten o'clock next morning. Mrs Macdonald apply'd to Miss Macdonald to get a lock of the princes hair, which he instantly comply'd with. The sheets he lay in were by Mrs Macdonalds order taken of the bed and carefully laid up with injunctions to her Daughter never to be us'd or wash'd till she dy'd and then put about her body which accordingly was done. The prince left Kingsburgh's house put it of, and dress'd in mans cloaths and went forward to Portree with one trusty man and a boy to show him the road. Miss Macdonald set off after him, but as it was necessary for him to take byroads, she arriv'd at Portree before him, where she found Mr Macdonald commonly call'd Donald Roy Macdonald,<sup>4</sup> waiting for the prince by appointment. The prince arriv'd afterwards, and the night being short, he stay'd no longer than to take a little refreshment, Mr Macdonald hurrying him to a

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<sup>1</sup> Monkstat.

<sup>2</sup> With Cumberland.

<sup>3</sup> It was Sunday, 29 June.

<sup>4</sup> Who had been badly wounded at Culloden.

boat waiting for him from Rasay at a little distance from the house where he deliver'd him, and Miss Macdonald proceeded next day to Sleat to her mother's house

(signed) Flora mcDonald

Flora Macdonald never saw the Prince again. As seen in the letter to the Duke of Atholl she and her husband, Kingsburgh's son, whom she married four years later, were obliged to emigrate to North Carolina where a great many of the Clan had proceeded them, not being able to pay the increased rents demanded. Her second memorandum relates:

'HER husband purchased a plantation with the Stock of different Cattle thereon, on which they lived comfortably for near a year. When the American Rebellion brock out, and Congress forcing her husband to Joyne them, being a leading man among the highlanders, and seeing he would be obliged to joyne either party he went in disguise to Fort Johnston on the mouth of the River Capefear, and there, settled the plan of rising the Highlanders in arms, with Governor Martin. This he and others did, to the number of 1600, having no arms, but 600 old bad firlocks, and about 40 broad swords the gentlemen had, and after marching 200 miles, and driveing the Enemy from two different posts, they had taken, made a night attack on General Caswell at the head of 3000 Congress troops, who were intrenched, on the other side of Moors Creek, the bridge being cutt down excepting the two side beams on which a nnumber of the highlanders got over, but were bet back with considerable lose, the Enemy haveing 3 piece of Cannon planted in front close to the bridge, which forced the highlanders to retire back 12 miles, to the place from whence they marched the night before. The common highlanders then parting with my husband Mr. McDonald of Kingsborrow and their other leaders excepting about ninty faithfull followers, who with their leaders made their way back to Smiths ferrie on the higher part of Cape fear where Col. martin with 3000 Congress men mett them, surrounded them & made them prisoners, Mr. McDonald and about 30 other gentlemen were draged from goal to goal for 700 miles, till lodged in Philadelphia Goal, remainging in their hands for 18 months befor exchanged—Mrs. Flora MacDonald being all this time in misery and sickness at home, being informed that her husband and friends were all killed or taken, contracted a severe fever, and was dayly

oppressed with stragling partys of plunderers from their Army, and night robbers, who more than once threatened her life wanting a confession where her husbands money was—Her servants deserting her, and such as stayed, grew so very insolent, that they were of no service or help to her. When she got the better of her fever, she went to visit & comfort the other poor Gentlewomen whose Husbands were prisoners with Mr. McDonald, as they blamed him as being the outhor of their misery, in riseing the highlanders and in one of those charitable visits, fell from her horse and brock her right arm, which confined her for months; the only phishitian in the colony being prisoner with her husband in Philadelphia Goal haveing no comforter but a young boy her son, the oldest Alex<sup>r</sup>., being prisoner with his father. She remained in this deplorable condition for two years, among Robers, and faithless servants, Untill her husband, and son in law, major Alex<sup>r</sup>. McLeod obtaining a flag of truce from Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral How, which brought me, my daughter, and her Children, from wilmington in N. Carolina to New York. In the dead of winter, being in danger of our lives for the most of the Voyge by a constant storme, I remained for some time at New York, where my husband commanded a Company of Gentlemen Volunteers, all scotsh Refugees from Carolina & Virginia; with them (all dressed in Scarlet & blew) he and my son Alex<sup>r</sup>., as Lieutenant, did duty under Generall James Robertson; untill ordered to Joyne the 84<sup>th</sup>. Regt: in Novascotia where he & son got Commissions—I was obliged, tho' tender, to follow, and was very nigh death's door, by a violent disorder the Rough sea and long passage had brought on. At last landing in Halifax, were alowed to stay there for eight days, on account of my tender state; the ninth day, sett off for Windsor on the bey of minos, throu woods & snow and arrived the fifth day—There we continued all winter and spring, covered with frost & snow, and almost starved with cold to death, it being one of the wors winters ever seen there. A detachment of the Regiment being there and by ane accedentall fall next summer dislockated the wrist of the other hand, and brock some tendons, which confined me for two months, altho I had the assistance of the Regimental Surgeon—when I got the better of this missfortune, I fixed my thoughts in seeing me native Country, tho in a tender state, and my husband obtained a birth in the Lord Dunmore, Letter of mark Ship of 24 guns, I and other three young ladys and two gentlemen, sett sail in oct<sup>r</sup>. But in our passage spying a sail, made ready for action and in hurrying the Ladys below, to a place of Safety, my foot

slipping a step in the trap, fell and brock the dislockated arm in two. It was sett with bandages over slips of wood, and keep my bed till we arrived in the Thames,—but to my great sorrow, on my landing, received the melancholy newes of my son Alex<sup>rs</sup>. death, Lieut: of Light Infantry, being lost in his way home, haveing got lieve, on account of his bad state of health, ane old wound constantly breaking out from the fatigue of light-infantry service, brought him very lowe—And a short time thereafter, got the accounts of the Villa de paris being lost, in her way home, where my beloved son Ranald was Cap<sup>t</sup>: of mareens, haveing served in Lord Rodney's Ship, every where he was. Those melancholy strocks, by the death of my Children who, had they lived with Gods assistance, might now be my support in my declined old age brought on a violent fitt of sickness, which confined me to my bed in London, for half a year, and would have brought me to my Grave, if under gods hand, Doctor Donald Munrow, had not given his friendly asistance. The cast in both my arms are liveing monuments of my sufferings & distressis—And the long goal confinement which my Husband underwent, has brought on such disorders, that he has totally lost the use of his legs—So that I may fairly say we both have suffered in our person, family, and Interest, as much if not more than any two going under the name of Refugees, or Loyalists—without the smallest recompense

[*Endorsed:*]

Memorial of Mrs. MacDonald Kingsbourgh

and with these is the following letter:

Honoured Dear Sir

Receive inclosed the papers you were so very good as to desire me to send you I hope they are to the purpose, being exact truth; They are longer than I would wish, but shorter I could not make them My husband had a letter from my John lately, he was very ill in his passage from Calcutta to Bencoolen for two months, but is now thank god well and on the surveying business—I need not desire you to mention his name to any of the Directors you are acquainted with—All friends in this Island are as you left them and with my husbands blissing who is always tender with his legs—And my constant prayers to the Almighty to bliss, protect, and be your guide, and director, I ever am Dr Sir

yours affectionately while able to sign

*(signed)* Flora mcDonald

Seabost by Sconcer October 21<sup>st</sup>

1789

I am always oppressed with the Rhumatism &c &c  
since I saw you—god bliss you

With this melancholy account of the old age of the Prince's preserver, ends our Jacobite Miscellany. His own death in Rome had taken place nearly two years earlier, 30 January 1788.