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GENUINE

# MEMOIRS

OF

*JOHN MURRAY*, Esq;

Late SECRETARY to the  
Young *PRETENDER*.

Together with  
REMARKS on the Same,  
In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

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**S**O many various and odd Reports have run through the Town concerning this Gentleman, that I thought it a Duty incumbent on me, as a Lover of Truth, to let his Character and Conduct, both which are well known to me; in a fair and impartial Light, and then leave every Man to judge as he thinks proper. In doing this I shall have no recourse to any Flourishes of Rhetorick in order to influence the Reader's Mind in favour or disfavour of the Person I am to treat upon: My design being only to lay open the naked Truth, devoid of all Disguise, without attempting either to palliate or blacken any one Circumstance.

Mr. MURRAY is the Son of Sir DAVID MURRAY, Bart, by his Second Lady, a Daughter of Sir WILLIAM SCOT of *Ancran*, Bart. He was born at *Edinburgh* in the Year 1718, and educated at that University, where he went

through a Course of Philosophy, and studied the Civil and Municipal Laws. I should not mention these Particulars but to obviate a mistaken Notion which I find is pretty current among People, of his having been brought up with the PRETENDER'S Son at *Rome*: A Person and Place he never saw till the Year 1741.

Having received all the Education *Scotland* could afford, his tender Mother, who had been several Years a Widow, complied with his earnest Desires of travelling for farther Improvement: Accordingly he went in the Year abovemention'd to *France*, perfected himself in that Language, which he had learn'd and spoke very well before, as also the *Italian*: Saw every thing worthy the Observation of a Traveller, and then proceeded to *Italy*.

I shall pass over the Particulars of his Journey, and the Detail of those Provinces he took in his Way to Rome, as of no moment to my Reader, nor material to the Affair which is the Subject or the following Pages. Being arrived at that famous City, he was infinitely charm'd with the magnificent Buildings, the curious Paintings, and the exquisite Musick which every where met his Eyes and Ears. As he is a Man of a contemplative and Speculative Nature, nothing furnish'd him with Matter of more agreeable Meditation than beholding the Ruins of those celebrated Baths

of Antiquity which are to be seen there; and the Tombs of VIRGIL and HORACE, Proofs how much Learning and Poetry were held in Estimation in the Days of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and many of his Successors! Yet while he amused himself with the various Reliques of Old *Rome*, and view'd with Admiration the Grandeur of the *New* he often lamented within himself that so glorious a Place, and which had given Birth to so many Heroes, Patriots, Philosophers, Poets, and other illustrious Persons, should be devoted to Superstition and blind Bigotry.—O, said he to himself, *what a real Paradise would this be?—How could I dwell for ever here, happy in even the meanest Station, if that Church which in its Reformation has abjured and purg'd away all those idle enthusiastic Ceremonies which deform Religion, were permitted to shew itself in native Purity!*

I would not by this be thought to insinuate as if Mr. MURRAY had any thing of that canting Zealotism for which some of his Country are so justly laugh'd at—On the contrary, I suppose him as little precise as other Gentlemen of his Age, and would only represent him as a Man of Thought and Reason, and as one that having been brought up in the strictest Principles of the Reform'd Episcopal Church, would never have engaged in a Cause so destructive to his Interest,

without being (as he imagin'd) thoroughly convinc'd, that *Poperly* would have gain'd no Advantage in these Kingdoms, by the Restoration of the STEUART Family.—How far his Notions in this Point were agreeable to right Reason I will not take upon me to say, nor indeed can any Man pretend to assure himself—But to proceed:

Mr. MURRAY had not been many Days in Rome before he fell into the Acquaintance of an English Gentleman, whose Name it is not altogether proper to mention, or if it were it would be of no manner of Significance to the Reader.—This Person ask'd him if he had ever seen *Santi Apostoli*, meaning the Palace of the *Chevalier de St. George*? to which Mr. MURRAY answering in the Negative, the other told him he would carry him there—that he was acquainted with several of the Domesticks who would shew them all the Apartments, and said he, if you have a mind to be Religious, we will go at the Time of Divine Service and you may say your Prayers your own Way.

Mr. MURRAY was very much surprized at these Words, and ask'd what he meant, by *saying his Prayers his own Way*? (for he had never heard there was a Protestant Chapel in the young P—'s Apartment for them and their Retinue, till this Gentlemen assur'd him of it) the Matter, however, being now explain'd, they agreed in looking on this extraordinary

Condescension in the POPE as a Piece of Policy: Knowing the great Bar to the Steuarts Succession to the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* was Religion, his *Holincss* was willing to remove it, by suffering the Issue of the *Chevalier* to be brought up in the Principles of the Church of *England*, hoping by that means the *Holy See* would one Day be eas'd of a very heavy Incumbrancc. It now seem'd no longer strange to Mr. MURRAY that the *Chevalier* had put his Sons under the Government of the Lords INVERNESS and DUNBAR, whom he very well knew were zealous Protestants, especially when he was afterwards inform'd by several Persons who were perfectly acquainted with the Secrets of the Family, and whose Veracity was not to be doubted, that this was the true Cause of that Quarrel between the Princess SOBIESKY and her Consort, which made so great a Noise all over *Europe*, and at length entirely separated them; tho' great Pains had been taken by those who were Enemies to both, to make the World believe it had a different Foundation.

The next Day being appointed for the Gratification of a Curiosity which ought neither to be wonder'd at, nor condemn'd, Mr. MURRAY was introduc'd by his new Friend to Mr. MACKAY an *Irish* Gentleman, who was, I think, at that Time one of the Grooms of the Chamber to the eldest Son of the *Chevalier*,

and Mr. BROWNE, of *English* Extraction, but born at *St. Germans*, and Deputy-Master of the Wardrobe.

They were handsomely receiv'd and entertain'd by these Gentlemen, and the Court being then at *Albano*, allow'd the greater Opportunity of their being conducted through every Part of that neat and pleasant Palace:--- They happened to come too late for Prayers, but were shew'd the Chapel, which had neither *Confessional*, *Crucifix*, nor *Picture* except an Altar-piece, nor any one thing to distinguish it from an *English* Chapel, as indeed it was in effect. Mr. MURRAY asking the Names of those Divines who officiated there, was told, that at present they had only Doctor COOPER,—that Doctor BARTLETT who had formerly been his Coadjutor, having in one of his Sermons touch'd on some Points that were represented to the POPE as reflecting on the *Romish* Faith, his Holiness was highly incensed, and insisted on his Dismission so the Doctor was obliged to depart, and glad no worse Consequence ensued; and that since his time there had been none but the abovenamed Doctor COOPER.

Having mention'd this Chapel, I cannot forbear relating an Accident that happened in it, which was look'd upon by the Friends and Adherents of the *Chevalier* as a sure Prognostic of his Son's good Fortune As the two young P-s (as they are call'd there) were at

their Devotions, a small Piece of the Cieling, which it seems is curiously ornamented with various Flowers in Fret-work, detach'd itself from the rest, and a *Thistle* fell into the Lap of the Elder, on which he started and looking up, a *Rose* fell immediately after; this together with a Star of great Magnitude which the Astronomers pretend appear'd at his Nativity, and was never before discover'd, with many other Portents and old Prophecies, might, perhaps, have some share in exciting him to that rash Enterprize he afterwards undertook.—However that be, *his ill* Success is sufficient to convince every one of the Folly of placing any Dependance on Omens.

Mr, MURRAY was very much satisfied with every thing he saw, or heard of, in this Palace, and could not help feeling within himself a great desire of being convinc'd whether the Owners of it were such as they had been represented to him by those he had talk'd with concerning them.—He had been told, that the *Chevalier de* ST. GEORGE himself was a Person of a most gracious Aspect and Deportment, benign and courteous in his Behaviour, extremely pleas'd at an Opportunity of conferring a Favour, particularly on those he look'd upon as his S-s, whether they acknowledg'd him as their S--n or not—It was sufficient they were the Natives of any one of the three Kingdoms for them to be certain of

all the good Offices in his Power; and that his two S—s had scarce their Equals in the World, either for natural or acquired Endowments. But this was not enough for Mr. MURRAY, his own Eyes must be the Judges, and many Days pass'd not between his conceiving this Desire and the fulfilling of it.

The Court being return'd, he renew'd his Visits to those Gentlemen of the Houshold to whom he had been introduced, and soon had an Opportunity of seeing the two P--s—They both of them were extremely fond of talking to Strangers, but more especially with such as they consider'd as S--s of their Father—As they were presently inform'd of Mr. MURRAY'S Name and Condition, a Page was sent to let him know he might be permitted to kiss their Hands, which Summons he gladly obeyed, and had a long Conference with the Elder, the Younger on some Occasion having left the Room.

Here began that fatal and inviolable Attachment from which no Considerations, as it has since proved, could ever make him swerve: He became unhappily bewitch'd (if I may venture to use that Expression) by the enchanting Person and yet more engaging Manners of that young Hero, and was no sooner out of his Presence than he begun to reason with himself, as he afterward told his Sister the Lady of *Pimroude* and several

others of his Friends, who, when he first return'd to *Scotland*, in order to negotiate the Affairs of his *then* Master, would fain have persuaded him to quit a Service, which they foresaw would be attended with the greatest Difficulties and Dangers.

*Is not all Europe now convinc'd, said he, of the Legitimacy of that Great Person who is called the Chevalier de St. George?—Have not all the Attempts to prove him otherwise met with the Shame they merited? Is any other Objection at present made, even by those who were his Father's most inveterate Enemies, than the Religion in which he has been unhappily educated? why then should that be any Objection to his princely Offspring, both whom I now see, he has had the Wisdom to bring up Protestants?*

Many other Arguments which I forbear to mention, he urg'd in Favour of the Cause he undertook:—whether his Love to the Person of the young Chevalier might not make the Reasons he found for attaching himself to his Party work the stronger in him, I will not say; but am very certain that, after the Battle of *Culloden*, in which all their Hopes were defeated, he told some of his Friends, that the very Misfortunes which had attended their Enterprize serv'd to convince him more than before of the Justice of the Cause, since it gave him a greater Opportunity than Prosperity

could have done, of discovering those Virtues in his P-- which Tender'd him worthy of r--g— He added many other such like Expressions, which it would not become me to repeat after him, nor should I have inserted any thing of this nature, but to shew, how much this Gentleman thought himself in the Right in what he had done, and that it was on no mean or mercenary View he enter'd into the Party; which may I think be obvious to any impartial Person, when they reflect that he had between three and four hundred Pounds *per Annum* of his own, (a very pretty Fortune for a younger Brother) and Relations, who had Interest enough to have procured him a considerable Employment either Civil or Military.

As Mr. MURRAY is very—much Master of those Accomplishments which render a Man agreeable at first Sight as well as of those which are necessary to retain good Will and Esteem, he was in a short time caress'd not only by the young *Chevaliers*, but also by their Father, in such a manner as excited too much Gratitude in him, and made him imagine the Service of his whole Life, and even Life itself, scarce an Equivalent for the Condescensions he received.—He was now every Day a Guest, and at length an Inhabitant at *Santi Apostoli*.—He attended the P- of - and D- of— (as they are vainly stiled) wherever they went; and was admitted to partake in all their

Exercises and Recreations: And here I think it may not be amiss to give the Character of two Persons, one of whom has caus'd so much Disturbance in these Kingdoms and may, it is to be fear'd, cause yet more, whenever *France* or *Spain* has any Game to play upon us.—Take their Pictures then, omitting the Titles, as drawn by Mr. MURRAY'S own Hand, and sent by him to a certain Lady who had desired it of him for the Gratification of her Curiosity, in the Year 1742.

