

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
AND  
PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

*The Edition is strictly limited to 320 Copies.*



CHARLES EDWARD GIVES HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO ANTHONY WALSH FOR THE  
COURTS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN.

*Reproduced from the original painting at Serrant by permission of the Duc de la Trémoille.*

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
IRISH AND FRENCH  
(1689-1789)  
AND  
PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

*Translated from the French by*

A. G. MURRAY MACGREGOR

WITH A MAP OF THE ROUTE OF  
THE 'DOUELLE'



EDINBURGH: WILLIAM BROWN

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## INTRODUCTION

THE following pages are translated from *Une Famille Royaliste Irlandaise et Ecosaise et Le Prince Charles Edouard*: a French publication unsigned but compiled from original Mss. by the present Duc de la Trémoille, a descendant in the female line of the family of Walsh.

Of Irish origin, but settled in France, the Walshes were distinguished for ardent loyalty to the exiled Royal House of Stuart, and two brothers of the family were especially active in the service of Prince Charles Edward. The one, whose voyage to Scotland with the Prince in 1745 is here recorded, was created Earl Walsh by James III. (VIII.), and the other received from Louis XV. of France the title of Comte de Serrant, and was ancestor of the Duc de la Trémoille, who has given permission for this translation. His relative, another of the Walsh family, V. Hussey Walsh, Esq., has supplied valuable additional information and kind assistance; the letters which he has translated are marked H. W.

The French work, published at Nantes in 1901, was reviewed by *The Scotsman* in November of that year and likewise by *The Dundee Advertiser*. In these reviews the suggestion was made that an edition in English was desirable, and this translation is the result.

Not a few fresh details relative to Prince Charles Edward and his adherents are given in the volume, and the log-book of the *Doutelle*, which bore him to Scotland, appears on its pages for the first time. It is in the hope that these will prove interesting that the work is now offered to the public by

The Translator

A. G. MURRAY MACGREGOR.

Perth, *December* 1903.



## PREFACE<sup>1</sup>

*'Semper Ubique Fideles.'*

WHILST classifying the archives of Serrant, I found letters addressed to Legrand, signed Douglas. The mysterious style, the friendly but sometimes dictatorial tone of this correspondence was strange and incomprehensible.

A note, recently discovered, from Prince Charles Stuart to Antony Walsh<sup>2</sup> gives the key to the enigma: 'Henceforward my address is Mr. Douglas. Remember that for every one you are Monsieur Legrand.'

Thus it is to Walsh that this correspondence is addressed by the Prince of Wales.

Continuing my researches, I have collected numerous documents, which give fresh details of the wandering life of the exiled Princes and their relations with the Court of Louis XV.

The correspondence of the Prince of Wales begins in 1745.

The events of this epoch seemed to favour the projects of the claimant.<sup>3</sup> The victory of Fontenoy, the support promised by Louis xv., had re-animated all the hopes of King James, and determined the Prince to attempt a descent on England. On the 2nd June 1745, the frigate, the *Dutillay*, raised her anchor in the roadstead of Mindin, for the voyage to Scotland; Prince Charles Edward was on board, and disembarked on the 11th August at Lochnanuagh, to maintain, arms in hand, the cause of the King, his father. The interests of France were to see the plans of the claimant successful. Louis xv, to support the Jacobite expedition, had given orders to collect ships at Dunkirk: eighteen battalions of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry formed a corps of land forces. Maurepas, entrusted with the execution of the King's will, hurried the organisation and departure of the troops. The command of the French fleet was committed to Anthony Walsh, a devoted servant of the Stuarts. It was on his frigate, the *Dutillay*, that the Prince of Wales had recently gone to Scotland. Everything was preparing in France to embark the troops and to set sail about the month of March 1746. Delays, difficulties, the cause of which is unknown, prevented the succour being ready in time to be useful. Prince Charles Edward, abandoned to his own forces, was defeated at Culloden in the month of April 1746. The cause of the Stuarts was lost, the descent of the French on England countermanded.

A correspondence of d'Heguerty,<sup>4</sup> speaking of the project of the expedition to England

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<sup>1</sup> [From the French. Such documents as were written in English will be noted.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Walsh, descendant of an Irish family, born at St. Malo 1703, died at Saint Dominique 1763.

<sup>3</sup> ['Pretendant,' the correct meaning is that of 'claimant,' rather than the false epithet obnoxious to every Jacobite.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> Heguerty, an Irishman who settled in France and became an 'armateur' [i.e. ship-owner or shipbroker, 'armateur' signifying one who fits out a vessel at his own expense.—TR.].

and of its organisation, begins this publication. Letters Patent from the Kings of France and of England terminate these old reminiscences of a royalist family.



**AN IRISH AND FRENCH ROYALIST FAMILY AND PRINCE  
CHARLES EDWARD  
1689—1789**

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MONSIEUR WALSH

*Paris, 26th Decber. 1744.*

SIR,—Are you still inclined that I should go forward to ask the King<sup>1</sup> for a War-Ship of 50 or 60 guns, to which we would join a corvette to convoy 4 or 5 vessels of 3 or 400 tons laden with provisions, which we would send to Martinique, and whilst these vessels made their traffic the warship and the corvette would cruise towards the English Isles to windward?

My Society of the Emerald intends to undertake the equipment; and begs you, when you are at Rochefort, if you join interests with us, to arrange immediately the equipment of the Man-of- War which the King may grant to us. Do not think of the *Jason*, for it will not be given to us.

Annexed is an extract of a letter written to the Comte de Maurepas<sup>2</sup> in the month of May last by a private person in London on whose opinion one can rely. It appears from this extract that the four ships having started about last June with provisions and supplies for two years, their intention would be to cruise during a year at least in the latitudes of our factories, on the coast of Malabar and on that of Coromandel. Supposing they doubled the Cape in Sepber. or Octber. it is not probable that they can be prepared to pass it again in the first or second monsoon of next year, that is in Febry. or May next, from which I conclude that these four vessels bound for India could not hurt the project we have formed, that Monsieur Pepin de Bellisle<sup>3</sup> should go to the Cape or cruise to windward of St. Helena; he surely would not find these vessels, which seem only to be destined to protect their commerce and injure that of our Company. I consider (submitting my opinion to yours) that our project of expedition should hold good.

I have the honour to be, with truth, my dear Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

Since writing my letter, Sir, I have been asked to inquire if I could not find a friend able and willing to lend 200 'livres'<sup>4</sup> on the contracts of the Hotel de Ville, of which a sale would be effected in due form, and in the event of this sum not being duly paid, in the period of one year, the said contracts on the Hotel de Ville for the amount of the said

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<sup>1</sup> [LOUIS XV.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Minister under LOUIS XV. and LOUIS XVI., ob. 1781.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> Pepin de Bellisle, Captain of a ship of the Mercantile Marine.

<sup>4</sup> [in this case probably pounds sterling, as the sum in francs would be so small.—TR.]

200 livres would remain the complete property of the lender, so that there would be no annoying consequences to be feared. I have been solicited to address myself to you in the first place, because of the wish that you should have this obligation rather than any other; between you and me, it is the Prince of Wales who requires this sum; you may be sure it is not to squander,<sup>1</sup> but to make purchase of things necessary for his views. Inform me if you and your friends can do him this favour. Nothing is asked of you without giving you all the securities that you can reasonably ask from the Prince, and the King his Father. I shall await your answer to this, to communicate it to the person who entrusted to me to write to you on the part of the Prince.

I have the honour to be, without reserve, my dear Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

I need not recommend to you perfect silence as to this.

MONSIEUR WALSH

Paris, 9th *Jany.* 1745.

Sir,—I owe an answer to the three letters which you have done me the honour to write to me, of the 31st of the past month, and 2nd and 5th of this one. To the first was joined the letter which you wrote to M. Hibre de Rochefort, which I communicated to M. Pellevin, who sent new orders to the officers of the Port to facilitate and hurry on the fitting out of the *Apollon*.

You propose to add the *Dutillet* to the three ships which we intend to send to America; this is excellent, but I think that when the two ships which go to Martinique and Guadeloupe take their return cargoes, and are to be convoyed by the war vessel which is to be given to us, as far as the Caye St. Louis, to which we shall send the two other vessels, including the *Dutillet*, to return together in consort, it would not I think be prudent to abandon to its fate the loaded vessel which, carrying to Caye St. Louis wine and flour, would have to return alone laden with sugar. Here therefore is what I conceive as to this project.

Supposing the *Apollon* to be the war vessel, she would convoy four ships, viz.

The *Redoutable*, 340 tons, laden with provisions for Martinique.

The *Vainqueur*, 230 tons, laden with provisions for Guadeloupe.

The *Elisabeth*, 400 tons, laden with wine and flour for Caye St. Louis.

The *Dutillet*, laden with gunpowder and swords, cutlasses, bayonets,<sup>2</sup> cordage, etc., part to be for Martinique and part for Caye St. Louis, or all for the Caye.

When these vessels reach Martinique they will separate, that is, the *Dutillet* will convoy from Martinique to Guadeloupe the *Vainqueur*, and from thence will continue her route with the *Elisabeth* to the Caye of St. Louis, where these two vessels will wait

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<sup>1</sup> [‘Pour en faire bombance,’ to make great feasting.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [‘Armes blanches.’—TR.]

for the *Apollon*, which, after cruising about while the *Redoutable* and the *Vainqueur* carry on their traffic, would return to Martinique to convoy the *Redoutable*, and from thence to Guadeloupe to fetch the *Vainqueur*, convoying both to Caye St. Louis, so that all five may start together and return to France. As I have nothing like your experience and capability, I refer it to you.

You did well to forbid the enrolled men<sup>1</sup> to pass to Rochefort till the *Apollon* is ready to go to sea, and I think that this equipment should not be hurried, because the best use we can make of this ship will be to convoy the said vessels to America and to cruise about during the trading. I believe the Minister would not grant it to us to go to Vera Cruz, because there is no cruising<sup>2</sup> to be done in those seas where there is only the commerce of the Spaniards carried on here and there. You would not think, I suppose, of sending her to Carthagena, where there is still a great deal of dry goods unsold, and where flour and wine alone would sell well. (I have lately been well informed about this.) Now the only repayment on so considerable a cargo would be the freight of piastres in return; that of course would be the only object, but you may be sure M. Vincent has an invoice<sup>3</sup> which will be preferred to yours, unless you are sure that the treasure of Quito has arrived at Carthagena, in which case your house at Cadiz could easily obtain a considerable invoice.<sup>13</sup>

Write to Cadiz, you will have an answer before the *Apollon* is ready, and at the worst we could obtain another; but pay attention, I beg you, that if I obtain permission for such a voyage, you must cede to me a third of the commission both for purchases and for returns either for Carthagena or for Vera Cruz; you will easily guess the reason of this concession.<sup>4</sup> I write you this under the seal of inviolable secrecy. I wish you a speedy recovery, and am, without reserve, V.T.H.S.<sup>5</sup> I flatter myself that we shall get the vessels adjudged to us on their sale.

D'HEGUERTY.

MONSIEUR WALSH

*Paris, 13th February 1745.*

I HAVE received, my dear Sir, the honour of yours of the 9th, and with it a letter for M. Pellevin, to which I have added one which I have written to him. The gout, which has kept me in bed a fortnight, does not permit me to travel to Versailles, which I should do without hesitation, to represent to the Minister the irregularity of his proceeding about your powder. I have expressed my opinion very strongly to M. Pellevin. You shall know what he answers me.

M. de Maurepas has positively refused me the permission to send the *Apollon* to our islands. It is true that if he permitted it, he would act diametrically in opposition to what he has planned for the convoys. Any way we cannot take any determined part till you

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<sup>1</sup> ['Gens de levée': the men enrolled as the fighting force on board the man-of-war.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Opportunity of a 'course' in privateering.

<sup>3</sup> ['Registre.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> To give an interest to the Prince of Wales.

<sup>5</sup> [Votre très humble Serviteur.—TR.]

receive advices from Cadiz. M. Vincent, who has just left the house, told me he expected all his instructions by the ordinary (post) which should arrive from Spain this evening. It will be the letters from Spain which will guide us.

But permit me to represent to you that if the *Apollon* went alone to St. Domingue her voyage would not be as advantageous if you only count on lading there 300 tons, of which 200 in wine, and 100 in flour.

This voyage would only be advantageous, supposing the Minister permits it, provided the *Apollon* were accompanied by a transport of 350 or 400 tons, then it would be very good. This vessel could be laden with beef, butter, candles, wines and meals.

These vessels would pass by Martinique or Guadeloupe. They would sell there their beef and butter; in return they would take cotton and coffee; from thence they would proceed to St. Domingue where they would sell their wine and flour, and the *Apollon* would be laden as much as possible with indigo, and the transport with sugar. By this means a grand voyage could be made. Pay attention that if the Minister grants this permission, it will doubtless be on condition of paying 8 per cent, on the returns, independently of the 5th of the freight of the *Apollon*. But, as I have already said, we must wait till you have received your letters from Cadiz. I send you with this a copy of the letter I wrote the 1st of this month to your brother at Cadiz.

I have written to M. de la Cucutière to ask him for a master to be maintained at Rochefort; I await his answer; I think he will do me this favour. I have heard of the illness of M. de Bellisle. I am delighted that he is out of the affair.

It is very strange that I have heard nothing of my Irish ships.

My frigate has, within a few days, made 4 captures, of which one returning from Antigua was laden with sugar, cotton, and 23 elephants' tusks, the three others laden with provisions leaving Cork for Jamaica. I estimate that these prizes may be worth '200/m.'<sup>1</sup>

D'HEGUERTY.

MONSIEUR WALSH

18th Februry.

I CONFIRM, Sir, my last letter of the 13th current, and I have since seen M. de Maurepas. He told me he had received your letter in which you proposed to him to send the *Apollon* to the Isles to convoy the vessels and make a cruise there, which he absolutely refused; and on what I represented to him of my having informed you of my ideas about this vessel, that it would be infinitely better to decide upon Vera Cruz, he consented to this voyage; I must tell you that M. Pellevin had informed him about it the night before.

M. Vincent is obliged to address himself to M. Porée to command his vessel the *Elisabeth* in place of M. de Bréville who has refused.

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<sup>1</sup> [Probably 200,000 'livres tournois' ('tournois' from the town of Tours), the value of a 'livres tournois' being francs, the total value would be £10,000.]

Between ourselves, if you think M. de Bellisle rather inexperienced to command our *Apollon* in a voyage of this consequence, give him at least a second, experienced and wise, who has already made this voyage, and who knows the language, besides this voyage is as easy as that of St. Domingue.

I salute you, and count upon me inviolably having the honour to be very entirely, Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

MONSIEUR WALSH

*Paris, 24th Febry. 1745.*

MY DEAR SIR,—The letters from Spain which were expected on the 13th will only arrive to-night. We shall see what they will bring to M. Vincent.

Is it not time to think even now of the great equipment which we have meditated on a small scale? Could one not from now arrange with the Minister for 4 or 5 Men-of-War or Frigates, and to secure afterwards part of their provisions, which would be sent to 'Cap Verd,' to conceal our design more perfectly from the enemy. I flatter myself that I shall be able to find here a good part of the funds adapted to this enterprise. Send me your opinion upon this.

I have given, or rather I have sent, to M. Chauvel, director of the equipment of the frigate the *Emeraude*, a letter of recommendation and of credit to you. I beg you to be civil to him; he is a good and frank merchant. He goes to Nantes to assist at the sale of the *Elisabeth* and of her cargo, where we can make ourselves adjudicators of one or other, or perhaps of both. If he requires money you might supply him with it, taking his drafts on me, which I shall duly honour.

I have the honour to be, very perfectly, my dear Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

*27th Febry.*

SINCE my letter was written, Sir, I have just received the following notice.

The 13th Febry. the *Jerzay* of 60 guns and the *Ludlow Castle* of 40 tons sailed from the 'Dunes'<sup>1</sup> for Spethead with the vessels outward bound.

The 16th Febry. there remained at the Downs the *Winchester* of 50 guns, the *Harvick* also of 50 guns. There were more than 5 Dutch Men-of-War, with three ships of the East India Company, which are to leave soon under the escort of the Dutch vessels.

D'HEGUERTY.

After the departure of this convoy I think one could go to the Downs.

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<sup>1</sup> [The Downs.—TR.]

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
MONSIEUR WALSH

Paris, *10th March* 1745.

I HAVE received, my dear Sir, the honour of yours dated from Rochefort. It informs me that you have arrived there in good health, on which I congratulate you. I have never doubted but what M. de Bellisle would be welcomed and assisted in his fitting out. Independently of my having recommended him, he has in himself all that is necessary to gain the esteem and good will of people in office. May my son some day walk in his footsteps.

I think that if the *Apollon* is accompanied by two corsairs of strength, she can try the adventure at the Downs, where, at the departure of a private individual who arrived 3 days ago from that country, there were only two warships with a third of the crew, and they remained at the Downs to take by force some of the crews of ships returning into the river Thames. There were also several ships which had come down the Thames and were to go under convoy to Spethead.

If I obtain a copy of the project of de la Bourdonnaye for which I am going to ask, I will send it to you. M. Pellevin will reflect on the means of arranging this enterprise. You will do well on your side to send me the sketch of your plan, which I will work out, if you do not care to give yourself the trouble, in order to present it afterwards to M. Pellevin who will incorporate it in his project, and when he has finished it, I will send it to you. You can draw from Mr. Buttler the lights which he has on this enterprise, they will serve much to enlighten M. Pellevin. I think that it will not be objectionable that you should invite Mr. Buttler to start an exchange of letters with me on this affair. After all there is no hurry yet about that; you will have time to see him and to confer together on the measures, the number of ships, and of the troops.

Nothing more must be thought about the two frigates to be built at Brest, where there are neither masts, wood, nor hemp.

The ship of 50 guns constructing at Bayonne is to be given to-day or to-morrow to M. Vincent. He offers 20,000 crowns down to have the vessel delivered with its guns, complete rig<sup>1</sup> and sails, anchors,<sup>2</sup> etc., in the month of August next. These 60,000 francs are for only one voyage to Vera Cruz. I have given him up my share. He has acted towards me with little delicacy. O'Brien sends me the accompanying note.

I have the honour to be, without reservation, my dear Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*Dunkerque, 8th March* 1745.

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<sup>1</sup> ['Agrés,' more correctly 'agreits' or 'agrets,' the rigging.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Apparaux,' this term comprises sails, rigging, tackle, anchors, guns, etc., of a ship. — TR.]

SIR,—I receive at this moment news from my friend of Ostend. I impart them to you, to fulfil my promise. At Portsmouth a squadron of 28 vessels is being fitted out, intended, it is said, for service in the channel. There is not a single war vessel in the Downs, the one which passed M. de Bellisle in England is intended, with the two frigates, to cruise in the north. A new ship going down the Thames capsized in the river, the captain and more than two hundred people were drowned by this accident. I have the honour to be very perfectly, Sir, your very humble and obedient Servant,

O'BRIEN.<sup>1</sup>

MONSIEUR WALSH

*Paris, 13th March 1745.*

I HAD the honour to write to you, my dear Sir, the 9th of this month. I have since had yours of the 5th. The Minister has decided we shall only have the 50 soldiers ordered. Regard this order given as a real favour, considering the circumstances. Envy has existed from all time, it is only the envious who die, may M. de Bellisle nourish this unhappy passion till it gives him a mortal indigestion.

The orders to raze the poop<sup>2</sup> of the *Apollon* go by this courier. You will submit that it is your intention to replace it when we return the vessel to the king.

I think that I shall be entrusted with the Memoir of la Bourdonnaye; I have asked for it and will pass it on to you; I have a high opinion of the great affair, the only difficulty consists in obtaining vessels to be commanded by private individuals and to command the 1000 men of the marine. M. Pellevin will work hard to remove<sup>3</sup> all difficulties which might arise to retard and perhaps wreck this excellent project; I will do my best that we shall only have officers chosen by the company, and 'Malouins' [Men of St. Malo]<sup>4</sup> chosen by you, to command these vessels. He urged that the naval officers that would be employed on this expedition would be in despair at seeing themselves commanded by private people drawn from commerce, and if the success depended on them would be capable of making it fail.

I give you notice that M. Pellevin counts on the *Apollon* serving in this expedition.

You will find with this the advice I have received from Dunkirque that if 2 corsairs of strength can be added to our vessel, even if they find no one at the Downs, they cannot fail to find the vessel and the two frigates which took Messrs. de Bellisle to England. The gazettes of Holland for the month of last January or February will tell you of what strength these frigates are.

A thousand friendly and cordial compliments I beg to M. de Bellisle. Embrace my idle son for me.

I have the honour to be, without reservation, my dear Sir, your very humble and very

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<sup>1</sup> Irishman settled in France. Devoted servant of the Stuarts.

<sup>2</sup> ['Dunettes.'—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Lever,' the verb has different meanings, here it must be used in the sense of remove—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [M. Walsh was born at St. Malo.—TR.]

obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

MONSIEUR WALSH

Paris, 30th March 1745.

I HAVE received yours, Sir, again without date, under the cover of which was your acknowledgment in the name of Messrs. Pellevin and La Porte which I have remitted to the former. This rebate<sup>1</sup> of 1/16 has come very much to the purpose. You will certainly want assistance with the Minister to calm his displeasure that the *St. Joseph* has not fulfilled her engagements and followed out her destination to Spain. The Minister at Madrid will be no less irritated against you and your brother at Cadiz.

Be careful to make the Spanish passengers, of whom there are some it is said, sign the minutes of agreement,<sup>2</sup> and if there are piastres 'per also,'<sup>3</sup> declare them in good faith to the Minister, or entrust to me, whichever you like, what you wish me to say to the Minister or M. Pellevin. This affair, from what I hear said, must cost you a distribution of piastres. If the thing is absolutely necessary, it should be rendered as little costly as can be. Make up your mind and let me know what you think fit.

The Comte de Maurepas does not know what he has done with the Memoir of M. de la Bourdonnaye. Take care, before proposing anything here, to prepare a very circumstantial memoir. Mr. Buttler will be able to help you considerably. The project embraces many things and perhaps more than you foresee. I will inform you of all that I know, and what I impart will not be indifferent. I warn you that I think the Minister affects to say he has lost the Memoir of la Bourdonnaye, in order to see you come, and judge by the memoir you send him if you and Mr. Buttler are sufficiently aware of the importance of the enterprise, and if you indicate the means of succeeding in it. I add to this reflection that it would be well that Mr. Buttler should arrange his affairs so as to be able to come and sacrifice three weeks here near the Minister.

You have asked permission to have the poops<sup>4</sup> razed. You have obtained the permission, and yet M. de Bellisle has started without having them razed.

We shall not have war with the Dutch so soon.

I have the honour to be, very perfectly, Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

MONSIEUR WALSH

Paris, 1th April 1745.

I HAVE received, Sir, the honour of yours of the 1st of this month, in which you inform

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<sup>1</sup> ['Cession.'—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Procès verbal.'—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [The meaning of this commercial term has not been traced.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> ['Dunettes'—here mentioned in the plural.—TR.]



me of the departure of the *Apollon*. May his divine rays light a number of English vessels into our Ports. If the ship is a fast sailor I hope for some, if she is heavy I despair of any.

Orders will be given at the Ports to replace the sailors who may be lacking to the vessel where she touches. You no longer mention to me your *Du Tillet*. Shall you not send her or some other little frigate with the *Apollon*? It seems to me absolutely necessary for the success of her cruise. Mr. Ruttelidge will send the *Elisabeth* to cruise in the North. I have no interest in this vessel, nor anything to arrange with this individual.

You cannot sufficiently occupy yourself with our great affair; consider maturely with Mr. Buttler all the measures which human knowledge and prudence suggest; represent to yourself first all the obstacles and difficulties which an enterprise of this importance may encounter, that nothing, not one difficulty, may escape you; foresee them all, if possible, to forestall them, that nothing may retard the expedition nor occasion its failure. Work up the plan together, so that the Minister, already favourably prepared, may see as in a picture by a master-hand, that you know perfectly what we have to undertake, and that the Memoir may be reasoned out and so circumstantial that he may have nothing more to desire.

Regulate first the number of vessels necessary for this expedition. I speak first of War ships, then of transports; also of the number of marines, and whom you propose to command these vessels, and the soldiers who are to be landed; from what place and at what time you will dispatch your provisions; where you will have them taken to be stored, so as to conceal from the Enemy the knowledge of our design, for you doubtless understand that these vessels would only carry provisions for 3 or 4 months.

Not only will it be necessary to provide provisions for this squadron for 8 or 10 months, but also provisions for the troops which may be left yonder (if we succeed) for a year or more.

Do you intend to employ the *Apollon* in this expedition? When you have well worked and revised your ideas with Mr. Buttler, it will be absolutely necessary that one of you two should come here for a fortnight. Adieu, my dear Sir, count upon my Sentiments of true attachment.

I have the honour to be your very humble and very obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
MONSIEUR WALSH

*Fitz-James, 12th April 1745.*

THE offers which you have already made to me of your services give me reason to hope that I may presently receive from you one which is of the greatest importance to me. Mr. Rutledge, to whom I have entrusted- this for you, will explain more particularly what it is about. You can have faith in all he will tell you about it from me, but I take it upon myself to assure you that I shall preserve for you a very exact recollection of the zeal which you may evince to me on this occasion. I recommend above all to you as well as to him an inviolable secrecy with regard to every kind of person, whoever it may be, without exception, and in the second place extreme diligence.

A Dieu.

Your good friend,

CHARLES P.

MONSIEUR WALSH'S REPLY To The Prince's Letter Of 12th April<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD,—My zeal for your Cause has no limits, and I am prepared to undertake anything where the service of Your Royal Highness is concerned, who I hope will allow me to go to Paris to represent to him by word of mouth what cannot be said by letter owing to the risk it runs of falling into the hands of his enemies, who cover the seas on all sides. If after my representations Your Royal Highness persists in wishing to undertake the passage I will willingly give him a little frigate, a good sailor, which I will cause to be ready as soon as possible, but on condition your Royal Highness will allow me to accompany him and share all the perils to which he may wish to expose himself.

My discretion is equal to my zeal; hence Your Royal Highness's secret is buried; nothing will transpire on my part, on this he may depend, as well as on the very great respect with which I am, my Lord, Your Royal Highness' most humble Servant,

ANTHONY WALSH.

*Nantes, 22d April 1745.*

MONSIEUR WALSH

*27th April 1745.*

I HAVE just received yours of the 22d April, and am very pleased with the zeal and affection which you evince towards me. You may reckon that I only seek the public good in what I undertake, but I shall distinguish in a very special manner those who have contributed towards it with me. As that which you engage to do on this occasion is the most essential service that can ever be rendered to me, you may be assured that the memory of it which I shall preserve will last as long as my life. I have charged the Chevalier Sheridan to write to you more in detail, all that I wish from you, and you may implicitly trust all that he makes known to you thereupon from me.—Your good friend,

CHARLES P.

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<sup>1</sup> [Communicated by V. Hussey Walsh, Esq., 1893.—TR.]