“CHARLES EDWARD, the eldft Son of the *Chevalier de ST. GEORGE*, is tall, above the common Stature, his Limbs are cast in the most exact Mold, his Complection has in it somewhat of an uncommon Delicacy; all his Features are perfectly regular and well turn'd, and his Eyes the finest I ever saw; but that which shines most in him, and renders him without Exception the most surprisngly handsomr Person of the Age, is the Dignity that accompanies his every Gesture; there is indeed such an unspeakable Majesty diffus'd through his whole Mien and Air, as it is impossible to have any Idea of without seeing, and strikes those that do with such an Awe as will not suffer them to look upon him for any time, unless he emboldens them to it by his excessive Affability.

“Thus much, Madam, as to the Person of this P--: His Mind, by all I can judge of it, is no

less worthy Admiration:—He seems to me, and I find to all who know him, to have all the good Nature of the STEUART Family blended with the Spirit of the SOBIESKY'S:—he is, at least, as far as I am capable of seeing into Men, equally qualified to preside in Peace and War:—As for his Learning, it is extensive beyond what could be expected from double the Number of his Years—He speaks most of the *European* Languages with the same Ease and Fluency as if each of them were the only one he knew—is a perfect Master of all the different kinds of *Latin*, understands *Greek* very well, and is not altogether ignorant of *Hebrew*—*History* and *Philosophy* are his darling Entertainments, in both which he is well vers'd; the *one*, he says, will instruct him how to govern *others*, and the *other*, how to govern *himself*, whether in *prosperous* or *adverse* Fortune.—Then for his Courage, that was sufficiently proved at the Siege of *Gaita*\* when tho' scarce arrived at the Age of Fifteen,

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\* A Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, taken from the *Austrians* in the Year 1734, by *Don Carlos*, now King of the *Two Sicilies*.

he performed such things, as in attempting made his Friends and Enemies alike tremble, tho' for different Motives.—What he is ordain'd for we must leave to the Almighty, who alone disposes all; but he appears to be born and endow'd for Something very extraordinary.

“Henry Benedict the Second Son. has also a very fine Person, tho' of a Stature somewhat lower than his Brother, and his Complexion not altogether so delicate; he is however extremely well made, has a certain agreeable Robustness in his Mien, and a more than common Sparkle in his Eyes—many of those Perfections I have, tho' faintly, describ'd as appertaining to the *one*, are equally the Due of the *other*; 'tis hard, indeed, to say which of them has most apply'd himself to all the Branches of those kinds of Learning which enable a Man to be useful to his Fellow-Creature.—The Difference I make between their Tempers is this, that the one has the agreeable. Mixture of the *Stuart* and *Sobiesky* as I have already said, and the other seems actuated more entirely by the Spirit of the latter—all the Fire of his Great Ancestors, on that Side, seems collected in him and I dare believe, that shou'd his Arm ever be employ'd in so warrantable a Cause as that which

warm'd the Breaft of his\* glorious Progenitor, when an hundred and fifty thousand *Turks* owed their Defeat† to the Bravery of a handful of *Christians*, led on by him to Victory, this warlike young P—would have the same Success.—His martial Spirit discover'd itself when being no more than Nine Years old, at the Time his Brother accompanied the young King of *Naples* to enforce Possession of his Dominions, he was so much discontented at being refus'd the Partnership of that Glory and that Danger, that he would not put on his Sword, till his Father threaten'd to take away his G--r too, saying, it did not become him to wear the one without the other.

The Letter from which this Abstract is taken is crowded with Eulogies of the like Nature; but the Repetition would be needless as well as irksome to the greatest Part of my Readers; what I have said is sufficient to convince any one, that Mr. MURRAY had not the Guilt of Lukewarmness for the Interest of the Party he espous'd to answer for.

I come now to the Scene of Action, to which I confess all this has been but an Introduction, a kind of Prelude, to awake Attention for more serious Matters: Mr. MURRAY being now grown into high Credit the Secret of an

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\* King *John of Poland*.

† Siege of *Vienna*.

intended Invalion of one of these Kingdoms was communicated to him; but the Affair being yet in Embrio, the Conferences held on that Head were quite vague and little to the Purpose; many Schemes indeed were offer'd by some whose Zeal for the Cause over-run their Judgment, but rejected by the *Chevalier* as airy Notions, and it must be granted, from a Diary Mr. MURRAY wrote of all that pass'd, and happen'd in the Hurry of his being removed from one Place to another to be left behind, that he, the *Pretender* himself, was less eager for such a Project's being put in Execution than most of his Followers, and did not accede to it, till urg'd by various Proposals from *France*. Having at last consented, they began to enter into more serious Consultations, and which would be the most practicable Means of accomplishing their Design was the daily Subject of Debate.

There were at that time several *French* Emissaries at *Rome*, who pretended to affirm no Succours either of Men or Money would be wanting from that Quarter. I am afraid also that some Encouragement was given from the Discontented Party in *England*, but whether it went any farther than a meer verbal one will not pretend to determine; be that as it may, it is certain that the *Jacobite* Faction were in high Expectations of Somewhat being speedily done: The *Pretender* who remember'd the

Year 15 too well to rely on Promises, declared from the first his Resolution of not coming himself: However, he constituted his eldest Son P—R--, and at his Request Mr. MURRAY was made *Secretary* for *Scotish* Affairs.

In the latter End of the Year 1742 he, Mr. MURRAY was charg'd with a very important Commission, which was to go to *Paris*, and after consulting with Mr. Kelly, who was then negotiating the Affair at the Court of *France*, to proceed to *Scotland*, and sound how far the Heads of the Clans might be depended upon.

The new *Secretary* soon discover'd how capable he was of fulfilling all the Duties of his Post: Mr. KELLY not only made the Compliment to himself, but said to others, that the young R-- could not have given a greater Proof of his Discernment than to make choice of him for an Employment of so much Weight. He had the Honour of delivering his Dispatches with his own Hand to the Cardinal TENCIN, and was shut up with that Minister and Mr. KELLY for three Hours. Here he commenc'd an Acquaintance with the unfortunate *Marquess* of TULLIBARDINE, who in spite of all he had suffer'd since the Year 15, was no less sanguine in what he call'd the R—C-- than he had shew'd himself before; such is the Infatuation of that Party, that all the Miseries it involves them in have not the Power of bringing them back to Reason, and

obliging them to quit their bigotted Principles;- they see not with the same Eyes that others do—the Phantom Loyalty gilds all the Prospect, and dresses their Ruin in a pleasing Form, this makes them court Dangers, be proud of Infamy, exult in Chains, and triumph even in Death, as numberless Examples both in the first and last Rebellions have testified.

Mr. RATCLIFF also, called there *Earl of DERWENTWATER*, and many more who were once in possession of opulent Fortunes, but now the wretched Dependants on *French Pensions*, with Difficulty obtain'd, and accompanied with Contempt in the Payment, Mr. MURRAY had the Pleasure to converse with during his short Stay, which was but three Weeks, the grand Business requiring he should repair to *Scotland* with all possible Expedition.

As he was very well respected by the Clans both on account of his Family and personal Accomplishments, he found no great Difficulty in engaging the Heads of several of them, of themselves too much inclin'd that Way, to sign a Paper, wherein they promised to assist the Invasion, whenever and in what manner soever it should be made, with all the Forces in their Power. LOCHEIL, old GORDON of GLENBUCKET, MAC-LAUGHLAN, and GLENGARY, with all the MACKENZIES, were very strenuous

in assisting Mr. MURRAY'S Endeavours among their respective. Friends and Kindred, so that in a few Months they had added to the Number of those who they before were sure of, a great many new Proselytes to join in this Association.

It is acknowledged that Mr. MURRAY was indefatigable in promoting the Views of his Master, which were to engage the *Scots* to begin the Work, according to the old Proverb, "He that would *England* win Muft with *Scotland* first begin."

And one would have thought, indeed, that the dangerous and important Affair he was embark'd in, and the Fatigues both of Mind and Body he must necessarily go thro' in the Prosecution of it, should have too much engross'd him to have left any room for Inclinations of that Sort we find he was possess'd of; for in the midst of all the Embarrassments of State Toil, Love and Nature came in for their Part.—He solicited and obtained the Affection of a young Tady every way worthy of him; they were married, and he had the Pleasure of making her a Convert to his Principles, tho' educated in the Kirk.

This Change in his Condition, however, occasioned not the least Remissness in the Duties of his Post; he made it appear, that Love and Business are not Things

incompatible, and that he could indulge the one, as much as a reasonable Man ought, without any Prejudice to the other: Nor did the beautiful Partner of his Vows repine at the Share this only Rival had in his Heart, but on the contrary, was always ready to aid his Labours with all the Means in her Power. How much her Soul and all its wishes corresponded with her Husband's, was afterward demonstrated in the most publick Manner, when on the young *Chevalier's* Landing she forgot all the Delicacies of her Sex to accompany him through all the Fatigues and Hazards he met with, in following that pretended R--T.

Soon after the Birth of their first Child (which according to both their Wishes proved a Son) Mr. MURRAY receiv'd Dispatches from *Rome* by the Way of *France*, ordering him to leave *Scotland* and go directly to *England*, where he would be met by Lord ELCHO and some others lately gain'd over to their Party, who were to bring Letters with them to several Persons in this Kingdom: Who these Persons are, or whether any such Letters were sent, or deliver'd, none but those concern'd, can be certain.

It is notwithstanding a known Truth, that Mr. MURRAY arrived at *London* much about the same time with Lord Elcho, that they were very often together in Company with one of

those Gentlemen who was lately executed at *Kennington Common*, and several others who have made their Escape, and that frequent Cabals were held, sometimes at one Place, and sometimes at another. The little *Jacobites* who were not let into the Secret, yet knew enough to make them flatter themselves that the End of their long Expectations was at hand., and that their P-- back'd by a powerful Army from *France* would be in *England* that Summer. Others besides that Party likewise began to give Credit to what they foolishly brag'd of; nor was it the Policy of the Government to put a Stop to these Reports, since the more they gain'd Ground the more the Hands of the Ministry were strengthen'd, and all the demanded Supplies granted with the greater Readiness.—yet such is the Stupidity of those deluded People, that on the least Prospect of a Hope, tho' never so distant, or even the meer Shadow of one, Joy sparkles in their Eyes a thousand ridiculous Chimera's of sure and approaching Happiness fills their Heads, and turns their Brains quite giddy, and unable to contain the mighty Transport; they run about from House to House exulting, and thus by anticipating the Triumph they expect to have over those of a different Way of thinking, contribute to render abortive the very Measures they are so desirous should succcd. This is so known a Characteristic of that Party,

that I believe none will think I have done them any Injustice in what I have said, nor can even the sensible ones among themselves deny it, many of whom have been blutli with Shame and Anger at the idle Boasts they had it not in their Power to silence.

As to what great Matters Mr. MURRAY was able to bring about in England for the Service of his Cause, we are yet in the Dark.—I can only judge by Conjecture, form'd from the Knowledge how much some Persons, and those not of an inferior Rank, had been disgusted on the account of *H*— and the Partiality, it is said, was shewn at the Battle of *Dettingen* to those of that *E*--, thence, I say, a Guess, not altogether romantic, may be made, that, in the Heat of Reserument, some things might be promis'd, which cooler Reason disavow'd:—However it were, Mr. MURRAY, after passing about eleven Months here, return'd to *Scotland*, and Lord ELCHO to *France*; and no Fruits appear'd of their Negotiation at that time, tho' I am very well convinc'd the grand Work of the late Commotion was at that time laid.