## MONSIEUR WALSH

*Paris, 8th May 1745.*

SINCE my last of the 5th current, I have received, my dear Sir, the honour of your last, of the 3rd (April?). M. de Maurepas accepts the vessel the *Anglezey* on the footing of the judicial estimate of it, which will be taken at Port Louis, after which he will cede it to us, on the same conditions as the *Apollon* was granted to you; and to put us in a position to equip it, it has been agreed to have paid to me as soon as the adjudication is made, 50,000*l.* down, and the surplus in the terms which the Minister may desire. I shall the less press him to advance the terms of payment, because he has consented to leave us this frigate till the complete payment of what may remain due to us of the price of the adjudication.

Pray observe that we shall be treated well or ill, according to the intelligence of the person you propose to watch over our interests at the time of the adjudication.

We must renounce our views about Mr. Macarty commanding this frigate, the Minister has absolutely refused me this, his presence being very necessary at Quebec, to which he is to go immediately. I would willingly propose to you in his stead M. de St. Georges, Captain of the ships of the East India Company, but he wants to be independent, and would not consent to serve under the orders of M. de Bellisle. The Comte de Maurepas, to whom I spoke of him yesterday, told me to let him manage and he would try to bring him to my views; let me know if they are yours, because if you had the least indifference as to his nomination I would let the matter drop. I will observe to you that the Minister is much inclined for this officer of the Company, which is partly the reason why I have cast eyes upon him, persuaded that the Minister will see with secret satisfaction the vessels of the King, which he has destined to us for the grand project, pass gradually under the command of officers who know the map and their trade.

I have not been able to inform the Minister of the condition of this frigate, whether she sails well or ill, what are her steering powers, her nature, etc. I apply to you to give me news of this, that I may inform him; do not trouble yourself about the equipment, there is a treaty or convention between the Minister and the Company to furnish mutually the requirements for the fitting out of war vessels or those of the Company. I am very glad that this frigate is to be fitted out at Lorient, where everything needful for the equipment of a vessel is at hand, besides, the vessels of the Company having started, the whole port and the workmen will be at our disposal.

The difficulties which meet Mr. Buttler in the grand project, and which he has made you face, must be removed before undertaking anything of such importance; with regard to the squadron of Barnett, composed of 3 war ships and a corvette, of which one carries 60 guns, and two 50 guns, we shall know by the first vessels returning from India, either in England or in France, the route, the manoeuvre, the project of the squadron and its success; we shall learn also if it returns with the ships which the English Indian Company expect this year. This little squadron, if I mistake not, has 300 soldiers who have probably been landed on the island.

Should this squadron come back this year, and if only two war vessels went, they will no doubt follow next year the same manoeuvre which Mr. Barnett may have done, and if

he brings back the vessels, those which return next year will take the same route, and it is by this that we shall have to guide ourselves. I reserve myself however to converse with you and Mr. Buttler on this most serious affair on your arrival here. Be assured that M. Pellevin is informed every week of what happens in England regarding equipments of every kind. You say that we shall require 6 vessels of 50 or 60 guns, act so as to impress the spirit of the Minister with the success of the enterprise, and be sure that the ships will not fail us. Let me know I beg if M. de Bellisle is content with the sailing of his ship and of her captures.

It is true that the Elector of Bavaria<sup>1</sup> has made peace, and a very disgraceful peace<sup>2</sup> with the Queen of Hungary,<sup>3</sup> he renounces his pretensions to the succession of Austria, of which he abdicates the title of Archduke, he has engaged to give his vote to the Grand Duke<sup>4</sup> at the next election. The king<sup>5</sup> sends 3000 fresh troops to Bavaria to prevent the Queen of Hungary marching her troops either to Italy, or against the King of Prussia.

I shall await his<sup>6</sup> arrival, to reason together upon the affair of ... of which the success would be infallible if we took our measures beforehand; your presence will be absolutely necessary at Nantes, and you will have I think quite time to go there.

On the 4th of this month we were 110 'toises'<sup>7</sup> from the covered way of the city of Tournay.<sup>8</sup> The enemy that day, about 4 in the morning, made a sortie on the right and left of our parallel, but the 'louables cantons' who made this attempt, did nothing of importance.

Adieu, dear Sir.—Your humble and very obedient servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

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<sup>1</sup> [Maximilien, son of Charles VII., who died at this period.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Treaty of Füssen.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Empress Maria Theresa of Austria and Queen of Hungary.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, husband of Maria Theresa.—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> [Louis XV. of France.—TR.]

<sup>6</sup> [Whose? Probably M. de Bellisle.—TR.]

<sup>7</sup> [A 'toise' = 6ft.—TR.]

<sup>8</sup> [In Belgium—Marshal Saxe with the French army besieged the city early in 1745, and an army of English, Dutch, and Austrians marched against him just before the battle of Fontenoy, which took place 11th May 1745 (New Style).—Tr.]

**[JOURNAL OF THE SHIP BEARING PRINCE CHARLES  
TO SCOTLAND.]**

[The dates given in this Journal are all 'New Style' or by the Gregorian Calendar, which was then used in France, while in British records of the same period the Julian Calendar or 'Old Style' was in use, in which the dates are eleven days later. Thus July 2nd of the Journal corresponds with June 21st of British chronology.—TR.]

In the name of God and of the very holy Trinity.

The present journal is to be commenced to be of use to me, Darbé, commanding the frigate *Dutillet*<sup>1</sup> of Nantes, equipped for war with 18 guns, 24 'pierriers,'<sup>2</sup> and a crew of 67 men, for a voyage to Scotland.—[See Translator's Appendix A., page 109.]

Friday, 2nd July 1745, at 5 in the morning, I raised the anchor from the roads of Mindin<sup>3</sup> in company with the *Dryade*, the —,—,<sup>4</sup> the *Fauvelle*, the King's Frigate, six lighters<sup>5</sup> of the King and 84 boats, convoyed by the three frigates above, for the coast of Brittany, wind east. I lay to at Bonne Anse to wait for the passengers, who arrived one after the other in large boats,<sup>6</sup> so that at 7 in the evening I sent to land a little boat to embark three who had remained behind, who were H.R.H. the Prince of Wales,<sup>7</sup> the Chevalier Scheriden [Sheridan], and Monsieur Walsh. There also arrived by the barques Mr. O'Kelly, Chamberlain; Mr. MacDonald; Colonel M—; Colonel M—, Captain of the Guards; M. Touliann, Captain; Mr. MacDanald (Macdonald), banker at Paris.—[For complete list see Translator's Appendix B., page 113.]

Saturday, 3rd July.—Raised anchor from Bonne Anse and sailed outwards; at 6 o'clock was opposite the Chapelle Sainte Marie.<sup>8</sup> At 10 o'clock in the morning saw a fleet of nearly 140 sail, convoyed by three King's Frigates, and going from Nantes to the coast of Brittany. 'Le Pilier'<sup>9</sup> lay S.S.E. of the compass to me, distant 4 'lieues' [12 miles]; at midday wind from the W. I was obliged to tack till Sunday (4th July), 5 in the morning, when I anchored in the roads of Belisle.<sup>10</sup> The Fort of Belisle to the W. The Point of Taillefer to the N.W. Point of Locmaria S.E.; La Teignouse N.E.

Thursday, 8th July.—Passed two Dutch ships going to Nantes. At midday in the 'Teignouse' three frigates passed convoying about 100 barques for the coast of Brittany.

Sunday, 11th July.—There appeared two ships, coming by the 'Pointe des Poulains' to

<sup>1</sup> The *Doutelle* in the English accounts; it was, in fact, a sloop equipped for war.

<sup>2</sup> ['Paterero,' a kind of mortar.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> Lighthouse and battery, parish of St. Brévin [Loire Inférieure].

<sup>4</sup> The *Elisabeth*. See farther on.

<sup>5</sup> ['Gabarres.'—TR.]

<sup>6</sup> [Barques.'—TR.]

<sup>7</sup> [The Prince Charles Edward.—TR.]

<sup>8</sup> Near Pornic [Loire Inférieure].

<sup>9</sup> The island of Pilier, off Noirmoutier.

<sup>10</sup> Roads of the Palace in Belisle.

look for the corals of Belle Isle. I prepared myself for combat when these two vessels were within one range and a half of my cannon. I hoisted my flag and confirmed<sup>1</sup> it by firing a gun, the two ships hoisted a white flag, but without confirming it. Not wishing to trust the said ships too far, I fired a cannon ball to make them lay to, and send me their boat to know who they were; but the said ships doing nothing, I fired again, and the ball passed between the masts of Captain MacCarthy,<sup>2</sup> who lay to and came on board to make himself known. Vessels of the enemy are every day under Belle Isle, under French flags, so that one must distrust every vessel that comes there.

Tuesday, 13th (July).—The *Elisabeth*,<sup>3</sup> King's vessel, cast anchor in the [roads of Belle Isle](#) at 11 o'clock in the morning.

Thursday, 15th (July).—Raised anchor from the roads of Belle Isle in company with the *Elisabeth*, Captain Deau,<sup>4</sup> about 5 in the morning. At [8 in the evening](#) 'Groix'<sup>5</sup> was N.E., 'Les Glenans'<sup>6</sup> N.

From Saturday (17th July) at noon to Sunday, 18th, at noon.—In the N.W. 7 ships going south. We took them for ships from Brest.

From Sunday (18th July) at noon to Monday, 19th.—We still saw the 7 ships of yesterday to the S.

From Monday (19th July) at noon to Tuesday, 20th current.—We heard several shots fired coming from the N.E. We perceived that they were pursuing us, and coming obliquely upon us. Seeing the said ships nearing us we spoke M. Dau (d'O), commander of the *Elisabeth*, and prepared for battle at noon. The said vessel was to the E. at a distance of a league and a half [4½ miles] with all sails set to overtake us. We recognised it as a ship with two and a half batteries,<sup>7</sup> suspected to be English.

From Tuesday, 20th (July), at noon, to Wednesday, 21st.—Being prepared for battle, and the Chaplain having given absolution, Monsieur d'O and I approached to speak to each other. M. d'O told me he was going to furl his lower sails. Monsieur Walsh, in agreement with the Prince (Charles Edward), told me to wait an hour and continue our route. In which M. d'O acquiesced, and we agreed with the said d'O that if he were obliged to fight, as soon as he had fired his first round, we should board [the *Elisabeth*],

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<sup>1</sup> [It was the custom to 'certify' a ship's nationality by hoisting the flag, and 'assurer le pavilion' by firing off a gun when the flag was hoisted.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [See p. 15.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> War frigate of 60 guns, placed at the disposal of Charles Edward by the intermediation of Cardinal deTencin; she brought to the Prince arms, money, and furnishings. It appears from other statements that the *Elisabeth* had been captured by Mr. Walsh and adjudged to him as a prize. Possibly the French government may have bought it from him.

<sup>4</sup> Or rather d'O, whose ancestor fought at Velez Malaga with the Comte de Toulouse (in 1704).

<sup>5</sup> The island of Groix (Morbihan).

<sup>6</sup> Isles of the parish of Fouesnant (Finistere).

<sup>7</sup> Ship with two decks, with batteries in the fore and aft galleries.

and as soon as he was in grips with the English ship, to board it also and put fifty men on board. This is what we agreed upon at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Seeing that the English ship was always drawing nearer, M. d'O furl'd his lower sails, put his long boat<sup>55</sup> to sea and lay to. We saw that this ship [the enemy] only wanted to make us lose way, to give time for the ships we had seen in the morning to come up. We agreed to hoist sail<sup>1</sup> and to continue our route, which we did. The English ship seeing this, and sailing always better than we, hoisted sail also, and sent his long boat<sup>2</sup> out to gain greater advantage over us, and have more room on deck. At half-past 5 in the evening the English ship was on the beam<sup>3</sup> of the *Elisabeth*. We all furl'd our lower sails. The English commander fired from his port guns, M. d'O answered with all his starboard guns. The Englishman being to windward of the *Elisabeth* hauled down his mizzen (sail) and hoisted his jib.<sup>4</sup> The *Elisabeth* having delayed a little in executing the same manoeuvre, the Englishman had time to pass forward, and contrived so well that he fired all his port volley, which raked the *Elisabeth* fore and aft and must have killed many and done her great damage, so well also that the Englishman got between our two ships, and so well that he fired from his starboard guns three shots, which passed between my masts; my sails were riddled with his small shot<sup>5</sup> so much so that we did not fire, being out of range to reach him with our small guns; the two ships changed places and steered S.E., crossing each other, so that the Englishman fired his starboard volley and the *Elisabeth* her port volley. We waited to board the *Elisabeth* as had been agreed. We followed her close to be able to put some men on board in case of her being boarded, not being able to give her any other help, because the English guns, which were 33 pounders, did not permit us to approach her. We were much afraid that in making the course S.E. we might meet the vessels seen in the morning. We still followed the *Elisabeth* closely to be able to help her in case of her being boarded. At 10 in the evening, the firing ceased on both sides, and we went to speak the *Elisabeth*. M. Bar,<sup>6</sup> flag captain of the said ship, told us that M. d'O was dangerously wounded and that his ship was more damaged than he could say, and begged me to let down a small boat and send him some men to fit up again. I said I would do this, and to keep my boat outside, I told him to lie to, that I might be able to send it; he said he could not do it, and that I must follow him. As we feared to fall in with the vessels we had seen in the morning, we held council till it was resolved to find out if the *Elisabeth* was in a condition to put to sea, in which case we would have followed her. I inquired as to this from M. Bar, who told me it was not [fit] and that he must absolutely put into Brest. Seeing this, as we did not want to put into port, we decided by the Prince's order to continue our course to Scotland, which we did after wishing good voyage to M. Bar. We bore to the S.W. Latitude observed 47°5; longitude arrived at 5°3.

Friday, 23rd (July), to Saturday, 24th.—An hour after midday the watch called out 'Ship ahead.' She was just in front of us, a moment after we saw ten others N.N.E. of us. We thought these ships were bound N.N.W. We changed course to avoid them, heading

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<sup>1</sup> ['Faire servir.'—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Chaloupe.'—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['En bau.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> At the bowsprit mast,

<sup>5</sup> ['Mitraille.'—TR.]

<sup>6</sup> Descendant of Jean Bart.

to the E. At 5 afternoon, seeing that these ships remained in the same wind, I went aloft, and distinguished that these ships were going east. I steered N.W. to give a false route, for fear they should chase us.

Saturday, 24th (July) to Sunday, 25 th.—At 6 in the morning saw a ship straight before us, going east. I intended to bear down upon her to stop her course, but received orders to avoid her, which I did. At 10 o'clock we saw another ship, north of the one we had seen, with sails brailed. At noon the ships spoke each other, I think they are in company.

Sunday, 25th (July), at noon, to Monday 26th.—At 4 in the afternoon I saw the ships of the morning steering for us; took them for corsairs. We made all sail. Heavy wind and rain which lasted till 1 in the morning, when it calmed down. The wind came by a 'cotteé' to the north. Tightened royals and scudding sails<sup>1</sup> and put the 'amure'<sup>2</sup> to starboard. At noon saw two ships to windward bearing east.

Monday, 26th (July), at 4 in the evening.—Found myself over a kind of high ridge, which seemed clear, but full of sea-weed.

From Tuesday, 27th July, noon, to Wednesday, 28th.—Saw many birds such as gulls and coots,<sup>3</sup> and feathers on the water.

From Friday, 30th July, at noon, to Saturday, 31st.—At 4 in the morning I saw land. It appeared to be a round hill,<sup>4</sup> flat at top, very high, like a platform, to the South. Other pointed hills, about 5 or 6, S.S.W., and others joined together, forming also round hills, to the S.E. I tacked, the winds being variable, the big flat-topped hill remained in the same quarter, proving that the currents carry terribly to the East at the northern opening of the Irish Channel, causing me to find myself 26 'lieues' [78 miles] farther east than my ship,<sup>5</sup> and the 'Neptune françois'<sup>6</sup> is farther S.S.E. than the Dutch maps [or charts] by 30 minutes. That gave us an error of latitude; expecting to see to southward the Isles of Wice<sup>7</sup>; not at all: we saw the north of Ireland. The big Cape that I saw, I took from the 'Neptune' to be the island of Tores<sup>8</sup> which was S.E. of me 7 'lieues' [21 miles] distant. The great land S.W. of Tores and the others joining together into small round hills to the S.E. I took to be the islets at the Cape 'Scheeps Haiven.'<sup>9</sup> The 'Neptune françois' is better than the Dutch charts, it agrees with my instruments.

Saturday, 31st July, to Sunday, 1st August.—I do not see land at noon—the route is not promising.

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<sup>1</sup> ['Bonnettes and perroquets.'—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [A certain rope or sheet attached to a sail.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Foulques.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> ['Morne.'—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> [Meaning apparently further east than he made out the ship to be by calculation or reckoning.—Tr.]

<sup>6</sup> [Atlas or Nautical Charts by Mannevillette, first published in 1745.—Tr.]

<sup>7</sup> North and South Uist in the Hebrides.

<sup>8</sup> Tory, island on the N. of Ireland to the W. of Cape Horn Head.

<sup>9</sup> The roads of Sheep Haven.



I perceive that I am to the N. W. of the Island of Tores distant 36 miles.

Sunday, 2nd August, at noon, to Tuesday, 3rd.—I steered N.E. to reconnoitre the island of Bernera<sup>1</sup> which is the most to the south of the islands of 'Wice.'<sup>2</sup> At 6 in the evening saw the Isle of Bernera,<sup>3</sup> which remained to the east of us, distant about 9 'lieues' [27 miles]. These are very high [mountainous] islands, with small ones interspersed. By daylight I passed to the E. of the said islets of the Isle of Wice.<sup>4</sup> On my starboard there remained several islands distant 15 or 18 miles which are marked on the maps. I was alongside of a big island, very high, and steeply cut into peaks on every side, behind which on the great island are houses. I lowered my 'chaloupe'—Mr. Macdonald, Banker of Paris, and his servant, embarked in it and went to land to speak and to fetch a pilot. This place is called 'Bara.'<sup>5</sup> At 10 o'clock a long boat, which crossed over from the land,<sup>6</sup> came out. She carried a horse, a calf, a woman, and children. We took the Master of the said long boat to pilot us. At 11 o'clock our own boat came back with a pilot. Mr. Magdonnel reported to us that he had been told the plot was discovered, and that on the said islets an English gentleman had been captured and taken to the Tower of London, which should instruct us as to what should be done. We made up our minds and started for the island of Canay.<sup>7</sup> As soon as our sails were set, we saw a ship tacking, her top-sails close reefed.<sup>8</sup> The said ship is a big one. We take her to be a man-of-war. We have held council to see what has to be done. We have agreed to change our route and to seek a port which lies between the island of Barra and the island of Uist which is fairly big and from which it is only possible to leave by the West. (This port can be recognised by a square tower, which served formerly for fire,<sup>9</sup> demolished at the top. It forms the N. side of the entrance.) Having a pilot we went there to anchor.

Tuesday, 3rd August.—At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the ship which had obliged us to look for this port, as soon as our change of route was seen, went about and chased us. She made every effort to reach us in the port. Seeing this, all our passengers embarked in our boat and in one belonging to the country, and went to land on the island of Uyst of which the Lord is a Magdonald (Mac-Donald).<sup>10</sup> At 4 o'clock the English ship having been unable to reach the port in which we were, put into another port which was a mile or a mile and a half more to windward than ours.

Thinking that this ship would anchor in that port, I sent a boat of the country with an officer to warn our [passengers] to return from it and that we might get out of our port

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<sup>1</sup> [Barra Head on the Island of Berneray.]

<sup>2</sup> Uist in the Hebrides.

<sup>3</sup> [Berneray.]

<sup>4</sup> Uist.

<sup>5</sup> Barra [island].

<sup>6</sup> That is to say the mainland in contra-distinction to the islands.

<sup>7</sup> Canna, one of the Hebrides.

<sup>8</sup> ['Tous les ris pris dans ses huniers.'—TR.]

<sup>9</sup> A beacon of the time.

<sup>10</sup> [Macdonald of Clanranald. This was the day (July 23 in Old Style) when the Prince landed in Eriskay, a small island south of South Uist, where the Prince spent his first night on Scottish soil. See *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward*, p. 2.—TR.]

by favour of the night. It was terrible weather. Our gentlemen could not get back. At 10 in the evening I sent off the boat to find out, in the port which the ship had entered, if it had been discovered.

Wednesday, 4th August.—At 5 o'clock in the morning, our boat came and reported no ship had been seen. We thought it had been a feint and that the ship had pretended to go to anchor in those roads, but had sailed at night to seize us if we left. At 6 o'clock in the morning I sent back my boat to fetch our gentlemen, who returned on board at 8 o'clock, and had been wet through by the rain.

At 9 o'clock we saw, 6 miles from land, the same ship as yesterday and a frigate which kept her company. The ships did all that was possible to gain the port by tacking. The wind was contrary, and they were unable to do so. Always fearing these said vessels, we held council, and it was resolved that we should set sail as soon as night came, silently and by favour of the dark weather and gusts. At half-past 9 in the evening, I raised anchor and sailed with the sprit-sail,<sup>1</sup> the boat in front, that the sails might not appear, and we coasted the shore N. of the port in order to be protected by the land, and as soon as we felt ourselves between the land and it,<sup>2</sup> I put on all sail and coasted very near, proceeding to the N.E. I must have passed within three miles' distance of the said ship.

Thursday, at 5 o'clock in the morning, the Isle of Skye<sup>3</sup> was N.E. of me. Canay<sup>4</sup> to the S.E. and Rum<sup>5</sup> to eastward. I arrived between Scaye (Skye) and Canay and continued my course eastward, not wishing to anchor at the said islands for fear those vessels should come to seek for us there. When I had passed Rum and Canay, [Eigg<sup>6</sup> was on my starboard and the mainland<sup>7</sup> on my port](#). I held on to the S.E. I saw all the mainland in front of us. I continued my course to find it. I saw to eastward of my port a low point jutting out from the mainland, and beyond the point a rock in the form of an island. I steered to pass the islet on the starboard. Mr. Macdonald embarked in a boat we had brought from Barra, with his servant, to go and find a brother who was in this country. When I was alongside the said islet I went to port and made the complete tour round the island. I saw before me two great bays. I steered east and anchored at 3 o'clock in the evening at the head of a bay. (The tides are of 6 hours in all these coasts.) A fine plain with a few poor houses and a great many cattle. The place is called Lochnanuagh.<sup>8</sup> At 4 o'clock I lowered my boat, and the Abbé<sup>9</sup> being there, the Prince with three or four gentlemen [landed and went to the houses](#).<sup>10</sup> They found Mr. Macdonald, who was

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<sup>1</sup> ['Civadière'—Sail of the bowsprit.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Port? or the enemy?—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> Skye, one of the Hebrides. The Macdonalds are still proprietors of the island.

<sup>4</sup> Canna in the Hebrides.

<sup>5</sup> Rum in the Hebrides.

<sup>6</sup> Eigg, another of the Hebrides.

<sup>7</sup> *i.e.* Scotland.

<sup>8</sup> The fjord of the Caverns.

<sup>9</sup> The Chaplain on board.

<sup>10</sup> Prince Charles disembarked from the *Du Tillet (Doutelle)* the 25th July 1745, according to the Julian Calendar (5th August of the Gregorian Calendar). The farm of Borrodale on Loch nan Uagh was tenanted by Angus Macdonald. At Glen Finnan, at the

known as the Lord [Laird] of the place, and we said that we were smugglers.<sup>1</sup> The son of Mr. Magdonoel (Macdonald) came on hoard with a priest who lived at the place.

Friday, 6th August.—Conversations began. Several gentlemen of the country came on board, and we asked for a place where we could disembark our arms. We emptied all our barrels of salt water and filled them with fresh; also took three barrels of ballast.

Saturday, 7th.—Some Lords<sup>2</sup> came on board, who quickly returned to raise the country.

Sunday, 8th.—We landed.

Monday, 9th.—At 10 in the morning we sailed to anchor in another little bay called [Loch Aylost](#).<sup>3</sup> At the entrance of this bay there are three big islets. We entered the said bay, skirting the coast to the S. between the southernmost island and the side.

At 10 o'clock in the evening, we unloaded a portion of our arms and ammunition and took it to land.

Tuesday, 10th (August).—A great 'chaloupe' came alongside with several gentlemen of the country to see the Prince, the 'chaloupe' in returning took with it a good deal of the luggage of the Prince and the gentlemen. We went on shore through the day to amuse ourselves. At 10 o'clock at night, we commenced sending arms and ammunition ashore, till 3 o'clock in the morning.

Wednesday, 11th (August).—We cut down wood, and at night unloaded ammunition. The great 'chaloupe' came alongside, bringing a number of gentlemen, and took off a good deal of luggage. The next day we went ashore to fish and shoot.

Thursday, 12th (August).—The day passed doing nothing. We went ashore to amuse ourselves and see the Highlanders.

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head of Loch Shiel, is a round tower built by Mr. Macdonald of Glenaladale on the spot where, on Aug. 19, 1745 [Old Style], Prince Charles hoisted his standard, the honour of raising which was reserved for the Marquis of Tullibardine. This standard, brought from France, was woven in red silk with a white shield in the centre. When it floated to the wind of Scotland, about 1200 blue bonnets (700 of the Cameron Clan, and 300 of the Macdonald Clan) were thrown into the air to salute it. The Bag Pipers (*piperbragh*) sounded national pibrochs; as says a ballad, a general acclamation frightened the young eagles on their steep rocks, and Charles Edward saw shining in the hands of the faithful highlanders, 1200 claymores, of which most had already been reddened by English blood in the combats of Kilsyth, Killiekrankie and Sheriffmuir. The tower is surmounted by a colossal statue of Prince Charles by Greenshields. He is dressed in Scotch costume (highland) and with the right arm points to the South (England) as if he still addressed his partisans. A bronze tablette bearing a triple inscription in Latin, English and Gaelic, recalls the last effort of a race to preserve its independence. [The Jacobite feeling was far more disinterested. Their efforts were not for independence, but in the cause of loyalty to the then most direct descendant of their lawful sovereigns.—TR.]

<sup>1</sup> ['Frordeurs.'—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> Chiefs of Clans.

<sup>3</sup> Loch Ailort, S. of Loch nan Uamh.

Friday, 13th (August).—We took on board water and wood, and put into two ‘chaloupes’ merchandise to be taken to Mr. Magdonel.

Saturday, 14th (August).—We took on board water and wood. A Bishop of the country came on board.

Sunday, 15th (August).—We did nothing. We carried our dinner on shore and fished for oysters.

Monday, 16th (August).—Five of our passengers went away to Mr. Magdonoel’s, brother of the banker, and the Prince embarked in our little boat with four gentlemen and went to sleep at [Mr. Macdonoel’s at Lochnannuagh](#). We landed all our ‘pierriers’<sup>1</sup> in the Magazines where we put our ammunition.

Tuesday, the 17th (August).—I sailed in the bay where I was and returned to anchor at Loch-an-Uagh. I arrived there at 8 o’clock in the morning. We sent dinner to the Prince, who had nothing. M. Walsh landed in the afternoon.