All the Hopes of an Invasion in that Year, which was 1743, being now vanish'd into Air: *Cameron* of LOCHIEL after some Discourse with Mr MURRAY on the Position of their Affairs, went in Person to *France*; on his first Arrival there he found, or imagin'd that he

found, the Restoration of the STEUART Family to the Throne of these Kingdoms, had one of the first Places in the Views of the Cabinet, but had Reason afterwards to change his Opinion, when he was told by Monsieur MAUREPAS and even by the *Cardinal* himself, That it was not yet a Time for such an Attempt—that the People of *England* were not yet sufficiently convinc'd of the weight of a G—Y-- that a few more Millions drain'd from them, for the Support of the Queen of *H-* and the Princes who assisted her ambitious Views—a few more Battles, such as—and the continual Remittances made to —, besides the Payment of the Forces hired from that *E-*, with the Subsidies to *Denmark, Hesse, Mentz,* and other Powers, wou'd, in a short time make them feel the Miseries entail'd upon them, and they wou'd then of themselves, have Recourse to the only Means of Redress, and fly for Protection to the *P-* they had been compell'd to abjure.

This was the Language of the Ministry of *France* at that time, which oblig'd LOCHIEL to return, very ill satisfy'd with his Journey—Mr. MURRAY was also much discontented with the Account he receiv'd of the *French* Indifference; he did not fail, however, to keep up the Spirit of the Clans by all the Artifices he was capable of putting in Practice, which was all he then cou'd do.

The *Jacobite* Cause now appear'd with a bad Face to all thinking Persons— Mr. KELLY had met with a Rebuff from Cardinal TENCIN, which he did not expect, for urging that Matter too home, and one Monsieur D'AMERS was put into the *Bastile*, for having said in publick Company, that he knew his most *Christian* Majesty wou'd set the *Chevalier de* ST. GEORGE upon the Throne of his Ancestors before *Easter*, which was then near at Hand. Yet notwithstanding this, Couriers were frequently sent from *Versailles* to *Rome*, with Dispatches full of Assurances of Friendship and Assistance both by the King and Ministers.

Such a Method of Proceeding seem'd very odd not only to the Friends of the *Chevalier* but also to the *French* themselves, who had not Penetration enough to discover the secret Wheel that set this Machine of State Policy in Motion—the Truth is, some Overtures were then upon the Carpet between *France* and *England* through the Interposition of the *Dutch*, and while that Matter was in Agitation, the *Jacobite* Interest cou'd not be publicly espous'd by the Court of *France*, any more than be found convenient to drop it entirely, till the Effect of these secret Negotiations should be seen. It may be thought strange, that an Artifice so often put in Practice shou'd not be seen through, or that Persons so much

concern'd, and withal so discerning as the *Chevalier de ST. GEORGE*, and his Sons are said to be, can any longer be amused by it: But when one considers the unhappy Situation they are in, and that the very Shew of an Alliance with so great a Power, keeps the Spirit of their Party in these Kingdoms from flagging, it is not to be wonder'd at, that they seem to give Credit to those vain Appearances —I say vain, because I think no one that has any notion of public Affairs, or knows any thing of the *French* in particular, can imagine it confident with the Policy they are so much fam'd for, to wish the Family of the Steuarts in Possession of the Throne of *Great Britain*; an Event which wou'd infallibly put a Stop to all the Schemes they have so successfully pursued for upwards of Fifty Years.—As it is certainly the Business, therefore of the *French* King, to amuse the *Chevalier* with *fictitious* Promises, so it is equally the Business of the *Chevalier* to counterfeit a Belief of their *Sincerity*: Since by treating them with the Contempt they truly merit, and which he doubtless feels for them, he could no way be a Gainer, and might lose some Friends to his Cause, who are such meerly by the Hopes of his receiving powerful Assistance from a Prince so able to give it.

This Secret Mr. MURRAY was very well convinced of, not only by the Conversions he had with those in *England*, who were look'd

upon as the most stanch Friends to the *Pretender*, but also from several of the *Highland* Chiefs, who told him plainly, that nothing could be done effectually without the Assistance of a French Army.—This put every thing to a Stand, the Hopes and Expectations of the whole Party everywhere were growing languid, and Mr. MURRAY himself knew not what to think, when all on a sudden he was recall'd to Rome, and commanded to acquaint the Clans before his Departure, that the great Design was now on the Point of being executed. This he punctually obey'd, and then left Scotland and his Wife big of her second Child.

Mr. KELLY, who had been sent on the Part of the *Chevalier* with a very important Commiffion to the Court of *Spain*, was just then return'd to *Paris*, when Mr. MURRAY arrived there in his Way to Rome; which happen'd very lucky, as they might communicate to each other the Success of their several Negotiations, and consult upon the Whole much better than by Writing—Mr. KELLY told him, that he shou'd soon follow him to Rome in order to attend the pretended P- R-T to Scotland, where he wou'd certainly be in the Beginning of the Summer.—Both these Gentlemen were now highly caress'd by the *French* Ministry, and Mr. MURRAY had the Opportunity of conferring a great Obligation

on the Cardinal, by taking the Charge of some fine Jewels sent as a Present to one of his Kindred at Rome, which he accordingly deliver'd on his Arrival there.

The Court of the *Chevalier* was oow encreased by the Coming of Mr. SULLIVAN and Mr. O'NEIL, both of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but had been some time in the *Spanish* Service, where they had considerable Commands, especially the former, who having the Reputation of being one of the most experienc'd Generals they had, the parting with him was look'd upon as no small Mark of the Good-will that Court had to the STEUART Family.—Great Preparations were now making for the proposed Expedition, which, as before it was resolv'd, shou'd be begun in *Scotland*,—The Scheme was this,—The eldest Son of the *Pretender* was to land in the Highlands, and head the Clans, the Lord JOHN DRUMMOND, with some *Irish* Brigades to the Number of Two thousand Five hundred effective Men, was to make a Descent on the more .Southward Part of that Kingdom, and be ready to join the young Chevalier, and march directly to *Edinburgh*.—Twelve thousand French under the Command of Some-body, for no General was ever nominated, were to pour into *Wales* at the same time, and join themselves to what *English* Friends they shou'd find there and in

the Counties adjacent, take what Towns they cou'd in their Way to *Manchester*, and there to wait the Coming of the pretended P-, who it was not to be doubted, wou'd by that time be Master of all *Scotland*.

Visionary as this Project may appear To-day, I tremble to think what might have been the Consequence had it been put in Execution with the same Vigour it was concerted, at a Time when His Majesty, the Duke, and most of our Forces were abroad, an inconsiderable Part of the Navy on the Coasts, the Parliament not Sitting, many of the Privy Council, and all the Country Gentlemen retired to their Seats, the Militia of the Counties and London wholly unprepared: They then, I say, had certainly such a Chance of subjecting us, as it is to be hoped they will never have again; and the visible Neglect France shew'd of an Opportunity so favourable to the Views she had all along pretended, sufficiently proves what I before advanc'd, that her Ministers have in Reality nothing left at Heart.

How far the repeated Assurances given by Monsieur the *Cardinal* TENCIN, and even confirm'd by his most *Christian* Majesty's own Hand, might now gain Credit at the Court of; *Santi Apostoli* am not sure; but no Shew of the contrary appeared either in Words or Actions; and Mr. KELLY told Mr. MURRAY in Confidence, That he was now convinced

*France* was sincere in her Professions, and that before he left *Paris*, he had actually seen the Orders signed by Monsieur d'ARGENSON, for the Transports to be in readiness for the Embarkation of the Troops destin'd for this Expedition.

It was in January 1745, that the two Sons of the Chevalier took leave of him and Rome; for the youngest would by no Means be left behind, tho' all he could have urg'd had been ineffectual to have prevail'd on his Father to hazard his whole Stock at one Cast, if he had not bound himself by Oath to accompany his Brother no farther than *France*, and not to quit that Kingdom without first receiving his Permission so to do.

I am told the Parting between these young Gentlemen and their Father was very affecting, and Tears from the Eyes of most who were present at it; the R- as he was call'd, said among other remarkable Things; *I go, Sir, in Search of three C—s, which I doubt but to have the Honour and Happiness of Laying at your M--'s Feet: If I fail in the Attempt your next sight of me shall be in my Coffin.* At these Words the Chevalier became unable to preserve that Moderation he had assum'd on so trying an Occasion;- the Grief his Heart was big with, in Spite of his Endeavours, discover'd itself in his Countenance, and he burst into this Exclamation—*Heaven forbid!*

*that all the C--s in the World should rob me of my Son--then tenderly embracing him--Be careful of yourself dear P--, added he, for my Sake, and I hope, for the Sake of Millions.*

There is no Question to be made but that Nature work'd very strongly in Persons so near and dear to one another, at a Separation which they knew not but might be eternal, and it is likely, enough they might express themselves in these very Words, which I have repeated, as they were told to me by one who averr'd, he heard them from Mr. MURRAY'S own Mouth.

The Generals SULLIVAN and O'NEIL, with the two Secretaries KELLY and MURRAY, and several other Gentlemen, beside a large Retinue of Domestick Officers and Servants, attended the young Adventurer and his Brother into *France*; tho' they did not make their Entry according to their suppos'd Dignity, it being thought more proper for them to remain incog at the Duke *de BOUILLION'S*, who is their near Relation. The eldest, however, had frequent Conferences with his most *Christian* Majesty in his Closet; few Days pass'd without a Visit from the Cardinal, Monsieur d'ARGENSON, Monsieur *de MAUREPAS*, and all the other Ministers—Great Assurances were doubtless given of the promis'd Aid, but with what Sincerity was proved by the Event.

Several Weeks before the Time prefix'd for the young Chevalier's embarking, Mr. MURRAY was sent to *Scotland*, to warn the *Highland* Chiefs to be in Readiness, that is to provide what Arms, Ammunition and other Necessaries might be requisite for their Followers, whenever they should be call'd together, but when that would be, or on what Occasion, was to be kept a Secret from them, till the Landing of their P--, whom, notwithstanding they were taught to idolize without knowing. Most of the Heads of the Clans, with some few others who were entrusted with the Affair, assembled themselves at *Aberdeen*, in order to receive him, it being expected he would land there, as he indeed intended, and had told Mr. MURRAY; but an *English* Man of War falling in with the *French* Man that was his Convoy, the Vessel he was in, which was only a small Frigate, took the Opportunity of the two great Ships being engag'd to scud away before the Wind, which happen'd to be fair for them, and blew a fresh Gale, and made the Shore by a little Creek near the Lands of LOCHIEL, whose House was the first the young *Chevalier* went into—A violent Fit of the Gout having hinder'd him from meeting the Party at *Aberdeen*, he was at home, and greatly surprized at such a Guest, but more so at seeing him so thinly attended, the *Marquess* of TULLIBARDINE,

SULLIVAN, O NEIL, KELLY, and three other Gentlemen, whose Names I do not know, being all, except Servants, and of those but a few, that came on Shore with him.

A special Messenger, however, was immediately dispatch'd to *Aberdeen*, with Intelligence of what had happen'd, on which Mr. MURRAY and the Chiefs that were there repair'd directly to LOCKHIEL'S:—It would be altogether impertinent to enter into any Particulars of the Joy with which he was receiv'd, not only by them, but by the meanest and most common of the Clans under them, as soon as he appear'd in Publick: The Behaviour of all, and the manner of the Death of most of these deluded People, has but too fatally proved the Zeal and Firmness of their Attachment to him. The Standard was set up, and great Numbers flock'd to it, besides such who had been instigated to it by those whom they think it the highest Crime to disobey; so that in a short Time a little Camp was form'd among the Hills.—His pretended Claim,—his fine Person,—his Affability, and above all, his putting on the *Highland* Dress, marching at the Head of his Infantry, and being the first to plunge into any River they were to pass, when moved farther to a more commodious Ground, charm'd them to such a Degree, that I believe there was scarce a Man among them that wou'd not have readily run on certain

Death, if by it his Cause might have receiv'd any Advantage; but as their Lives were of much greater Service, they testified their Love and Admiration of him by Huzza's and Acclamations that even rent the Sky, whenever they saw him, and by making Songs in his Praise, and singing them among themselves when they saw him not.

Nor was it only such who, bred remote from Courts, are apt to be dazzled with every Object beyond what they have been accustom'd to see, that testified their Affection for him; the Lords LEWIS GORDON, STRATHALLAN, OGILVYE, and others, avow'd his Cause from the first Moment they heard he had set Foot in *Scotland*, and threw themselves at his Feet, with all the Forces they were able to raise.

To strengthen their Expectations, Two Ships from France brought a large Quantity of Ammunition, and several Officers, among whom were the Two MACDONALDS, Lord ELCHO, and GLENGYLE, whom Mr. MURRAY had wrought upon the preceding Year to go to *France*, in order to be convinc'd of the Assistance they were promis'd; The Duke of *Perth* also, with his People, now join'd the *Highland* Army, and several other Clans who had not sign'd the Association; but as it is not a Journal of the *Pretender's* Success, but Memoirs of Mr. MURRAY, I am writing; I shall pass over every thing in which that Gentleman

had not an immediate Concern.

Many Persons of the first Quality in Scotland, as well as Gentlemen and others, daily engag'd themselves in this deltructive Cause; but there was yet wanting a certain Nobleman whom, indeed, to gain was gaining every thing.—Mr. MURRAY knowing him personally, undertook to be the Bearer of a Letter to him from the young Chevalier, and herein run a Risque, which shew'd, that no Dangers cou'd deter him from doing even more than the Duties of the Post he was in, oblig'd him to.

This Nobleman was then at *Edinburgh*, and the Army encamp'd near *Innerlocky*; so that he had a Journey upwards of Eighty Miles, and must of Necessity pass through some Places where he was sensible the Cause he espous'd had more Enemies than Friends; and as his own Principles were now as well known as his Person had long been to them, had enough to dread from their Resentment, in case he were seen by any of them. —The Importance of the Business however, and the Imagination that the Letter he was charg'd with from his Master, with the Arguments he himself should be able to urge, wou'd have the so much desired Elfect, made him overlook all the Difficulties attending such an Expedition.

But as it behoved him to take all possible Precaution, he disguis'd himself with a black

Periwig, rode muffled up in his Cloak, took with him only one Servant whom he had lately hired in the Highlands, stop'd at no great Town, and contented himself with such Refreshment as he cou'd find in the most obscure and wretched Huts in his Way.

Fortune favour'd him in the Attempt, tho' not in the Execution of his Commission: He met with no ill Accident, nor suffer'd any thing but Fatigue in this Journey, which notwithstanding he found it impracticable wholly to accomplish.—He was within Eight or Nine Miles of *Edinburgh* when he met a Gentleman on Horseback, whom he immediately knew to be a Dependant on the Nobleman in Question;—as they had been School-fellows, and always preserv'd an Intimacy, Mr. MURRAY made no Scruple of discovering himself to him, and also the Business which had brought him to that Part of the Kingdom;—the other appear'd very much startled, and conjured him, as he valued either his own Liberty, or the Interest of the Cause he was engag'd in, to turn back directly.—He told him, that he was positive as to the Inflexibility of his Lord in this Point,—that he was desirous of nothing more than to crush the Rebellion before it grew to the Height which might be expected, and had sent to *England* for Permission to arm all his Vassals for that Purpose; which Permission

wou'd doubtless arrive very shortly, and He, Mr. MURRAY wou'd then see him in the Field as an Enemy, but must never hope to do so as a Friend.

This Intelligence, which he knew he might depend on the Truth of, struck a very great Damp on Mr. Murray's Spirits.—He found it wou'd be meer Madness to attempt the Delivery of the Letter in Person, as he shou'd infallibly be seized, and what he brought, laid before the Council; the Consequence of which it was easy to foresee. Mr. MURRAY on these Considerations was prevail'd upon to turn back, tho' with an akeing Heart, lor the Impossibility he found there was, of drawing into their Interest a person of such high Importance to it, both in *England* as well as *Scotland*—The Journey his Friend was taking lay Part of his Way, and all the Time they rode together was past in the one's endeavouring to convince the other, in the Laudibility of their different Principles, tho' equally in vain: Not that this Man was in his Heart, as he confess'd to Mr. MURRAY, any Enemy to the Person of the *Chevalier* or his Claim: He acknowledged the many fine Qualities in the one, and did not deny the Legality of the other; but made use of the usual Arguments, that a Subversion of the present Government must inevitably occasion great Confusions, and that the Body of the People had a Right to choose whom they

pleas'd to reign over them; and that till they were unanimous in desiring a Change, it was not only an unwarrantable but likewise an hair-brain'd Act of Stupidity in a few bigoted Zealots, to attempt a Change.—*The Truth is*, to use Mr. MURRAY'S own Words when relating this Affair to Mr. HUNTLEY, who had married one of his Sisters, *this Man had Self-interest at the Bottom; he enjoy'd a small Post, and the Favour of a great Man, both which he was loth to hazard for any precarious Advantages.*

It might, indeed, be so, as many Men are honest more through Interest than principle; but that must be left to the Decision of that Supreme Judge who alone knows the Heart.—Mr. MURRAY, however, was as little satisfied with his Conversation, as he was with the Account he had given him of his Patron's Fidelity to the Royal Family which now governs.—Happy, however, was it for him at that time, that they happen'd to meet so opportunely; and yet infinitely more happy had it been, if he cou'd have been prevail'd on to follow the Advice then given him.

His speedy Return, and the Motive which occasion'd it, cou'd not be very pleasing to the young R-T;—but he had yet greater Things to discompose him: The expected Succours from France, under the Command of Lord JOHN DRUMMOND were not arriv'd, nor even

embark'd, tho' many Days were past since that which had been prefix'd for their Sailing:— A large Vessel, with several Officers in *Fitz-James's* Regiment on board, was taken by an *English* Man of War, and another with some Pieces of Canon and a Chest of Money, other Officers, and Mr. RATCLIFF and his Son, by an *Irish* Privateer: To add to all this, there was a continual Murmuring among the *Highland* Chiefs; each, jealous of the other, grudg'd even a Smile bestow'd on any but himself, and all in general envied the Credit that SULLIVAN and O'NEIL had with him; tho' they were, indeed, Men whom they knew, it wou'd be highly inconvenient for him to disoblige; Men who had quitted considerable Posts for his Service, and Men who, doubtless, by their inviolable Attachment as well as personal Bravery and Skill, deserved all the Favour they receiv'd. It must, therefore, be own'd, that he had a very hard Game to play, and he cou'd not well give a greater Proof of his Abilities of Governing, than that, in his Situation, he was able to maintain any tolerable Decorum among them, or secure them firm to his Interest; since it is a known Truth, that whatever Disagreement they had among themselves, not one of all those numerous Leaders drew off their Followers, or discover'd the least Inclination to abandon him.

But all these Difficulties did not put a Stop

to the vigorous Prosecution of the Design he had undertaken: His little Army at Inverlocky consisted but of Three thousand Seven hundred Men, Officers excepted, yet had he the Courage to march Southwards: His Standard was erected at every Town they halted at, and the *Declaration* of the old *Chevalier* and the *Manifesto* of his Son read, which increas'd his Numbers very considerably;—but several of the Kirk having made some Objections to the *Manifesto*, as not containing sufficient Assurances for the Security of their Manner of Divine Worship, a Grand Council was held concerning; what Alterations were proper to be made for the Satisfaction of those People.—Mr. KELLY, who had drawn it up, seem'd very tenacious of the Performance; but the greatest Part of those present, at first were of Opinion, that it wou'd have a better Effect, if a Promise was inserted of putting the Penal laws against *Papists* in full Force. The young *Chevalier* was observ'd to change Countenance a little at this Motion, doubtless, thinking it wou'd be ungrateful to depress too much a People who had, on all Occasions, been such real Friends to his Father; he had the Prudence, however, to keep his Thoughts on this Occasion, what ever they were, to himself, and spoke very little during the whole Debate, which lasted a considerable Time, and was urg'd with a good

deal of Warmth on both Sides the Question:— It was pretty remarkable that the Duke of *Perth*, SULLIVAN, and O'NEIL, who are all *Papists*, gave their Votes for this Addition to be inserted; and several of those who are known to be of the reform'd Church opposed it: Lord GEORGE MURRAY, in particular, express'd himself with great Vehemence upon it, insomuch, that perceiving the Matter was like to be carry'd by those of a contrary Opinion, he started up, and turning to the R-T, said, *Sir, if you permit this Article to be inserted, by G—d you lose Five hundred thousand Friends*; meaning there were that Number of *Papists* in *England*. On this the P-, as he was call'd, rose from his Chair, and withdrew; whether to conceal his real Sentiments, or that he was offended with the Boldness of this Nobleman's Speech, is uncertain; but it seems he only said, as he left the Room, *I will have it decided by a Majority*: Which proving afterwards to be on the Negative, the *Manifesto* remain'd unalter'd.

Mr. MURRAY said to some of his Friends, when they were discoursing on this Affair, that he trembled more for the Consequence of this Debate than he had ever done for any thing in his whole Life; because as the Negotiations he had been employ'd in at *London*, and several other Parts of *England*, had convinc'd him

how numerous a Body the *Papists* were, he dreaded the Effect such an Article wou'd have on them, had it been inserted; and added, He was surpriz'd any Friends to his Master's Interest cou'd make the Motion, since the Words of the *Manifesto* seem'd to be already sufficiently strong for the Security of all Protestants, of what Denomination soever.

For the Truth of this Observation, I muft refer my Reader to the *Manifesto* itself; having, I confess, never had the Opportunity of seeing it: But it is easy to believe from the Behaviour of the *Papists* ever fince the Rebellion broke out, that the Contents of it are no way flattering to People of that Persuasion; since of those who went over to the Chevalier's Party, or any way assisted him, not one in Fifty profess the *Roman Catholic* Religion: And some of the most sensible ones among them have been heard to say, That they had no Reason to wish a Prince upon the Throne, who, if he were inclin'd to treat them with Lenity, wou'd not dare to do it; for Fear of being thought to favour them too much.

I cannot help saying, that their Sentiments on this Score appear to have somewhat of Justice in them, and also at the same time observing the odd Circumstance of the young *Pretender's* Fate, whom to render unhappy, even the most opposite Extremes agree, and in a Manner unite against him:—The *Protestants*

abjure his Claim on a suspicion of his being a *Papist*, and the *Papists* disavow it, on a Persuasion that he is a *Protestant*;—But however that be, it is no Business of ours, who are truly happy under the present Establishment, in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, and labour under no Grievance which should occasion us to wish a Revolution.

There is no occasion to mention the particular Motions of the *Highland Army* as they march'd toward *Edinburgh*; the Subject of these Memoirs having nothing remarkable happening to him during that surprising Progress, wherein their Number encreas'd daily, and all the Towns in their Way were either took by them, or surrender'd on their Summons, as was also the City of *Edinburgh* itself.