Wednesday, 18th (August).—We embarked oxen and sheep for our provisions. M. Walsh and I went ashore to see the Prince and to wish him success. We left him with two of the gentlemen who had crossed over (from France) with him, and not more than twelve men for company.

Thursday, 19th (August).—We sailed from the roads of Loch-nan-Uagh at 8 o’clock in the morning. When I was between Aige<sup>2</sup> and the mainland, I went north to find the passage between the island of Skye and Scotland. When between the point of Skye and the coast of Scotland, I steered N.E. The charts must not be followed, they are not good. I followed the middle of the channel and gave space to all the points of the compass<sup>3</sup> [*i.e.* sailed by traverse]. There is good anchorage in the channel as soon as you get inside it. At noon I was opposite a castle, which is on a plain between two hills. We were quite 12 miles from the entrance to the castle. When we were in front of the castle, we saw soldiers there. I doubled a point behind which were four small vessels in a bay called [Callioyheston](#),<sup>4</sup> which were English, and of which I made myself master without firing.

Names of the vessels: 1st. The *Margaret* of Aberdour, Captain William Moyes, going from Nairn to Londonderry, laden with 31 tons of oatflour. Ransomed for £100 sterling and £10 st. for the cabin.

2. The *Unity*, Captain Charles Thompson, going from Portsoy<sup>5</sup> to Londonderry, laden with 31 tons of oatflour. Ransomed for £200 sterling and £10 for the cabin.

3. The *Princess Mary*, Captain Snaip of Renfrew, going from Inverness to

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<sup>1</sup> [A kind of mortar.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> Island of Eigg.

<sup>3</sup> [‘J’ay donné rumba à toutes les pointes.’—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [‘Cailleachstane,’ a small harbour in Skye, to the N. W. of Kyle-rhea, where sailing boats lie awaiting a fair wind. I am informed by R. L. Thomson, Esq. of Strathaig, that this name appears on an old map.—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> Port between Cullen and Banff.

Londonderry, laden with 10 tons of oatmeal and 30 tons of barley. Ransomed for £100 sterling and £10 for the captain's cabin.

4. The *Lirwindiwin*, Captain William Miller, laden with planks and iron; coming from the Baltic and going to . . . Ransomed for the sum of £650 st. and £10 for the cabin.

Friday, 20th (August).—We remained at anchor.

Saturday, 21st (August).—Sailed from the roads of Callioyheston.

Note, that having hoisted sail, I could no longer see the channel which I had left the previous Thursday. It was closed by high grounds. It is necessary to be straight in front of it to find it. There is a rock at the entrance of this channel. I found myself opposite a demolished castle (keeping always mid channel) of which there remains a little square tower called Albermate, at the foot of which castle are two rocks which rather stand out. The channel is very narrow in this passage. It is much better to keep close in to the N.E. coast rather than to the other side. When we had passed the Fort, we steered N. W., then entered a great bay of which the outlet could not be seen. There are several islands in this bay, which is formed by the Isle of Skye and the coast of Scotland. From the middle of the bay one cannot see a good spot at which to find a way out. I found myself opposite a plain on which was a fine [white house belonging to Mr. Albecross](#),<sup>1</sup> who sent out a boat to see if we were bringing back the Prince. We wrote that we were not doing so, and that he should hasten to join the Prince with all the followers he could.

From Saturday, 21 (August), at midday, to Sunday, 22nd.—I remained becalmed all night, and was obliged to employ oars to enable the ship to be steered, hoping to be able to double the north of the island of Uist; but not at all. I found myself more than 15 miles under the wind [to windward?]. It is necessary to take care when you want to pass between the Isle of Skye and the Isle of Uist to avoid following the channel. There is no passage on account of the sunken reefs.<sup>2</sup>

From Sunday, 22nd August, at noon, to Monday, 23rd.—We tacked all night. At 6 o'clock in the morning saw two vessels trying to make the passage between the two islets and the island of Uist. I hoisted the English flag and sent for the captains to come on board. They were Captain W. Ettring Haru, commanding the vessel *Princesse* of Ligne, ransomed for £150 and £10 for the cabin, and Captain Jean Clampit, commanding the *Fontaine* from Ligne, ransomed for £320 sterling. Saw a brigantine which came from the south and passed between the two islands and Uist.

From Monday, 23rd (August), to Tuesday, 24th August, at noon. —A fearful sea, top sails close reefed,<sup>3</sup> I tacked between Uist<sup>4</sup> and the coast of Scotland. I pressed on till 6 o'clock in the morning. The island of Uist and Cape Wart<sup>5</sup> were to the S.E., 12 miles distant.

From the island of Uist to the coast of Scotland there are only 36 miles of crossing,

<sup>1</sup> [Probably Mackenzie of Applecross.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Récifs.'—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Tous les ris aux huniers.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> Must have been the Lewis.

<sup>5</sup> [Wrath. Apparently the ship had been driven north of its course, and some part of the mainland near Cape Wrath was mistaken for 'Uist,' that is, Lewis.—TR.]

whilst the charts mark much more. The wind was contrary and violent. We held a council as to whether we would pass by the islands of the Orcades. We had on board two English pilots as ransom,<sup>1</sup> who expressed themselves strongly in favour of going by them, in which we acquiesced.

(Remark.) We did not see the island of Rona<sup>2</sup> marked on the charts to the north of the Isle of Skye about 30 or 36 miles. Our pilots said it was N.N.W. of the island of Uist. They told us that N.E. of Cape Faro<sup>3</sup> there were two rocks high above the water. We saw them.

From Tuesday, 24 (August), at noon, to Wednesday, 25th.—I saw the isle of Hoy of the Orcades,<sup>4</sup> E.S.E., 12 miles distant. It is a high island and large, cut short, as it were, in the western part. At 6 o'clock in the evening we wished to pass between Hoy and the island Kiroualle.<sup>5</sup> Our pilot told us there was a good passage and good anchorage, but as we had the wind and tide, if we liked he would pass us between Hoy and the mainland in two hours. We all acquiesced in this, and went S.E. to reach the passage, which is very open. We pressed on all sail, but all we could do was to pass at midnight. We left some little islets on the starboard, and after passing them we skirted Cape Cailliere, or Roagisby,<sup>6</sup> of the mainland. At midnight I steered east. At 5 o'clock in the morning I saw several herring fishing-boats which were in company with two Dutch war vessels. I remained amongst them till noon.

From Wednesday, 25th August, noon, to Thursday, 26th.—Saw a brig with a Danish flag steering west. By daylight saw a big ship which chased us and gained upon us.

From Thursday, 26 (August), at noon, to Friday, 29th.—This vessel continually followed us. At 8 o'clock in the evening, a great calm fell upon us. I ordered out 8 oars. At 10 o'clock the wind freshened. I took off the oars and held as close as possible to the Cape, S.S.W.

Friday, 27th August, at noon, to Saturday, 28th.—Tempest, fearful sea. We sailed different courses, sometimes sails close-reefed, sometimes with mainsail, and shipped several seas.

From Saturday, 28th Augt., at noon, to Sunday, 29th.—Tempest.

From Sunday, 29th (Augt.), at noon, to Monday, 30th.—Saw a 'dogre'<sup>7</sup> at the Cape.

Passing the Dogre Bank<sup>8</sup> the sea appeared very clear and green.

<sup>1</sup> That is, as guarantees of the merchant ships to be ransomed, which were sailing with men from the *Dutillet* attached to their crews.

<sup>2</sup> [Evidently the reference is to North Rona, forty miles N.W. of Cape Wrath, but there was some confusion between it and South Rona, near Skye.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Farout Head.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> On the Pentland Firth.

<sup>5</sup> Kirkwall,

<sup>6</sup> Duncansby Head, the 'Promontorium Vervedrum' of Ptolemy.

<sup>7</sup> 'Dogger-lougre' [a small-decked fishing boat.—Tr.]

<sup>8</sup> Dogger Bank in the North Sea off Newcastle and Hull.

From Wednesday (1st Sepber.) to Thursday, 2nd.—I saw the light of the tower of Vly.<sup>1</sup> I remained tacking all night, and at daylight I approached the land. A pilot came on board. I had at the time an English flag, so that the pilot made me steer for the passage of the Vly. At 11 o'clock I was in the roads; there were six vessels of the company<sup>2</sup> of Holland and a vessel of the company (India) of England. The pilot wished me to anchor. I would not do so, and he took me in one tide to within 24 miles of Amsterdam.

Friday, 3rd (Sepber.).—At 4 o'clock in the morning I raised anchor and sailed. I was only able to reach the 'Pampus,'<sup>3</sup> 12 miles from Amsterdam. Monsieur Walsh embarked in the boat with the Chaplain<sup>4</sup> for Amsterdam, where they hired a carriage the same day and went off to France.

Saturday, 4th Sepber.—The winds being contrary I went to Amsterdam to see my correspondent, who told me I was in a bad plight, and that my ship was likely to be confiscated; so that I went to the town hall to make a declaration that I came from France and that I had touched in the roads here. I was asked why I had not made a declaration at the Vly. I said I did not know the custom, that my pilot wished me to anchor, but that the fear I was in of a large English vessel made me continue my course.

From Saturday, 4th Sepber., to the 15th. We received orders from M. Walsh to dismantle the ship, but for this, the hostages<sup>5</sup> I had on board gave me anxiety, as I did not wish to lose them; so I chartered a boat of the country to take my crew and convey them to Ecluse 9 miles from Bruges. I put my hostages with them, as belonging to my crew, which passed without being discovered.

The 16th Sepber., a Dutch captain and crew were sent to me. They hoisted the flag of their nation, and my correspondent having passed the sale of the ship to a merchant of the country, the ship entered the port as Dutch; otherwise she would have been seized for the voyage she had made.

*Archives of Servant: An original MS. of 35 pages in quarto, a little yellow and effaced by the vinegar of 'lazarets,' [i.e. quarantine ports].*

MONSIEUR WALSH

*Boradel, 16th August, O.S.,<sup>6</sup> 1745.*

CHEVALIER WALSH, notwithstanding all I said to you verbally, I cannot let you leave without giving you a testimonial in writing of the satisfaction which your services have afforded me. I have begged the King, my Father, to give you a mark of it, which I would do myself at once if I had it in my power. Thus you may rely that if ever I reach the throne, to which my birth calls me, you will have occasion to be as pleased with me as I am with you, and I could not say more.—Your good friend,

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<sup>1</sup> On the island of Vlealand, showing the 'Vlietrom' by which to enter the Zuyder See and reach Amsterdam.

<sup>2</sup> The East India Company.

<sup>3</sup> Roads and outer Port of Amsterdam.

<sup>4</sup> ['Aumônier.'—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> The English prisoners, cautioners taken from the trading ships captured.

<sup>6</sup> ['V.S.'—Vieux Style.—TR.]

## LETTER FROM ANTHONY WALSH TO JAMES III. (VIII.)

ANNOUNCING PRINCE CHARLES'S SAFE ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND<sup>1</sup>

SIRE,—I have been happy enough to land H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in perfect health at Borodile, off the coast of Scotland, on August 1st. I owe this happiness to divine Providence and to the great firmness of His Royal Highness himself which the greatest dangers and most unfortunate occurrences were unable to disturb.

I left His Royal Highness on August 19th with a small number of faithful subjects of Your Majesty's, taking every step to increase the number of his troops, which will apparently become considerable, especially if the people of Scotland see that they can rely upon the help of France.

I have the honour of despatching the Abbé Butler to Your Majesty, and of entrusting him with all the Prince's despatches. This 'Abbé' has had the honour of accompanying His Royal Highness to Scotland, and is therefore in a position to inform Your Majesty what were the risks we ran during the journey as well as what were the difficulties His Royal Highness had to face on his arrival.

But nothing could either overcome or equal the firmness with which His Royal Highness persisted in following up his great project.

I will do all I can to procure all possible help from the Court of France, and if the Minister only entrusts me with its conduct nothing will prevent me from carrying it out in face of every danger. All seems easy and nothing impossible to the passionate zeal which inspires me in the service of so glorious an undertaking.—I am, with the most profound respect, Sire, Your Majesty's most devoted Servant,

ANTOINE WALSH.

*Paris, 14th Sepber. 1745.*

## LETTER FROM JAMES III. (VIII.) TO ANTHONY WALSH

*Albano, Octber. 4th, 1745.<sup>2</sup>*

I HAVE received your letter of the 14th Sepber., and shal be impatient to know all the particulars that passed on the Prince's landing in Scotland, and before you left that country; the great proofs you have given both him and me on this occasion of your zeal and attachment to us, can never be forgot by us, and I hope wee shal soon have it in our power to give you marks how sensible wee are of them, and of the esteem and real value wee have for you.

JAMES R.

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<sup>1</sup> [Supplied by Mr. Hussey Walsh, 1903, from the archives of Serrant.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [This letter is written in English.—TR.]



WARRANT OF TITLES CONFERRED ON ANTHONY WALSH<sup>1</sup>

JAMES R.

WHEREAS wee are thoroughly sensible of the great and good services rendered to us by our trusty and well-beloved Antony Walsh, esquire, in his undertaking with uncommon zeal and disinterestedness the transporting our dearest Son, Charles Prince of Wales, into Scotland, which he has happily effected through manifold risques and dangers, for which signal service, and to perpetuate the memory of it to posterity, wee, not only out of our own inclination, but also upon the request of our said dearest Son, have thought fitt to bestow on him, as a mark of our Royal favour, the titles of honor and precedency heere after mentioned; our Will and Pleasure therefore is that you prepare a bill for our Royal signature, to pass our great seal of our Kingdom of Ireland, making and creating the said Antony Walsh, Esquire, an Earl and Peir, of our said Kingdom by the names and titles following, *videlicet*:—

Earl of .....in the County of.....