Lord GEORGE DRUMMOND at length arriv'd, tho' not with the full Complement expected; the Forces he brought however, with a Detachment under the Command of Lord LEWIS GORDON, were sent to *Hamilton* and *Glasgow*, while the main Body of the Army encamp'd near *Edinburgh*. The Castle not having surrender'd, they laid siege to it in form, and created several Batteries against it; but soon found the Strength and Situation wou'd admit no Hope of taking it by Storm, and that the only Way to become Masters of it

was to prevent all Communication with the Town, by which means they wou'd be oblig'd to capitulate, or perish through the Want of Provisions. This they found a Way to do, and also to stop the Pipes so that no Water cou'd be convey'd, which put Colonel Guest, who was then Governor, under great Distress.—He was resolv'd, notwithstanding, not to yield on any Conditions; and sent Word to the pretended R-T, that if he wou'd not permit Provisions to be brought in, and open the Water-pipes, that the Castle might be supply'd as usual, he wou'd play his Canon from the Walls, and batter down the Town.

This Menace dreadfully alarm'd the Inhabitants, and several of the principal ones went in a Body to the Palace of Holyrood, and prostrating themselves at the Feet of the pretended R—T, beseech'd him to commiserate their Condition, and not expose that ancient City to be destroy'd.—He appear'd very much moved with their Remonstrances, and no sooner had heard what they had to say on the Occasion, than he bid them go home and be easy; the Governor's Demands shou'd be comply'd with, and an immediate Communication open'd. On which they return'd, extolling and praising the Grace they had receiv'd, as they had indeed great Reason.

But this Clemency gave high Displeasure to most of those about him: They labour'd with

all their Might to prevail on him to recal the Orders he had given: They represented to him, that the beating down a few old Buildings was not to be put in Competition with reducing a Place of such Importance as *Edinburgh Castle*: That the Loss some particular Persons might sustain, and which might afterward be repair'd, ought not to interfere with what was for the Good of the Whole: That this very Condescention wou'd, by his Enemies, be call'd a Weakness and that no Prince or General ever gave such a President.—*They or you*, reply'd he, with more Stemess than they had ever seen in him before, *may term it as they please; but in this I am determin'd to be obey'd.*—*Besides, what might be a Virtue in another Person, or in other Circumstances, wou'd be a Vice in me.* —*Remember I come to save, not to deftroy;—and how much soever I may lose, the Child is mine, and I wou'd sooner chuse to yield my Right in it, than suffer it shou'd be mangled before my Face\*.*

Thus was the Castle of *Edinburgh* reliev'd, to the great Surprize of all who heard by what means, and even of those for whose Sake it was done, who, tho' they petition'd for it, cou'd not flatter themselves with being able to

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\* Alluding to the Story of *Solomon* and the two Harlots.

obtain a Grant. Those also that did not see into the real Motive, thought it no less strange that the Army still lay before the Castle, as now there was not the least Probability of taking it; but the Truth of this Matter as I have heard, is, that the young Pretender did it only to amuse the World, being desirous to remain at *Edinburgh* till the *French*, as had been agreed upon in the before-mention'd Stipulation, should be ready to make a Descent on *England*; but the long Delay of that expedited Fleet occasion'd him so much Vexation, as was not even in the Power of his Success in the Battle of *Preston-pans* wholly to alleviate.

Mr. KELLY was sent in the mean time to *France* to expedite that Affair; but the Accounts he sent concerning the Effect of his Negotiation were no way satisfactory; tho' one Monsieur BOYERE came in Quality of an Ambassador to *Scotland*, and several Ships continually drop'd in with Arms, Ammunition, Money, and some few Officers; but whether all come on the Part of his most *Christian Majesty*, or from a less suspected Quarter, is uncertain, Mr. MURRAY having always maintain'd an inviolable Secrecy on that Head. All that ever his friends cou'd gather from him, at least as I find, was that the P—, as he call'd him, had borrow'd Four hundred thousand Pounds of the Bank of Genoa, all

which he had expended on this Expedition; besides very near the same Sum which had been bequeath'd to him by his Uncle Prince JAMES SOBIESKY, and another, no inconsiderable one, which his Father had long been hoarding. Had the above-mention'd Succours however come from whatsoever Power, they had been of infinitely more Service in a Body, than as they were.

In fine, growing impatient at the trifling Excuses made by the Court of *France*, and finding themselves Seven thousand strong, it was proposed in a Council of War to march into *England*, without Regard to the too long expected Signal of a Landing of the *French*: This Motion was carried, tho' by no more than one Voice, and they accordingly left *Scotland*.

So bold a Step had doubtless never been taken, if they had not thought themselves certain of being join'd by a great Power, which some hot-headed Malecontents had made them hope; but if any such Design was ever form'd, or such Promise made, as no one besides the Parties themselves concern'd can pretend to aver, it certainly was only conditional, that whenever they saw a *French* Army on the Coast, they wou'd favour the Invasion; since nothing was more publicly laid by those who were known to be most vehement *Jacobites*, than that they never cou'd be satisfy'd with having a King impos'd

upon them by the *Scots*.—These Jealouaies it was that obstructed many of the young *Pretender's* Schemes both in *Scotland* and *England*, and gave those whose Pusilanimity alone, perhaps, kept from joining with him, a Kind of Pretence for their Inactivity in this Juncture.

It afforded, indeed, sufficient Matter of Astonishment, that, after all Expeditions of Assistancce from *France* were over, this young Adventurer had either the Courage to penetrate so far as *Derby*, or the Skill and good Fortune to make so honourable a Retreat; a Theme which, setting aside his Cause, might in Reality deserve and employ the Pen of a Second *Xenophon*, tho' pretty much obscur'd by our Intelligence in the public Papers.—Nothing can be more obvious than that the Intrepidity with which he behaved on this Occasion, gain'd him many personal Friends among those who before were not so, and establish'd him a Reputation among his Enemies, which perhaps Time itself will never be able to efface.

Thus much Justice obliges me to say of one, who tho' I cannot but look upon as an Invader Of my Country, and the Source of many Calamities, which these Nations groan under, and are likely to feel for a long Succeslion of Time,—Heaven only knows how long,—yet I cannot but allow him to have Virtues enough

to make one wish him successful in any other Attempt, than that he lately undertook.

But to return to Mr. MURRAY, who we may suppose was not idle in executing the Duties of his Function, and had nothing else to attend while the Army was in *England*, but which it is easy to believe were enough to engross all his Thoughts and Time; Mr. *Kelly* continuing all the while in *France*, and the whole Business lying wholly on him.

The Battle of *Falkirk* served very much to renew that Spirit in them all, which their having been oblig'd to quit *England* had somewhat depress'd.—More Friends came to them, and their Number was so much increas'd, that dividing themselves into Parties, they made Four whole Counties entirely their own, and cou'd call themselves Masters of one third at least of that Kingdom.

The continual Fatigues of Mind and Body Mr. MURRAY underwent, threw him into a languishing Disorder, which had all the Symptoms of a Consumption; yet did he still apply himself to Business even when he was scarce able to hold a Pen in his Hand. Nature however was at length compell'd to yield, and he grew so extremely ill, that when the Camp was at *Inverness*, the young *Pretender*, who had all the Value for him, his Fidelity and Abilities deserved from him, wou'd needs have him removed farther into the Country, where

it was thought a more clear Air wou'd contribute to his Recovery. Mrs. MURRAY, as well as Lady OGILVYE, Lady STRATHALLEN, Lady FORTROSE, Lady MACKINTOSH, Lady CLANRONALD, and many more Women of Quality and Condition, who had borne their Husbands or other Relations company in all their Dangers and Fatigues; join'd her Persuasions to the pretended R-T's Commands, in such a Manner as not to be denied; and they left *Inverness* together, and retired to the House of a Gentleman about Twelve Miles distant.—All cou'd be urg'd being insufficient to prevail on this faithful and affectionate Servant to go to any Place, where Intelligence of all that pass'd cou'd not be every Day brought to him.

The Duke of *Cumberland* being then at *Aberdeen*, whence it was expected he wou'd speedily march to attack the Rebels at *Inverness*, made them continue there much longer than was for their interest, in order to receive him; but, contrary to the Reports which were daily spread of his Royal Highness's intended Removal, he kept his Quarters there, till the young *Chevalier* having no longer Patience to remain in that inactive State, quitted *Inverness*, and again dividing his Army into several Parties, attack'd and took many Places, which before had stood out against him.—Mr. MURRAY wou'd by no means

yield to be left behind, and constantly follow'd in a Litter that Division where his Master was in Person, nor ever left Sight of him till the decisive Battle of Culloden; made a lasting Separation.

That good Intelligence the young *Chevalier* had been accustom'd to receive, now fail'd him, when it was most necessary:—Being made to believe the Duke was at a much greater Dislance than he was in Effect, those Divisions were not recalled and reunited in a proper Time. The Duke of *Perth*, with those under his Command, was Two Miles off, the Earl of *Cromarty* with a considerable Detachment yet farther, and Lord GEORGE MURRAY beyond than all when the battle begun, and for a Time was sustain'd with great Bravery, by a Number very unequal to thoe they had to oppose: The Duke of *Perth* and the Lord of *Cromarty* came up, indeed, with all the Speed they cou'd; but the Affair was too far gone, and this fighting Piece-meal, as I may call it, only involv'd them all in the common Destruction, one after another.—The young *Chevalier* rode himself to meet Lord GEORGE MURRAY, hoping by this Reinforcement to redeem all yet; as he pass'd by the Litter where Mr. MURRAY was, he only said in passing,—MURRAY, *I fear we are undone, I have but one more Effort to make, however, do not you stay here.*—This was the

last Time he saw him; but soon after found that Lord GEORGE MURRAY, by some Mistake in the Orders, or what else must be left to time to unfold, had taken another Rout with all the Party under his Command; and what became of the young *Chevalier*, nor indeed of any of the Commanders, he cou'd not, of a long while, learn: Only in general, that many of them had fled, many were kill'd, many taken Prisoners, and the whole Army intirely defeated.

The Duke's Forces eager in Pursuit, stop'd not to regard the Baggage, which gave Mr. MURRAY the Opportunity of getting out of his Litter, and concealing himself under the Covert of a Mountain, weak as he was, resolving rather to die for Want of Assistance, than become a Prisoner if he cou'd any way avoid it.

What Hardships he endur'd are impossible to be conceiv'd, much less can they be describ'd:—But any one may suppose them to be exceeding great, wandering from Mountain to Mountain, having no Manner of Sustenance to support Nature;—no Bed, Couch, nor even Chair to rest upon; no Covering to protect him from the Inclemency of the Air; oppress'd with the most poynant Grief of Heart, and withal disabled by Sickness from struggling, as he might otherwise have done, with all these various Miseries.

For Two whole Days, and as many Nights, he remain'd in this wretched Condition; till finding the Coast pretty clear, he ventur'd to go toward the House of a Gentleman, in whose Friendship he had great Confidence: In his Way thither his Sight was struck with the most dismal Objects, Numbers of his Countrymen, who had fallen into the Pursuer's Hands, all cover'd over with Wounds; some dead, and others gasping in the most terrible Agonies.— The Condition himself was in, made him imagine he shou'd follow them in a little Time; yet cou'd he not forbear lamenting over them, forgetful for a Moment of his own sad State, and might possibly much longer have indulg'd the Emotions of his Grief, if he had not fancy'd he heard the trampling of Horses; which Apprehension made him quit that Scene of Horror as fast as the small Share of Strength he was Master of wou'd permit: Nothing being so dreadful to him as being taken Prisoner; but had the Danger of it been real, as it prov'd only imaginary, little wou'd it have been in his Power to have escap'd it.

At last, tho' with unspeakable Difficulty, having fallen down several Times, he walk'd, or rather crept, to the Place where he expected both Shelter and Refreshment, as long as his Wants shou'd require either.

But on his Arrival he found himself flatter'd with a vain Hope even in this, as well as he

had been in greater Things; not that the Person from whom he sought Protection wou'd not readily, nay have been glad to have afforded it; but there were so many Parties of Soldiers continually patrolling, and searching all the Houses in that Part of the Country, that it was judg'd wholly unsafe either for himself, or those who conceal'd him, to tarry for any Length of Time in one Place.—He was, however, receiv'd and entertain'd with all imaginable Kindness for Three Days, which were all he ventured to pass there.

Fain wou'd he here have been inform'd of the Particulars of the young *Chevalier's* Defeat, and where he had taken Refuge; but they were as ignorant of them as himself, and cou'd only tell him somewhat more plainly what he had heard confused Murmurs of, before he got out of the Litter.

He then resolv'd to have Recourse for a short Asylum, to a Person who had been Steward to his Father, and for that Reason might be suppos'd to be ready to serve him, in an Exigence wherein his Life was concern'd, tho' far from having any Good-will to the Party he was engag'd in: But this Person living Thirteen Miles off, a Space of Ground which Mr. MURRAY was utterly unable to walk, or to ride on Horseback; a great Difficulty was found in getting him convey'd thither, till the Gentlewoman of the House, as Women are

generally more fertile in Invention than Men, hit on the following Expedient:

Two honest Country Fellows, who did Business for them in Harvest-time, took a Feather-bed and a sufficient Covering: This they were to carry by Turns; and when Mr. MURRAY had walk'd as far as he was able, then to lay it down for him to rest upon it while they watch'd to give him Notice of any Danger.

This Stratagem succeeded, and he arriv'd safely, and as he has since said, better in Health than he had been for some Months.— Here he was treated with the greatest Tenderness, took all Remedies proper for his Disorder, and recover'd his Strength of Body in a surprising Manner, considering how deeply his Mind must be affected with the Loss of all his Hopes, and the Uncertainty of his pretended P—'s Fate; as also what might have befallen his Wife, who was then pregnant a Third Time. All the Enquiry that cou'd be made, was made for his Satisfaction; but no Account cou'd be obtain'd of either-of those dear Persons, or of several others, whole Preservation after them he was the most anxious for. He was told, indeed, that aome had the good Fortune to get into a Vessel, and had put off to Sea; but who those Persons were, he cou'd by no Means procure Intelligence.

With this Friend, who, indeed, was truly

such, in Spite of the Difference of Principles, which too often turns the greatest Affection into Hatred, did he continue for Five Weeks; and had done so longer, if Word had not been brought of the Approach of a Company of Dragoons, who were order'd to examine every House and Person they found in their Way.

This Intelligence oblig'd Mr. MURRAY to depart part with all Speed; not only for his own Sake, but that of the Person's who had given him Shelter, and who now began to be very much alarm'd, , as they had good Reason: The least they cou'd have expected, on his being found there, was the Plundering of their House, perhaps setting it on Fire, and turning themselves and Family naked on the Mountains, as Numbers \*\*\*\*\* even on a Suspicion of shewing Charity to those unhappy Wretches who had escap'd the Sword., and were near perishing through Cold and Hunger.

It wou'd be too tedious to repeat the many Dangers and almost unsupportable Hardships he was in, after he left this House, wandering sometimes one Way, sometimes another, to avoid being seen by any of those numerous Parties, which he now found were traversing the Country round, in Search of the *Pretender*, who it was imagin'd was still somewhere thereabout:—The Demands of Nature forc'd him to seek Relief of many People, whom he

cou'd not very well rely upon; but he staid with few of them any longer than barely to supply his Necessities; and on his leaving them, always pretended to take a different Rout from that he went in Reality.

In his Wandrings he happen'd to meet the unfortunate Marquis of *Tullibardine*, equally distress'd in every Circumstance as himself, and less able to bear Hardships on Account of his Age.—From this Nobleman he learn'd a more full Account of the Battle than he had been able to procure before; yet there were still many Particulars which even he, tho' engag'd in it, was ignorant of; and even what was become of the pretended R—t, an Event Mr. MURRAY was most impatient for the Knowledge of—They durst not stay long together, as thinking that if the one shou'd happen to be known, it might betray the other: So having mutually condol'd their common Misfortune, and the sad Fate of so many gallant Men, they separated, and saw each other no more.

By long and painful Journeys, most taken in the Night, and attended with a thousand Difficulties, did Mr. Murray at last reach the Seat of his Sister, the Lady of *Pimroude*. Here he was inform'd of the greatest Part of those Calamities which the Country had been involv'd in, since the Battle of *Culloden*; the wonderful and almost miraculous Escapes of

the young *Pretender*, and his no less amazing Courage and Fortitude, in the Midst of the greatest Dangers and Distresses that ever Man endur'd.—It seems he had always declar'd he wou'd never quit his Enterprize while he had Six Men with him, and he kept his Word for tho' Vessels from *France*, both Privateers and others, were frequently coming, and took on board those who, seeing no Hope of retrieving the Misfortune, were glad to quit that Scene of Desolation, yet he wou'd never be prevail'd on to accompany them; and was, at the Time of Mr. MURRAY'S receiving this Intelligence, among the *Hebrides*; but passing continually from one island to another, with a few, a very few Followers, dodg'd those that were in Pursuit of him. Mr. MURRAY found it wou'd be an impracticable Attempt, as well as unprofitable in the Success, to endeavour to reach him, therefore contented himself with offering up Prayers for his Safety, and for all those others whom no Account cou'd be given of.

Any one wou'd have imagin'd, that Mr. MURRAY was now pretty much out of Danger, and might continue so, especially as that Part of the Country having already been search'd, the Pursuers were gone to another Place, and wou'd scarce return the same Way:—Yet so it happen'd (as frequently we are nearest Danger when we think ourselves most secure) that

Three or Four straggling Soldiers, who had staid behind, by some means or other had an Information of his being conceal'd there; on which they immediately got Assistance, enter'd the House, and took him in his Bed:— By these Soldiers he was told, that the Earls of *Cromarty* and *Kilmarnock*, with Lord *Balmerino*, and all those Ladies who had made their Camp a Kind of Court, were seiz'd, and dilpos'd in several Prisons.

He was then conducted to *Edinburgh*, where for a short Time he was Prisoner in the Castle, and then sent under a strong Guard to *London*, and order'd to the Tower, where he has ever since remain'd: None of his Friends, or even his Mother, being permitted to see him.

He has, however, been treated in a Manner which few State Prisoners can boast of;—His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and the Lord Chancellor himself; have severally done him the Honour to come in Person to the Tower to take his Examination, instead of sending for him, as is the usual Custom.

In what Manner he bears his Confinement is utterly impossible to know; but if the Disposition of his Heart may be judg'd by his Countenance, as he appears sometimes at the Window, he is composed, and resign'd to the Will of Heaven and those Laws he has offended: To the Mercy of which we must now

commit him; and hope nothing contain'd in these Memoirs will prove of any Prejudice either to his present Circumstances, or his future Character.

# REMARKS

ON THE

Genuin Memoirs, &c.

In a Letter to a FRIEND.

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*SIR,*

**I**N Obedience to your Commands, as well as to satisfy my own Curiosity, I have bestow'd some Hours in reading and considering the Manuscript which you sent me; and which I have herewith return'd by the Bearer.

And now as to my Opinion of it, which you require with such unusual Ernestness, I will lay it before you with all the Freedom that Friendship can justify, that Truth requires, and that the Subject-Matter deserves.

You do not tell me how it fell into your Hands, nor do I desire to know it: But I wonder much that you can seriously make a Doubt, whether the Author of it was a *Jacobite*, and whether his Purpose was to be an Advocate for Mr. MURRAY, or his Cause?

It must be acknowledg'd, that he *affects* to

speak in such Terms as are us'd by the Friends of our Liberties. But then the *Affectation* is visible, and if the Voice is *Jacob's*, the Hands are *Esau's*: Besides, in the Fulness of his Heart, he often forgets that he is playing a Part; and by laying aside his Mask, exposes the real Features he meant to conceal.

A *Jacobite*, therefore, I am oblig'd to call him; and as that is a Creature in Politics which I have no Charity for, I shall give him no Quarter. Allow me to add, with Regard to your own Particular, that I am greatly concern'd to find, that you keep such Company; and so much the more, as you seem to listen with some Pleasure to their Delusions.

There is in your Letter to me none of that honest Indignation which us'd formerly to break out, as often as their wicked Endeavours to destroy the public Peace, and subvert the Constitution, were nam'd: Surely, you are not to be dazzled with their tinsel Discourses of Divine Right, nor to be captivated with a moving Tale of Princes languishing in Exile, or beset round with Calamities, when turning Invaders: Knowing, as you do, that their Misfortunes are the Result of their own, or their Father's Miscarriages; that the Sufferings of Individuals, of whatever Rank, are lighter than Vanity, when weigh'd against those of the Commonwealth; and that he who attempts to

do himself Right, at the Exigence of a whole Nation, is a Traitor to Mankind.

The Composition before me, notwithstanding some Inaccuracies in Stile and Language, and the Escapes before-mention'd, is indeed artificial enough to seduce the Unskilful and Unwary: But he who knows any thing of our Annals, and who has the Sense and Honesty to reason clearly and impartially upon them, is, one would think, out of the Reach of that Artifice; and, instead of being impos'd upon by it, will look down with Disdain and Contempt upon him, who endeavour'd to pass such an Affront upon his Understanding. The Misfortune is, that all Men have Passions; that in most Men those Passions have the Ascendancy over their Reason, and that whoever has a doubtful Point to carry, never fails to interest those treacherous Inmates in his Cause, and to make the Weaknesses on our Side supply the Want of Strength on his.

For Fear, therefore, that even you should catch the *Jacobite* Itch, by shaking Hands with those who are already infected, I will do more than you requested of me; for I will both shew you, that these new Friends of your's have the *Highland*-Leprosy upon them, and endeavour to preserve you from the Taint of so loathsome and so infamous a Disease.

But in doing this, I shall pass as gently as possible over the Case of the unhappy Man, who is *said* to be the immediate Subject of the Piece before us. He is already within the Reach of the Law; the Charge against him needs no Aggravation, and nothing would be more unfair than to sharpen the Severity of the Bench, or to prompt the Verdict of a Jury.

As often, however, as his Apologist has taken Shelter under his Name, his Authority or his Sentiments, for the Sake of blanching his Cause with the more Security, I shall be under a Necessity of encountering the one as well as the other; and if Mr. *Murray* is hurt in the Shock, he may thank his Friend, who put him in the Way.

In the first Place then, we find our *Apologist* inculcating, That the Profession made by the *Steuart* Family of the *Roman Catholic* Religion, was the *great Bar* to their Restoration; and at the some time endeavouring with all his Might to remove it.

In order to this, he tells us, That Mr. *Murray* was brought up in the strictest Principles of the *Episcopal Reformed Church*; that his Zeal was such, that he even panted for the Conversion of *Rome* itself; that he would never have embark'd in the *Pretender's* Interest, if he had not been thoroughly convinc'd, that Popery would have gain'd no

Advantage by his Success: And that, in order to facilitate that Success, and thereby to rid himself of an Incumbrance, his Holiness had suffer'd the Issue of that *Pretender* to be brought up in the Principles of the Church of *England*.