Viscount of.....in the County of.....

And Lord of .....in the County of.....

in our said Kingdom of Ireland: To have and to hold to him and the heirs male of his body, with all privileges, pre-eminences, places, immunitys and other advantages to the aforesaid Titles of Honour, belonging or apertaining; you are to insert all such clauses and nonobstantes as in grants and creations of this nature are usual, *with a clause*, making the said grant firm and valid, without anny Investiture or Ceremony or without peying any gain to us, and same fairly ungressed on Parchment under your hand, to be presentend to us, to be further past as appartains, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Albana this 20th day of October 1745 in the 45th of our Being.

J. R.

To our Attorney or Sollicitor general  
of our Kingdom of Ireland for the Time being.

MONSIEUR WALSH

*Paris, 27th October 1745.*

I LEARN by Mr. Luker your arrival, my dear Sir, in good health except for hoarseness. Here is a letter from M. B. La Freté. You are more able than I am to answer him what is necessary.

M. La Porte does not lose sight of the affair of the 2 passports, he has excused himself from writing about them to the minister, in order to avoid a negative answer, but he proposes to speak to him about them at the first business meeting and expects to obtain them. The Duke of York<sup>2</sup> has arrived at Fontainebleau. He was presented to the King, and to the Dauphin who was extremely affectionate to him.

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<sup>1</sup> [In English.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> Prince Henry Stuart (Cardinal).

M. de Lally has written to you fully. He went back yesterday to Fontainebleau, where the Minister of Marine, whom the Ministers awaited with impatience, also went yesterday. At the first Council, the affairs of Great Britain, which, thank God, go according to our wishes, are to be considered. Here is the extract of a letter which I received yesterday from Fontainebleau.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*25th October.*

THE Chevalier de Maisières arrived here yesterday evening, and remitted to the Minister of War a packet of letters from Prince Edward which a Scotch ship's Captain, on arriving at Ostende, delivered to Marshal Saxe, who gave it immediately in charge to the Chevalier de Maisières, and the news of the day is, that the Prince has made himself Master of the Castle of Edinburgh, where he found specie to the value of a million and 25,000 fire-arms, and that marching from Edinburgh towards Northumberland he had met near Berwick and entirely defeated a corps of 2000 Dutch.

Here is a letter which I have received from Amsterdam for you. I suspect it is from Mr. Talbott as I think I recognise his writing. Permit the assurances of my respect to find room here for Mme. Walsh. You know my sentiments for you, and to what an extent I am devoted to you, and am assuredly, my dear Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,

D'HEGUERTY.

[ENCLOSURE.]

*28th October.*

I HAVE until now only the conjecture of an approaching war with Holland, but by the next order I shall be in a position to let you know something more positive.

You must have received a letter from M. de Lally. He desired me to give you his compliments. I have spoken of you to the Duke of York, who is anxious to see you.

I shall write this evening to M. La Porte about *la Baleine* and *le Dutilley*.

MONSIEUR WALSH, NANTES

*Fontainebleau, 27th October 1745.*

YOU will be very satisfied, my dear Walsh, with our operations here since your departure, and your return here is actually the only essential point wanting for the completion of the business. The person about whom you ask me to inform you has seen the King, and is very well satisfied.

M. de Maurepas has returned and declares he leaves everything to you; as for me I am established in charge, and I think that you will find I have started when you arrive, in order to go to prepare a resting-place for you. Thus I shall not be able to receive an answer to your<sup>1</sup> letter. I beg you to let me know the day when you expect to be in Paris, and to address to me at the Palais Royal at the Marquise de Conflans house. I will leave a little word at Hegrewoy for you on starting, and I shall expect news from you at

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<sup>1</sup> [Should rather be 'my' instead of 'your.'—Tr.]

Dunkerque. Lord Drummond<sup>1</sup> and his Scotchmen leave directly, you know for where, with a detachment of the 6 others. All goes well, very well, and better, so for God's sake come, and let me know immediately, because I shall take upon me twice 24 hours if I can have the pleasure of embracing you here.

THOMOND.<sup>2</sup>

'DE PAR LE ROY'

His Majesty having thought fit to assemble and equip in the various Ports of the coast of Flanders and of Picardy the ships, frigates, corsairs, boats, and other vessels required for his service, and desiring to nominate a person qualified to direct the necessary preparations for this purpose, has chosen and committed M. Wailsh to have the direction of this operation. Ordering the Commissaries, classed Clerks, and other employees in the 'Marine' for the policing of the coast to execute punctually the orders which will be given to them by Monsieur Wailsh on this occasion. His Majesty orders M. Charron, 'Commissaire ordonnateur' at Dunkerque, to attend to the execution of the present order.

Given at Fontainebleau, 16th November 1745.

LOUIS.

PHELYPEAUX.<sup>3</sup>

'MEMOIRE DU ROI' TO SERVE AS INSTRUCTION TO  
MONSIEUR WAILSH

His Majesty having resolved to send a body of troops to England, and having given charge to M. Wailsh to direct the preparations relative to the embarkation and transport of the troops concerned, explains to him (M. Wailsh) by the present instruction what are his (the King's) intentions on the operations which have to be made in consequence.

M. Wailsh must be informed that M. Charron, the 'Commissaire ordonnateur' at Dunkerque, has received the necessary orders as well for calking as for tarring the hulls of the greater number of merchant ships which are in the ports of Ostende, Dunkerque, Calais, Boulogne, and of St. Valery-en-Somme,<sup>4</sup> and to provide 40,000 rations of biscuit and of cheese for part of the 10,000 rations in each of the 4 first ports above mentioned.

But as these preparations are general, and more special ones are necessary, the intention of his Majesty is that M. Wailsh having ascertained the number of troops and

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<sup>1</sup> [Lord John Drummond, brother and eventual successor of the 3rd Titular Duke of Perth, he landed with a force of 800 men at Montrose, Novr. 1745.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> Descendant of the Irish family O'Brien. He entered the French army and became a Marshal of France.

<sup>3</sup> [Possibly Phéliepeaux, French officer, a Royalist who emigrated later to England and took part in the defence of St. Jean d'Acre, 1799. His career is stated to have been 1768 to 1799, but the family of Phéliepeaux gave Secretaries of State to the 'Maison du Roi' for three generations.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [Now 'Saint Valery sur Somme,' port in the district (arrondissement) of Abbeville,—TR.]

the amount of baggage, artillery, and ammunition that have to be transported, should determine the number of vessels of each kind, great and small, which will be necessary for the transport.

For this purpose he will go to Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkerque with the utmost promptitude, and he will examine in these places the quality and capacity of the vessels which he finds best suited for the purpose in question, in order to regulate what he will require in each port.

The Commissaries, classed Clerks, and other employees for the police of the ports of the coast having orders to conform to whatever M. Wailsh assigns to them, he will deliver to each in the different ports the statement of the different vessels he has selected whether for the embarkation of troops or for the transport of artillery, baggage, horses, arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, in order that they may arrest for the service of the King the vessels in question and provide for their equipment according to their purpose.

The number of boats proper for the conveyance of troops which can be found in the ports of Boulogne, Calais, Dunkerque, and Ostende not being sufficient, M. Wailsh will get from Saint Valeryen-Somme and from Dieppe the additional number which he may require and His Majesty leaves to him to assemble the vessels in one port or in several.

The King has not ruled whether transports should start from different ports or whether they should assemble together at one only, to sail at the same time, and His Majesty orders Monsieur Wailsh to acquire exact knowledge of the position of the ports, the winds, the tides, and other circumstances regarding the navigation, to consult together with the commander of the troops as well as with the Comte d'Aunay, M. Bart, and Monsieur Charron,<sup>1</sup> whether the vessels are to be left separate or united. Monsieur Wailsh, as soon as he has a positive decision on these points, will take the most suitable measures to have all the vessels ready at the places and at the time agreed upon. Although the passage to England does not last more than a few hours and it might suffice to embark in each vessel sufficient for the return of the crew, H.M. considers it necessary that there should be on board biscuit and cheese for two or three days for each man, that the troops may have their food on board the vessels without leaving them, in case after embarkation the wind or other circumstances should hinder their departure for some tides. Besides each soldier will be able to take one or two rations of biscuit on landing in order to be able to wait for the unloading of the provisions which will be conveyed in separate vessels.

Monsieur Wailsh will select some corsairs (privateers) to escort the convoy, and His Majesty trusts to him to retain for this purpose the number which shall appear to him to be necessary. H.M. will desire Monsieur Bart to order the Captains of corsairs to follow the orders which will be given them by M. Wailsh, who will give out to them the signals and detailed instructions of what they will have to do.

As regards the expenses which this service will necessitate, such as the cost of ships and boats, the pay of the crew and cost of the provisions which will be on board for the

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<sup>1</sup> [See opposite page.—TR.]

crossing, Monsieur Charron will continue to be responsible<sup>1</sup> for it, and will issue the pay orders in consequence. Monsieur Wailsh will inform him of all his operations in order that there may be no delay caused by want of payment in these matters. The necessary expenses relating to the troops, as well before their embarkation as after their disembarking, as well as all the requisites<sup>2</sup> of war will be paid according to the orders which will be given by the Secretary for State over the War Department.

H.M. will wait till all the preparations for embarkation are ready before giving the necessary orders for the place of disembarkation. H.M. relies, however, sufficiently on the zeal, the activity, and the intelligence of Monsieur Wailsh to be convinced that he will in a short time finish the operations of which he is given charge by the present instruction, and of which he will give an exact report to the Secretary of State over the Department of the Navy.

Given at Fontainebleau, 16th Novber. 1745.

LOUIS.

PHÉLYPEAUX.

MONSIEUR WAILSH

*16th Decber. 1745.*

I HAVE received, Sir, the letter you wrote to me on the 4th of this month. As you have not found in the Ports of Flanders and Picardy as far as Dieppe, a sufficient number of vessels suitable for the transport of troops for the projected expedition, I highly approve that you have induced M. Bart and M. Charron to give orders to Messrs. Conradin and de Mouchy to go to Normandy to choose in the different ports along the coast as far as Cherbourg all the vessels which they find suitable for the embarkation in question; and I write to M. de Villers-Fransure and to M. d'Erchigny, Commandant and 'ordonnateur' at Havre, as also to the Commissaries and classed Clerks of each port to make the greatest haste in the execution of the operations with which Messrs. Conradin and de Mouchy are entrusted. Monsieur d'Erchigny, to whom I have sent word to take 40,000 livres from Havre, will remit funds to each port of Normandy apportioned to the number of vessels which they send off to the coast of Flandres,<sup>3</sup> and I hope there will be no delay in the arrival of these vessels at Boulogne, where you have given orders to the Provost Tournion to retain them. As there is a King's corvette of 12 guns at present on the coast of Normandy, I have sent word to Monsieur de Villers-Fransure to employ it if he judges it necessary to protect the vessels which sail for the coast of Flandres.

With regard to the arrangements which you may make at these places I rely entirely on the various movements that you may see fit to make in concert with the Comte d'Aunay, M. Bart and M. Charron, either for the execution of the project or to disguise its object, and I am persuaded that by means of the orders already given, you will find all the facilities necessary for your operation.

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<sup>1</sup> ['En prendre connaissance.'—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Attirail.'—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> 'Flandre Française,' annexed to France, Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), capital Lille, now Département du Nord.

I am well aware that it is not possible to attain to the haste which has to be insisted on in such a case without the remittance of funds for such payments as have to be made in advance, and it is to prevent the money remittances causing any delay that I have directed M. Charron to continue to draw letters of change on the Treasurer-General of the Navy to the extent of a hundred thousand 'livres.' He must with these funds be in a position to satisfy the most pressing payments.—I am, Sir, very perfectly yours,

MAUREPAS.

MONSIEUR WALSH

*Versailles, the 24th Decber. 1745.*

I HAVE received, Sir, the letter you wrote to me on the 8th of this month.

I see with pleasure that you have found enough of vessels at Dunkerque to transport the artillery and the baggage which must accompany the troops which will cross over to England, but I do not know if, notwithstanding the precautions you have taken to draw boats and other small vessels from Normandy, you will have enough of them for the troops which are to be embarked. I have to inform you on this subject, if you do not know it already, that instead of 12 battalions, of which there was question at first, there will be 18 to be embarked, of which the 6 Irish will form part, and to these will be joined a Regiment of Dragoons, with that of Fitz James also. It is on the effective number of each battalion that you must regulate the number of transports, and as I cannot give you positive enlightenment on the state of the Regiments named for this expedition, you must come to an understanding in regard to this with M. de la Tour, Major-General of this body of troops, who will before long arrive on the spot. I have no reply as yet from Havre or the other ports of Normandy about the boats which Messrs. Conradin and de Mouchy may engage there, but if, from what I have just told you, the number regarding which you have spoken to them should not be sufficient, you will write to them to send off a greater number.

As to the time of the embarkation of the artillery and baggage, I can only refer to the orders which the Count d'Aunay will receive on this subject from the Comte d'Argenson. There will also have to be considered what (advantage?) could be derived in the present circumstances from the frigate *l'Émeraude*, now at Dunkerque, and from *La Fine* when she returns. I do not think that their destination to the coast of Flanders can be any obstacle to the project, because if they are not directly employed in the passage of the troops, they could at least by going to the coast of Ostende disguise the object of the embarkation. However if they would be hurtful or even useless M. Bart could send them back to Havre or Brest. You will speak to him about this.

As to the secrecy to be observed as much as possible on the intended expedition, the precautions to be taken on this subject depend more on the Generals than on the Navy. I can only rely on the measures they may take about it. You will report, if you please, at what time, as near as a few days, the preparations which concern the 'Marine' can be completely made.—I am, Sir, very perfectly yours,

MAUREPAS.

*Note.*—Mr. O'Brien says that you send him word that M. Bart's orders are limited. I am the more surprised, as I have always desired him, as also M. Charron, to carry out as

fully as possible all that you propose to them. There is not a moment to lose. I have written straight to Normandy. I have no answer yet from Havre.

MONSIEUR WALSH

Paris, 28th Decber. 1745.

I BELIEVE you, my dear Sir, to have already arrived at Dunkerque, and I hope in good health, as also M. Lally-Tollendal; I should learn this with pleasure.

Enclosed is a note of the repairs to be made on your ship *La Baleine*, which seem to me very considerable, and, as it appears to me, quite impossible to complete, so as to get her out of the river Elbe before the ice lays siege to it. I send word by this courier to Messrs. Grou, Michel and Lebault, to defer (the repairs) till they receive fresh orders from you or from me. This delay cannot hurt your interests, and you can consider whether it would be more advantageous to you to sell the ship in the condition in which she is, and to order on hire at Amsterdam a Dutch vessel of still greater dimensions than yours, if it is to be found, and to load and send it straight to its destination, rather than wait for the thaw, to load your ship at Hamburg, where a great part of the cargo would have to be brought from Holland, which would occasion delay in her departure. I warn you that M. La Porte has advised me not to put any provisions in my 'soumission' (bill of lading), because I should annoy<sup>1</sup> the Minister; I could only insert some barrels of beer. That will not hinder you, however, from sending the vessel to Cork to load some there, but not as much as we had proposed. I forgot to tell you that we have permission to sail under the Dutch flag.

I will make a selection of merchandise for the ship which you intend to be sent to Martinique, whether your own or another. I will send it to Messrs. Grou and Lebault, who will cut it down or add to it as they may judge to be most for our benefit.

I think you would do well to get rid of your *Dutilley*, and instead of buying another ship you might simply hire one of a greater size, which we would send to Grenada. Send your opinion about this to Messrs. Grou and Lebault.

Mr. MacCarthy has been here the last two days. He hopes to be with you as soon as possible.

You will oblige me if you find opportunity to employ usefully M. Perville Salles; he is my correspondent, an active and intelligent man.

The die is cast, the Prince of Wales has penetrated into England in spite of the superior forces which surround him from every side. There must be one of two things, either he has been called by a powerful party, or he has taken a desperate step; in the first case, we cannot fail to hear of the rising of Westmoreland, of Lancaster, and of Wales. God grant it.

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<sup>1</sup> ['Revolter.'—Tb.]

I greet you with all my heart; my family present their respects to you. Friendly compliments to my brother if you see him. *L'Apollon* and *l'Anglesea* chased by a terrible gale have happily anchored in the roads of Port Louis, I mean that they have entered the port of Lorient. The *Apollon*, as you will see by the enclosed, which you will return if you please, has lost her three cables, which will have to be renewed.

D'HEGUERTY.<sup>1</sup>

Inclosed with this is the copy of a letter arrived this morning from London.<sup>2</sup>

*London, 24th Decber. 1745.*

THAT which I can inform you with certainty about the 'Rebels' is that they marched to Kendal on the morning of the 16th, and that the Duke of Cumberland arrived there the evening of the 17th, by which means you see they gained two marches upon him. It is presumed that the 'rebels' entered Carlisle the evening of the 18th; as regards the Duke, he arrived the same evening, 18th, at Clifton, 3 miles from Penrith, where there was a party of 'rebels' to the number of about 70, commanded by a captain.

H.R.H.,<sup>3</sup> reduced to the necessity of forcing this little troop in this village in order to be able to find quarters<sup>4</sup> (or screen?) for all his cavalry, together about 3000 men, ordered his Dragoons to the attack dismounted; after an hour's resistance and night approaching, the 70 men retired, apparently in good order, for out of that number we only made one wounded officer a prisoner, though we had 40 men killed or wounded besides 4 officers.

One cannot understand what induced the 'rebels' to leave nothing but so feeble a force to stop the march of our cavalry. It is true the success even exceeded their expectation, but it is fortunate for the Duke of Cumberland that the party was not more considerable; however it may be, their war manoeuvre was not well weighed,<sup>5</sup> leaving so small a troop, which in reality could not stop the march of 3000 cavalry, yet it did so happen, for H.R.H. remained till the 19th in that village. I Since this affair no news of the Duke has been published, though every day one or two expresses have arrived from him at Court. I have been told that H.R.H. will not pass beyond Carlisle if the 'rebels' continue their march towards Scotland, as is thought, so that we shall see this prince back here in a few days. What a pity after pursuing the 'rebels' that he has not been able to get up to them, nor even force them to abandon their baggage or their cannon; what affects us still more is the fear that this cavalry corps which has pursued them may be out of condition to serve for the rest of the season; the men can recover from their fatigue, but the poor horses will perish.

We are in the greatest perplexity about the preparations which the French are making at Dunkerque to attempt an invasion in Essex, Kent, or Sussex; for myself I cannot

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<sup>1</sup> D'Heguerty, merchant at Paris, and Walsh's correspondent, belonged to Charles Edward's little Court.

<sup>2</sup> [The name of the writer is not given.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [Duke of Cumberland.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> ['Mettre à couvert.'—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> ['Mesurée.'—TR.]



imagine that they can intend to make an invasion so far from Scotland, where at present is the only force of the ‘rebels.’

I cannot deny that things are here in great confusion, money is very scarce, and our credit seems to be running down.

‘DE PAR LE ROY’

THE Captain commanding the ship *le* is ordered to put to sea immediately and to conform exactly to the orders given to him by M. Wailsh: His Majesty ordering the said Captain to follow the said orders as if they had been addressed straight to him, under penalty of disobedience.

Given at Versailles the 27th March 1746.

LOUIS.

PHÉLYPEAUX.

[The Fleet so carefully prepared never effected a landing on British Shores, and the defeat of Prince Charles’s army at Culloden in April 1746 caused a change in King Louis xv.’s projects, although the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was not signed till 1748.—Tr.]

Note.—Mr. Hussey Walsh on this subject remarks: ‘Few details are at hand as to the real cause of the failure of the expedition beyond Walsh’s Memoir, that seeing what a bad turn affairs were taking, he returned to Paris, where both Comte d’Argenson and Cardinal Tencin accused him of having deceived the King in making him believe that there was a strong party in England attached to the House of Stuart. A long letter from Anthony Walsh to the Cardinal ignores the reproaches against himself, but seeks to excuse the English. The following passages may here be quoted, “Every one knows that it was impossible to incorporate them with Scottish Highlanders whose methods of fighting, in which they have been educated from childhood upwards, are peculiar to themselves. On the other hand, the peasantry of England are without arms, and the nobility are without a military education.” And again, “It is an established maxim with the English not to move without regular forces. Hence it may easily be concluded that my conduct deserves no blame, but that I have only asserted what was true.”’

[The two following letters relate to Colonel Warren’s successful efforts to bring Prince Charles Edward safely back from Scotland to France. They belong to a large collection in the possession of the Duc de la Trémoille and are supplied for the present work by V. Hussey Walsh, Esq., The Athenæum Club, London.—Tr.]

MONSIEUR WALSH [H.W.]

*Matignon, 29th August 1746.*

WOULD you believe, my dear Wailsh, that instead of 4 frigates which I ought to have received, there are only the two belonging to Mr. Butler, and that perhaps without his help we should not have received any at all. Well, we must have patience. My star will guide me. I have great confidence that I will bring our hero back safe and sound. It is a happiness which I hope Heaven reserves to me; and with this object before me, I embark to-morrow on the *Heureux*, under Captain Baulien, with 36 guns and 275 men; the other is the *Prince de Conty*, under Captain Marion, with 30 guns and 225 men.

We go round Ireland and return by the Bristol Channel, if our pilots are able to undertake the work, and the winds permit it. I thank you for your 'log.' Butler doubtless will put it on board. He is with us. A thousand compliments to my good friend Archer. Good-bye. Remember me and that I am ever yours.

R. DE WARREN.

I will take care of M. de Valois.<sup>1</sup>

MONSIEUR WALSH [H.W.]

10th October 1746.

MY DEAR WALSH,—I have only just arrived. I had the happiness to find H.R.H. in Scotland and to bring him back with me in the frigate *L'Heureux*.

He starts to-morrow for Paris; as for me I am going immediately to see the King. I will write to you from Versailles.

M. de Valois is a nice young man who behaved admirably. I am extremely satisfied with him. I presented him to H.R.H., and I am going to send him a sword on H.R.H.'s account. Goodbye, my dear Walsh. Embrace my friend Archer for me, and always believe me ever yours,

DE WARREN.

Monday, at Roscof, 10th Octr. 1746.

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<sup>1</sup> One of the Spanish Walshes—son of Philip Walsh of Cadiz.

LETTER FROM THE CHEVALIER DE SAINT-GEORGES (KING  
JAMES VIII.) TO HIS SON PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

WHATEVER care you have taken, my dear son, to hide from me what has passed between the Court of France and you, since the signature of the preliminaries, I am, however, aware of everything, and I own to you that I could not read without real surprise and pain your letter to the 'Duc de Gesvres' of the 6th of this month. Neither you nor any one could suppose that you could remain in France in spite of the King. Your resistance therefore to conforming yourself to his intentions on this occasion cannot be with the object of continuing to live in his kingdom, and when you speak of regret and of being forced by your interests to act as you are doing, you show that it is not your own opinion and will that you are following, but that of others. God knows who they are, but can they be truly your friends in giving you such counsel? For it is manifest that in resisting on this occasion the intentions of S. M. T. C.,<sup>1</sup> there can be no other object but to break in gaiety of heart with the King and to draw upon you justly his anger and indignation. And certainly no wise or reasonable person, however inimical he might be otherwise to France, if really desiring your good, could ever counsel you, especially in the condition in which you are, to break with a power which makes itself respected throughout all Europe.

However little you may think of what has occurred for some years, you must feel that your conduct towards me has not been such as it ought to have been, and you know also with what patience and moderation I have acted towards you. You know the entire liberty which I have given to you, and that I have not ceased to write to you by every post, although you made me see only too plainly that it was not from me that you would take advice, and therefore for some time I have rarely given it to you, seeing the little effect which my letters produced upon you. But in the present case, I cannot be silent. I see you on the edge of a precipice and ready to fall down it, and I should be an unnatural father, if I did not do the little that depends on me to save you; for this reason I find myself even obliged to order you, *as your Father and your King*, to conform yourself to the intentions of his very Christian Majesty without delay, by going quietly from his states, notwithstanding the obscurity in which you leave me, about everything concerning you. I neither fear nor hesitate to give you this order, because in reality I only command what will anyway be done, even if I did not command it, and I cannot conceive a case in which it would suit your interests to break thus with the Court of France. Moreover, to make you see the delicacy with which I use my authority over you, I do not prescribe the place to which you should go. You know as well as I do the countries where you may be in safety, and as you would not accept a retreat which was offered to you in Switzerland I must suppose that you have in view some other retreat at least as important for your affairs and as agreeable to your countrymen.

Finally, my dear son, think seriously of what you are going to do, if you resist my orders and the intentions of S. M. T. C. I foresee that what you will not do with good will, you will be made to do, and if recourse is had to violence you will naturally be conducted to this town,<sup>2</sup> which certainly will not be to your taste nor to your interest. What a

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<sup>1</sup> [Sa Majesty tres Catholique.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Rome.—TR.]

scandal it will make, and what will you gain thereby? Nothing certainly but a name and a character which will make you lose in an instant all the reputation which you have already acquired; for virtue and courage which do not show themselves wise in adversity can never be considered as true and solid. Judge of the trouble and anxiety in which I shall be till I know the effect which this letter produces. It is written by a father who breathes only tenderness for you, and who is solely occupied about your real good and your real glory.

I pray to God to enlighten you and to bless you, and I embrace you with all my heart.

JACQUES R.

Rome the 23rd Novber. 1748.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND, PARIS

*15th April 1751.*

The unworthy treatment that I have experienced from my creditors<sup>1</sup> (or rather my debtors) obliges me to be a vagabond in strange countries and thus not within reach of having the pleasure of seeing you. I flatter myself that you are persuaded (convinced) of my way of thinking in regard to you. The special esteem I have for you would induce me to try everything possible that we might have a conversation together. If you wish it, I would for this purpose go to the frontier of Germany, whither M. Dumon,<sup>2</sup> the bearer of this letter, is going. If you like to profit by this opportunity, M. Dumon will give you a place in his chaise, and as he must return to Paris shortly, he will be able to take you back. If this arrangement suits you, I beg you, Sir, to execute it without the knowledge of any one, and to give your answer immediately to M. Dumon, who can hardly wait. Supposing you return together, he can undertake to speak on the road, that you may not expose yourself to being known. I hope that you will be pleased with him; though young, he is wise and discreet. Do not call yourself to him otherwise than M. Le Grand.—I am, as I shall always be, your true friend,

J. DOUGLAS.<sup>3</sup>

M. LE GRAND

*10th Nour. 1752 (H.W.).<sup>4</sup>*

SIR,—I gather from yours of the 12th inst., just received, that you have a thousand Louis for me. Will you therefore kindly forward them to Mr. Wolfe at Paris.

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<sup>1</sup> The Kings of France and of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Grimaldi, supposed to have been a French agent.