To all which I answer: That the Profession of the *Roman Catholic Religion* is not only a Bar, but an actual Incapacity. There is no one Clause in any of our Laws more explicit than That, which enacts and declares, That no *Papist* shall ever succeed to the Crown of these Kingdoms; nor is there any Clause in any of our Laws more righteously founded: The King of *England* is the Head of the *English Church*; and is by his Coronation-Oath obliged to defend it. But how can *He* be the Head of one Church, who is the avow'd Slave of another? Or how shall he reconcile the jarring Duties of defending on one Hand, that which he is oblig'd to destroy on the other? To root out the *Northern Heresy*, we all know, is the great Object of *Roman Policy*; and that can never be done, but by the Help of a *Catholic King of England*. The whole Study of King *James the Second*, before he came to the Throne, was to accomplish this meritorious Work; and that he did not succeed in it, after the Reins of Power came into his own Hand, was rather for want of Time than

either Purpose or Endeavour. It is true, he did not make use of open Force; but then it was, because the Army he had rais'd were not wicked and abandon'd enough to cut the Throats of their Fellow Subjects: All the Arts of encroaching and undermining he made a liberal Use of: Witness the Proceedings at the Charter-House, the *Savoy*, and at both the Universities; the open Encouragement given to all the several Fraternities on the *Romish* Establishment; the Favours shower'd down on new Converts; the Excercise of his assum'd *Dispensing Power*; and the Persecution that was rais'd against Dr. *Sharp*, the Bishop of *London*, the Seven Bishops, and in general against all, who had the Courage to defend that Religion and those Liberties, which he had most sacrilegiously undertaken to destroy.

The bare Hint of these Outrages is, in my Opinion, sufficient to shew, that the Clause of *Incapacity* abovemention'd, is indeed righteously founded: But if any body is enough infatuated to think otherwise, let him cast his Eye on the same Prince's Conduct in *Ireland*, after he was driven out of England, and if he has any of that Zeal for the Protestant Religion imputed to Mr. *Murray*, or any Concern for the Welfare of his Fellow Subjects, he will think with Horror of the whole Line, and

make it his daily Prayer, That the Vices of these Kingdoms may not provoke the Almighty to visit them with any Calamity so insupportable as their Restoration.

But we are given to understand, that by the *Indulgence* of the *Pope*, the Issue of the *Pretender* are educated in the Principles of the Church of *England*; and thence we are taught to infer, that Religion is out of the Dispute, and that none of the Exceptions lie against them, which have been so prejudicial to their Father.

If there is any Force in this Argument, It depends on the Truth of the Fact: And what Evidence is produc'd in Support of it? None but the bare Assertion of a Writer, who is either misled, perhaps, by the falsr Informations of others, or has himself an *Indulgence* to assert what he thinks proper for the Good of the Cause. If it was the Result of his Holiness's saving Policy, to suffer Heresy to be propagated under his Nose, the same Policy requir'd, that the News should have been propagated as fast as possible thro' every Corner of the *British* Dominions: And yet in the very *Declarations*, which were of late issued in the *Pretender's* and his *Son's* Names, from *Italy*, *France*, and *Scotland*, and which were calculated to reclaim a stray'd People, not the least Mention is made of a

Circumstance, which was held to be of such Importance to their Cause; and this Omission is alone sufficient to demonstrate, that the Whole of this plausible Tale is no better than a downright Forgery.

But suppose the Fact should be admitted, that his Holiness had really granted them such an Indulgence; we may be assur'd, it was under such Reserves as retain'd the Persons to whom the Grant was made, as firmly in their Obedience to the Holy See as ever, The more likely any Measure was to put them in Possession of a Throne, so much the more necessary it was to rivet their Chains: For the Church never sows without expecting to reap; and it is utterly incredible, that she should give up her Claims, while she had any Prospect of a Harvest.

Besides, it is not even insinuated, that the *Father* ever shew'd the least Disposition to partake of this *Indulgence*; or that he ever talk'd of relinquishing his Pretensions to the *Adventurer*, whom he sent forth to conquer in his Right. If, therefore, the Son was ever so unfeignedly and devoutly a Protestant, and Success had crown'd his Undertakeings, the *inveterate Catholic* his Father would have had the Advantage: And it is not to be suppos'd, that in such Case, he would not have made it the Business of his Life to balance his

Accounts with His Holiness and *France*, in whatever Manner they should think proper to dictate.

Again, those who *knew* so well, that Religion was *the great Bar* to the *Restoration* of that Family, do not seem to know at all, that they stand forever excluded by the Laws of the Kingdom; in which there is not one Proviso, That they shall ever again be trusted with the Fate of these Kingdoms, on *Condition*, That they renounce the Errors of Popery, and enter into the Communion of the national Church.

And lastly, By these Words *the great Bar*, we are directed to conclude, that there was no other; whereas, if that were remov'd, the Party would find, that there were many more, and each of sufficient Strength, to keep the Door fast against them and their Hopes forever.

There is a Thing call'd Liberty, which the Inhabitants of this Island make no Manner of Scruple of putting on the same Foot with their Religion: And there is also another Thing call'd Property, which depends upon Liberty, and which, I persuade myself, they will never more hazard in the Gulph of *Prerogative*.

Now it happens, most unluckily for the *Stuart-Family*, that, from the First of them to the Last, these Two Things were so far from being treated with the Reverence and Respect which belong'd to them, that they were ever

consider'd as the Slaves of the *Prerogative*; and that they were not also treated as such, was more owing to the Tenaciousness of the People than the justice of their Kings. To prove this by Facts would be to write their History, which is already done to my Hands; and to which I refer you for your own Satisfaction, and for abundant Proofs to silence all Gain-sayers.

If it should be urg'd, that the Iniquities of the Fathers ought not to be imputed to the Children; I answer, that if they are not answerable for their Guilt, they have imbib'd their Principles: And without any Breach of Charity, one may venture to pronounce, that if they had the same Power, they would make the same Use of it.

When the Project of stirring up the late Rebellion was forming at *Rome* and *Paris*, it was, above all Things, necessary, First, That the Undertakers should have prepar'd their Way, by a solemn Renunciation of all those prerogative Maxims, which had render'd the Reigns, and even the very Memories of their Ancestors, odious to the Nation: Secondly, by an explicit Condemnation of all the arbitrary Practices founded upon them: And Thirdly, by a chearful Adoption of the noble System, which was the Basis of the Revolution: For it is notorious, That the People of England dread

the Return of *Will* and *Pleasure* above all Things; and thence it is reasonable to suppose, that they will never quit the *Vine* to fit under the Shadow of the *Bramble*. But of whatever Importance these Considerations were, they neglected them entirely: The Commission of Regency from the *Pretender* to his Son, dated at *Rome* the 23d of *December* 1743, and the Two subsequent Declarations set-forth by the *pretended Regent* (the one dated at *Paris*, *May* 10th, 1745; the other at "*Holyrood House*, *October* 10th the same Year), very clearly indicate, That they propos'd rather to amuse and deceive, than to convince and satisfy the People they were address'd to: These Papers are all in the old dictatoreal, absolute Stile, of granting, resuming, and dispensing, accompanied with Menaces against all those who should not accept the Grace offer'd them, and such a Mixture of Ambiguities, Equivocations, and mental Reservations, as left sufficient Room to his mock Majesty, when Time should serve, to do as King Charles had done before him; that is to say, to explain all the promising Part away: All which had an Effect so contrary to the Expectations of his Pen-Men, that those who before were inclin'd to think, that such a Series of Afflictions had brought these unhappy Exiles to a better Sense of the Duty

of Sovereigns, and the Rights of Subjects, all at once retracted these favourable Sentiments, held the whole Family to be alike incorrigible, and spoke of the Living in the same Terms as are usually applied to the Worst of the Dead.

Having, perhaps, expatiated over-largely on this Topick, I shall scarce stay to mention the quaint Incident of the *Thistle* and *Rose*, and their tumbling into the young *Pretender's* Lap; much less to expose the Vanity of inferring what the Event hath so effectually disgrac'd: Nor shall I shew much greater Regard to the confident Assertion of the Father's Legitimacy: Having acknowledged, that the Line is to be trac'd by their Vices, it may be suppos'd I have already given up the Question; and if I have, it matters not; For if the Nation had a Right to exclude King *James* for Mal-Administration, they had also a Right to preserve themselves from the Resentment of his Offspring: And as to the Notion of hereditary Sight, it is almost impertinent to enlarge on what has been so often and so effectually exploded: Yet, for the Sake of removing the very Grounds of Cavil, I will make use of an Historical Deduction, which will fully demonstrate, that in *England* no Pretence whatever has been less regarded.

*William* the First (called the *Conqueror*) tho' he took Possession by force, had no Right,

but from the People's Election.

*William Rufus* was elected against the Right of his elder Brother.

*Henry* the First came in by the same Way.

King *Stephen* was elected *a Clero & Populo*, and confirmed by the Pope.

*Henry* the Second came in by Consent; but had no Hereditary Right, for his Mother was living.

*Richard* the First was charged before *God* and Men, by the Archbishop upon his Coronation, that he should not presume to take the Crown, unless he resolved faithfully to observe the Laws.

King *John*, his Brother, because his elder Brother's Son was a Foreigner, was elected *a Clero & Populo*, and being Divorced from his Wife, by his new Queen he had *Henry* the Third.

*Henry* the Third was confirmed and Settled in the Kingdom, by the General Election of the People; and in his Life-time, the Nation was sworn to the Succession of *Edward* the First, before he went to the *Holy Land*.

*Edward* the First being out of *England*, by the Consent of Lords and Commons was Declared King.

*Edward* the Second being misled, and relying too much upon his Favourites, was Deposed, and his Son was Declared King in

his Life-time.

*Richard* the Second, for his evil Government, had the Fate of the Second *Edward*.

*Henry* the Fourth came in by Election of the People, to whom succeeded *Henry* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Sixth, in whose time *Richard*, Duke of *York* claimed the Crown; and an Act of Parliament was made, that *Henry* the Sixth should enjoy the Crown for his Life, and the said Duke after him; after which, King *Henry* raises an Army, by the Assistance of Queen and Prince; and at *Wakefield*, in Battle, kills the Duke; for which, 1 *Ed.* IV. they were all, by Act of Parliament, attainted of Treason; and one principal Reason thereof, was, for that the Duke being Declared Heir to the Crown, after *Henry*, by Act of Parliament, they had killed him.

*Edward* the Fourth enters the Stage, and leaves *Edward* the Fifth to succeed, to whom succeeds *Richard* the Third, who was Confirmed King by Act of Parliament, upon Two Considerations: *First*, That by reason of a Precontract of *Edward* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fifth, his eldest Son, and all his other Children were Bastards. *Secondly*, For that the Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, Second Brother to *Edward* the Fourth, had no Right, because the Duke was attainted of Treason, by

a Parliament of *Edward* the Fourth.

*Henry* the Seventh comes in, but had no Title; *First*, Because *Edward* the Fourth's Daughter was then living: *Secondly*, His own Mother, the Countess of *Richmond*, was then living.

After him, *Henry* the Eighth wore the Crown, who could have no Title by the Father; in his time the Succession of the Crown was limited several times, and the whole Nation sworn to the Observance.

Sir *Thomas Moor* then also Declared, That the Parliament had a Power to bind the Succession, which was Declared to be Law by 13 *El. cap.* 1. and made a *Præmunire* to hold the contrary.

*Edward* the Sixth succeeded; but his Mother was married to King *Henry*, while *Ann* of *Cleve*, his Wife, was living.

Queen *Mary* was declared a *Bastard*; and by Virtue of an Act of Parliament of *Henry* the Eighth, she succeeded; which Act being repealed in the First of her Reign, and the Crown being limited otherwise by Parliament, all the Limitations of the Crown in King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign were avoided; so that

Queen *Elizabeth*, who was declared a *Bastard*, by Act of Parliament in *Henry* the Eighth's time, and limited to succeed in

another Act in his time, and that Act having been repealed by Queen *Mary*, became Queen by the force of her own Act of Parliament, which declares her lawful Queen.

The Crown was entail'd in *Richard* the Second's time; again, in the time of *Henry* the Fourth; again, in the time of *Henry* the Sixth; again, in the time of *Edward* the Fourth; again, in the time of *Richard* the Third; again, in the time of *Henry* the Seventh; thrice in the time of *Henry* the Eighth:

And upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* to King *Philip* of *Spain*, both the Crowns of *England* and *Spain* were entailed; whereby it was provided, that of the several Children to be begotten upon the Queen, one was to have the Crown of *England*, another *Spain*, another the *Low Countries*: And the Articles of Marriage to this Purpose were confirmed by Act of Parliament, and the Pope's Bull.

So that it was agreed by the States of both Kingdoms, and the *Low Countries*, and therefore, probably, it was the Universal Opinion of the great Men of that Age; That Kings and Sovereign Princes, with the Consent of their States, had a Power to alter and bind the Succession of the Crown; which was never denied to be Law, till the Reign of King *Charles* the Second.

To return: As to the Pictures of the Two

*Steuarts*, as drawn by our *Apologist*, it is out of all Question, that they are set forth in such glaring Colours, and plac'd in such a dazzling Light, either to feed the Vanity, or keep up the Spirits of the Party: For, granting that they are possess'd of all the Gifts and Graces so liberally bestow'd on them, what are those Gifts and Graces to us? Unless it is expected, that while we admire the Idol, we should also acknowledge the Divinity?

But we have already Princes of our own; and if I do not take upon me to emblazon their Characters in Opposition to These, it is because I would not be suspected of Flattery on one Hand, or Detraction on the other.

And as to the Pains that our *Apologist* takes, to shew, that Mr. *Murray* was not *lukewarm* in the Cause he espous'd, I am sorry, when I consider the Condition of the Man, that I am oblig'd to touch on so tender a Subject: For whatever has a Tendency to recommend him to one Party, must have an equal Tendency to make his Case desperate with the other; and, unless he is ambitious of sharing in the false Glory which *Ratcliff* and *Balmerino* acquired, he has little Reason to thank a Person who has taken so bold a Step to put him out of the Reach of Mercy. And if we are to understand that Courage, Zeal, and Resolution, in what Cause soever exerted, are Virtues, let it be

withal consider'd, that *Cataline* had them all in as eminent a Degree, and made as desperate an Use of them as any Conspirator amongst the Moderns.

I come now to a Passage or two which I chuse to transcribe, that I may be the better understood. Speaking of the Embrio of the Rebellion at *Rome*, he says, "I am *afraid* that some Encouragement was given from the discontented Party in *England*, but whether it went farther than a meer *verbal* one, I will not pretend to determine."

And again afterwards, when he, Mr. *Murray*, was sent on the same Business to London, "As to what great Matters Mr. *Murray* was able to bring about in *England* for the Service of his Cause, we are yet in the Dark—I can only judge by Conjecture, form'd from the Knowledge, how much some Persons, and those not of an interior Rank, had been difgusted on the Account of *Hanover*, and the Partiality, which, it was said, was shewn at the Battle of *Dettingen*, to those of that Electorate: And thence, I say, a *Guess*, not altogether romantic, may be made, that in the Heat of Resentment, some Things might be promis'd, which cooler Reafon disavow'd."

Now, Sir, give me Leave to say, that for Impertinence and Scandal, thefe and other

fimilar Passages which our *Apologist* has scatter'd up and down his Performance, are scarce to be match'd by any Libel extant. The great Drift of them all is apparently to countenance the Cause, by exciting a Belief, that the Train was laid in *England* as well as *Scotland*; and this Belief we are to ground on his *Guesses*, *May-be's* and *Conjectures*. For as to what he is pleas'd to mention, of the *Hanover-Controversy*, it had not the least Connection with any *Jacobite* Confederation, and was conducted by such Persons as are above all Suspicion of Disloyalty. It is undeniable, that even when the Invader was in the Heart of the Kingdom, and when it was manifest that any Diversion in his Favour would have been of the utmost Advantage to his Designs, not one Person of any Figure went over to him; but on the contrary, the whole Nation, as with one Voice, declar'd against him, and with one Heart prepar'd to drive both him and his Savage Followers back to their native Mountains. If therefore, he had indeed a Party here, with whom he had any Connection, and on whom he had Reason to place any Dependance, it follows, that they were the meanest and most despicable of Mankind, that they had neither Conscience nor Courage, that they deserve the Vengeance of both Families alike, and that not a Man of

them can, hereafter, avow his Principles, without avowing also, that he was too much a Coward to maintain them.

It is true the *Apologist* in another Place makes a slight Attempt to excuse their Conduct, by laying in effect, "That their Engagements (if they had ever enter'd into any) were only conditional, That whenever they saw a *French* Army on the Coast they would favour their Descent; and that nothing was more publicly laid by the most violent of them, than, That they never could be satisfy'd with having a King impos'd upon them by the *Scots*." But what Regard is due to this flimsy Pretence, when it is consider'd, That we receiv'd the whole Family from *Scotland*; that the *Apologist* himself has before specify'd, that Mr. *Murray*, a *Scotchman*, was the Solicitor in the Cause, as well at *London* as in the *Highlands*: And how utterly improbable it is, that those who refus'd a King from *Scotland* should accept one from *France*?

As to the virulent Speech put into the Mouth of the *French* Ministers, it deserves no other Notice than Contempt and Ridicule; For, if it should be allow'd to be genuine, it either serves to shew, how egregiously they bubble the Wretches who depend on their Countenance and Protection, or how falsely they reason on our Party-Divisions. The

People of *England* may be sensible of many Abuses, and while they are, I hope they will never want Spirit to remonstrate against them: But there is nothing they can suffer under the present Establishment, that a Parliament cannot rectify, and till repeated Experiments shall have shewn, that Parliaments are both useless and burdensome, they will never think of seeking Protection from an Exile, who stands in need of it himself.

That other strange Position, That it is inconsistent with the Policy of *France* to have the *Stuart* Family set on the *English* Throne, becaule such an Event would put a Stop to all her Schemes, deserves also nothing but Derision: Since it is notorious, that the sudden Growth of the *French* Power was principally owing to the unnatural Alliance between the Two Crowns, during the Reigns of *Charles* and *James*; and that if the Revolution had not thrown the Weight of *England* into the opposite Scale, the Balance of *Europe* had been lost irrecoverably, long ago.

But then I join heartily with him in all he says, or can say, of the perfidious Behaviour of that Court towards the *Adventurer* in their Service. It is out of all Doubt, that they promis'd him all the Succour in their Power, and the Event shew'd that they left him in a

manner to be sacrificed; not however for want of good Will to his Person or Cause, but in Despair of Success. They soon saw that the Tide of the Nation was against him, that he must of Necessity be borne down with it in the End; and that the Cost and Hazard of the Experiment would be greater than the Value of it. According, therefore, to their usual Politics, having found their Account in the Diversion it occasion'd on the Continent, they made their Obligations subservient to their Interest, and gave over the Pursuit.

And now, all that remains is, to consider, how the raising a new Rebellion was confident with the many Virtues ascrib'd to the Person, who was the Leader in that Enterprize, by his Admirers.

The Nation was then, as it still continues, engag'd in Two several Wars, with Two of the greatest Powers of the Continent; and, however disgusted the Majority had shewn themselves with those in Power, and the Measures they had pursued, so little did those in Power apprehend that their Disgust arose from their Disaffection, that they empty'd the Kingdom of almost all its regular Troops, and in a manner rely'd on the People themselves for the Defence of the Government.

I do not say this was over-prudent, with respect of the Situation of our Affairs abroad;

the Opportunity invited the Insult; and, as the Militia had been shamefully suffer'd to rust by Disuse, and to grow contemptible by being useless, it was a capital Offence against the Commonwealth, that any such Opportunity was allow'd.

The People, on the other Hand, neither complain'd of the Hazard they were expos'd to, nor so much as dreamt of taking the Advantage, to bring about any Alteration, tho' wickedly prompted to it by anonymous Writers, who in such Cafes would have been the first to shrink from the Danger.

All was Peace, Security and Happiness, from one End of the Land to the other, and yet in the midst of this blessed Composure, did this Hero, as we find him ostentatiously stil'd, enter into a Confederacy with our open and avow'd Enemies, to let loose Deftruction amongst us, by employing our own Swords to butcher one another; under the insolent Pretence of having a Right Divine to be our Sovereign Lord and Master, and to take Possession of his *own*, by any Means how wicked and ruinous soever.

We learn from our very *Apologist*, That his Enterprize was the Result of the concurring Councils of *France*, *Spain*, and *Rome*, all, as before observed, the inveterate and implacable Enemies of *England*, and that

whatever Encouragement it receiv'd from hence, was the Result of Mr. *Murray's* Negotiations: Of Remonstrances and Invitations, setting forth Oppressions, and requiring Deliverance from his Hand, which alone could justify such an Attempt, we hear not a Single Word; What was still worse, he could not be ignorant, that the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, both the Trading and Money'd Interest, and even the very Mob, were inseparably attach'd to that Family, which had been put in Possession of the Throne by the free and general voice of all: That, consequently, he would meet with insuperable Opposition, which could not but be fatal to Thousands: And that, in case he had succeeded, he would have been under a Necessity to divide the Spoils of the Commonwealth amongst the Freebooters who had help'd him to the Possession, and to have made his *Lord-Scots* as absolute Matters of the Constitution, as the *Lord-Danes* were formerly. And yet this Man, whose Ambition was so immoderate, that, rather than not grasp at a Crown, he chose to do it by the Hands of those that were not only a Disgrace to their Country, but even to Human Nature itself, and in his Way to Sovereign Power, to trample over the dead Bodies of those he pretended to take into his Protection, This

Man, this Hero, I say, we find both represented and representing himself, as coming to save, not destroy; and like *Solomon's* true Mother, chusing to yield his Right in the Child, rather than suffer it to be mangled before his Face.

You may remember, Sir, that our *Apologist* makes Use of this pompous Image, when he speaks of the Blockade of *Edinburgh* Castle, and the *gracious* Concession of the young *Adventurer* to the Inhabitants of that City, to save their Houses from being beat down about their Ears: But then he either does not know, or does not chuse to remember, that, when the Duke of *Gordon* held the same Fortress for King *James* II. the Lords *Belcarres*, *Dundee*, and the Rest of the *Jacobite* Faction, had so little, of this boasted Mercy in them, that they would have induc'd his Grace to lay the whole City in Ruins with his Cannon, only for the Sake of dislodging the Convention-Parliament, then sitting at *Holy Rood* House, and employ'd in making a Transfer of the Crown to King *William*.

And now Sir, I hope, I have not only made it appear, that our *Apologist* is a *Jacobite*, And that his Performance is calculated to serve the *Jacobite* Cause; but that the Cause itself is a rotten one, and that every Man stands self-condemn'd, either as Coward or Traitor, who

at this time of Day presumes to avow it.

I do not ask whether it is proposed to make this Apology public; Perhaps you are not in the Secret, and could not resolve me if I did. Neither the Question, nor the Thing itself, is of any great Consequence. It is, I find, the Play of the Party, at present, to address themselves to the Passions of the People, and to endeavour to serve their Hero, by: making them, in Love with his Merits and Accomplishments, and by awakening their Pity for his Misfortunes: But, I hope my Countrymen are not so senseless to pity him, who had no; Pity on them, or to love those pretended Virtues which had like to have been the Ruin of our Constitution.

Left, however, such an Infatuation should prevail, and that that Loyalty which has withstood the Storm, should melt in the Sunshine, it is the Duty of you, me, and every *Englishman*, whatever the Poison is spread, to dispence the Antidote

SIR,

*Yours, &c.*

*FINIS.*