[NOTE.—Mr. V. Hussey Walsh, who had been engaged, when the French work was issued, in the identification of the supposititious names used by Prince Charles, has since discovered the right key, which is here substituted for the other.—TR. See Appendix II.]

<sup>3</sup> [Prince Charles Edward himself.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [Eighteen letters follow, from Prince Charles, mostly addressed to Legrand, and signed Douglas, or J. D., or W. D. Some of these, recently found and translated by Mr. V. Hussey Walsh, are now added to those in the French work, and are marked H. W.—TR.]

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
MONSIEUR WALSH, NANTES

*20th April 1754.*

I BEG you, Sir, to let me know in reply to this, when you expect to be in Paris, the exact day, and how long you will remain there. All letters for me must in future be addressed to Mr. John Waters, 'Rue Verneuil,' opposite the 'Rue St. Mari,' now 'Rue Allent,' Faubourg St. Germain, and above the envelope you will put 'to Mr. John Douglas,' and it will reach me in this way in all safety. I wish that you may not be long in returning to Paris, as you have made me hope. As soon as I know that you are there, I shall send a person of confidence to confer with you; I recommend you, above all, the greatest secrecy towards every one whatever, and believe me always your true friend,

J. DOUGLAS.

LORD WELCH

*18th May 1754 (H.W.).*

SIR,—I have received yours of yesterday's date and sincerely trust I shall see you this evening. The bearer Mr. Grandvale (Granville?) will conduct you to the place where you will find your sincere friend,

J. DOUGLAS.

M. LE GRAND

*26th June 1754 (H.W.).*

SIR,—I would like to know the date of the departure of the person in question. Whenever you have the least thing to communicate to me I shall be ready at the usual hour, if only you will let me know in the morning.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*16th June 1754.*

I HAVE a project of going to Spain, propose it to your brother and to the person of whom there was question (I mean my friend). As Venice does not seem palatable to him perhaps this will please him. In fact I am in a situation to attempt everything unreasonable and that could be called folly. I have made myself known, at least I have reason to think so, and those who do not know me, so much the worse for them; I am an honourable man, and my only ambition is my right; and my duty as such, is to pursue them (right and duty) at the peril of my life. It is necessary that I should be seconded. I desire to see you this evening, if possible, and at the same hour.—Your true friend,

J. DOUGLAS.

M. LE GRAND

*6th July 1754 (H.W.).*

IF Mr. Ward has the least thing to tell me, I shall be delighted to see him again. If not, I beg of you to wish him a good journey, with expressions of my friendship for him, trusting at the same time to his intelligence and to his goodwill to serve me.

## MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*10th Decber. 1754.*

SIR,—I have nothing to say to those who have nothing to do with me, still less with those who do not treat me with regard, from the *Avocat Patelin*<sup>1</sup> to Mr. Grimodin. You can say to Mr. Draw that I am much surprised at not having yet received the pins;<sup>2</sup> so small a merchandise ought not to be neglected; therefore, I beg you, Sir, to inform this Mr. Draw that if I do not receive as soon as possible the pins (so long commissioned), I shall no longer reckon in any way with his friend the merchant to whom he had directed me for that purpose. I have received a letter from Mr. Douglas<sup>3</sup> and he would be charmed if he could have the opportunity of seeing Mr. Campbel,<sup>4</sup> but his wandering life does not permit it, sometimes in one country, sometimes in another, to see all that is curious in each place, therefore if Mr. Campbel has something interesting to communicate to him he had better write to him and remit his letter to his Banker at Paris. You can warn him that as the letter will go by post, he should put everything regarding this young lady in the manner that you know. Let us now come to the two little shopkeepers who torment you, in the first place I cannot make the least payment till I receive new funds—in the second place, neither one nor the other deserve the least attention on my part; thus the little one would have done far better to remain where I thought he was than to come and torment every one, and so uselessly. The other is so stupid that he is thus more excusable. I end for fear my long letter should weary you, and embrace you with all my heart, assuring you of my very humble respects.

## MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*Uth Decber. 1754.*

I HAVE received, Sir, your last at the same time with that of Mr. Campbel, which I have answered. As regards the little one, all I can say is, that through pity and compassion I will continue to give him the same wages as his comrade, notwithstanding that I have not cause to be pleased with him on account of little airs and manners which in no way become him, but it is impossible for me to make the least remittance to any of my shopkeepers<sup>5</sup> at present, as, if I do not soon receive effectual assistance, I shall have to become completely bankrupt, with this difference, that it will be as an honourable man, and by the fault of those cursed relations<sup>6</sup> who are so base as not even to give me what is owing to me.—Adieu, my dear friend, believe me, always yours,

J. D.

It is absolutely necessary that you should tell me what and who are the two persons whom you say my friend should mistrust, otherwise you throw him into embarrassment and occasion a hundred thousand judgments perhaps ill-founded, explain yourself thereupon very clearly I beg.

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<sup>1</sup> [The name of a comedy, which became the synonym of a flattering hypocrite.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Could this have meant firearms?—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> Prince Charles Edward himself.

<sup>4</sup> Alexr. Murray.

<sup>5</sup> Name for partisans.

<sup>6</sup> Allusion to some of the sovereigns.

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*7th Janry. 1757.*

MONSIEUR LE GRAND,—It is about twelve days, Sir, since I returned from a shooting expedition which I made in Flanders. I met at Brussels Mr. Douglas, who had expected to break his neck, in a carriage sold to him as good, and of which the straps<sup>1</sup> were rotten. He told me that he had made you notice an article in the *Cologne Gazette* of the date of the 12th Novber. There is a continuation of the same subject in that of the 14th Decber. You would do well to see it as you saw the first one. Permit me, Sir, to profit by this opportunity to wish you many happy years. I flatter myself that you are persuaded of my manner of thinking regarding you, and that I shall always be your real friend.

J. D.

M. LE GRAND

*31st Janry. 1757 (H.W.).*

I HAVE received yours of the 12th inst., and did not answer immediately as I could not think of anything worthy of your attention. I beg you to tell me what has happened to Thomas Jones.<sup>2</sup> I wrote to him the 12th, the 16th and the 22nd of this month. The first of these letters was addressed without cover to Waters, the others directly to him. No answer; and by my letter of the 12th inst. I acknowledged the receipt of his of the 7th in which he told me he had written to me on the 3rd and 5th insts., which letters have not reached me up to the present. I have written to Mr. Sackville<sup>3</sup> through Chambers,<sup>4</sup> on the 16th, through Jones with regard to the restoration of his friend Ellis<sup>5</sup> to health. You must have heard of his illness. In so far as the *Cologne Gazette* is concerned I can think of no way of deciphering it, although that is no business of mine. Through curiosity I shall however be delighted if you can any how make out its meaning. I shall be glad to have an occasion of employing Palmer.<sup>6</sup> You may depend upon my not neglecting him, for I think very highly of him. Mr. Mansfield<sup>7</sup> sends you his kindest regards, and I flatter myself that you understand that I am your sincere friend,

W.J.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*13th Febr. 1757.*

I HAVE received, Sir, yours of the 8th, and am surprised that you do not acknowledge my last of the 4th. It is very necessary that you should go without delay to Mr. Chambers to know if he has received a letter dated 16th Janry. and signed C. P.<sup>8</sup> in which there was one for Mr. Sackville; Mr. Jones ought to have some knowledge of it, and it is surprising

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<sup>1</sup> ['Soupantes': the leather straps from which the body of the carriage was hung.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> General Lally.

<sup>3</sup> The Dauphin.

<sup>4</sup> The Duc de Richelieu.

<sup>5</sup> Louis xv.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Walsh.

<sup>7</sup> George Kelly.

<sup>8</sup> C. P. for Charles Prince.



that he has left without giving the least sign of life. Mr. Burton<sup>1</sup> has no one at present but you, Sir, to look after<sup>2</sup> this wearisome lawsuit.<sup>3</sup> I flatter myself however that you will not neglect it, as I know your attachment for this young lady. I owe also an answer to the letter you sent me, and I will address it to you. Do not lose any time in answering this one, and believe me for ever your real friend,

J. D.

M. LE GRAND

*30th March 1757 (H.W.).*

I HAVE received yours of the 13th and 22nd March. As Mr. Mansfield must be at Paris Saturday or Sunday next and as my friend Burton has entrusted him with certain commissions for you, I have nothing to add for the moment beyond assuring you once more that I will always remain your sincere friend,

W. J.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*2nd May 1757.*

I HAVE received, Sir, yours of the 23rd April with the enclosure from Mr. Harrison.<sup>4</sup> His expressions are of the most obliging and you could not express to him too much how I appreciate his friendship. If I knew how to set about it I would make proposals to Mr. Eyres<sup>5</sup> but would not the old Aunt Ellis<sup>6</sup> be jealous! and whom could I employ for the purpose? I should like to have a friend near Mamers,<sup>7</sup> Trade<sup>8</sup> and Mill.<sup>9</sup> But tell me who would undertake it, for Mr. Burton is not sufficiently rich to incur the expense. A word if you please in reply to this, and be persuaded of my sincere friendship.

W. J.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*9th May 1757.*

I HAVE already written to Mr. Mansfield,<sup>10</sup> to beg you to hurry the lawyers about the lawsuit<sup>11</sup> of this young girl,<sup>12</sup> the party against her at Rotterdam,<sup>13</sup> as doubtless you know know already, are so mixed up just now that the opportunity would be most favourable.

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<sup>1</sup> Another name for Prince Charles Edward.

<sup>2</sup> ['Vaquer.'—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> The restoration of the Stuarts to the throne.

<sup>4</sup> Maréchal de Belleisle.

<sup>5</sup> [Queen of Hungary.]

<sup>6</sup> [Louis XV.]

<sup>7</sup> [Manners, *i.e.* King of Spain.]

<sup>8</sup> [Wade, *i.e.* Duca del Huernar.]

<sup>9</sup> General Wall.

<sup>10</sup> [Kelly.-TR.]

<sup>11</sup> Restoration of the Stuarts to the throne.

<sup>12</sup> The Prince himself.

<sup>13</sup> London.

Thus, my dear Sir, try to arrange that one may profit by a circumstance which perhaps will not present itself again. I shall have a safe opportunity in a few days, by which you can send me whatever you like. If the passport has not yet left it can be sent by this opportunity. Mr. Waters will take care of all that you wish me to receive, but you will only have ten days to arrange for the purpose. I can, however, cause the person to delay a few days if you think it necessary.—I have the honour to be your very humble servant,

J. D.

I beg you, Sir, not to delay answering me as to this, for the person in question (who will bring what you have left for me with Waters) ought to leave this in ten days at farthest, unless you express to me otherwise, in which case let me be told exactly the day that you wish that I should make him start.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*12th May 1757.*

I HAVE just received, Sir, yours in answer to mine of the 2nd current. The solicitors of Rotterdam<sup>1</sup> of whom you speak have been and are well disposed towards this young lady, but assurances are requisite from this old Aunt Ellis<sup>2</sup> and solid engagements, that we may be sure she does not deceive us and enter into effective measures to enable her to stop this cursed lawsuit. Your brother has done well to sound the ground before making so long a journey, and according to the answer which he may have I will give you my advice thereupon.—I have the honour to be your very humble servant,

J. D.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*21st May 1757.*

I RECEIVE yours of the 15th instant. No, Sir, the poor girl in question does not live a soft (luxurious) life, that never will be her choice, but she is determined not to quit the convent where she is now stopping without having an establishment at least suitable, and I think she is right. If Masterson<sup>3</sup> wishes to aid her effectually, I shall be charmed to have a conversation with her, but it must not be for vague talk,<sup>4</sup> the time for that is past. As to the friends at Rotterdam,<sup>169</sup> they are always ready to spend their money, but they have been so often duped that now good assurances (or securities?) are wanted before engaging anew. They will do so again, but after good assay.<sup>5</sup> I have the honour to be, your very humble and very obedient servant, J. D.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*3rd July 1757.*

I HAVE received, Sir, yours of the 26th June. I had already been recommended to write

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<sup>1</sup> London.

<sup>2</sup> King Louis xv.

<sup>3</sup> Mme. de Pompadour.

<sup>4</sup> ['Battre la campagne.'—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> ['Escient,' *i.e.* like assaying metals.—TR.]

to Mr. Lumley,<sup>1</sup> but it did not appear to me proper without finding some pretext, and I have not found it so easy, as this person has always avoided making acquaintance with me, or even seeing me, although I got on very well with all his relations, particularly with his uncle, who was a worthy man. You see thus how the case is. I have not as yet any news from Campbell. I beg you to let him know, in case he returns to Burton, not to fail to go first to Lee,<sup>2</sup> who may perhaps have some commissions to give him. Take great care not to be mistaken, and to be very sure that once a rendezvous is given by Masterson, it should not be for vague talk but to come at once to an agreement as it ought to be, and without any delay. My compliments to Mr. Mansfield, and tell him that I have received his letter of the 28th June, just whilst writing to you. There remains nothing for me to say to him at present. Adieu, my dear Sir,

J. D.

*4th July.*

*P.S.*—As I finished writing to you the hour struck, so that it was too late to send yesterday. At this moment I receive a letter from Mr. Ws.,<sup>3</sup> but no news of Campbell.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*17th July 1757.*

M. LE GRAND,—I would have written to you sooner, but I was always waiting for something more interesting; the person who brought me yours of the 4th appeared to me very reasonable, and I was very pleased with his conversation. I shall call him in future<sup>4</sup> Mr. Symon; there is a name in your letter of the 4th that I cannot make out, you tell me that Mr. Harison is to let you see, when the time comes, a Mr. Digley. I do not know that person, unless you meant to say Mr. Wigley,<sup>5</sup> that is the only name of my acquaintance approaching the one above. Yours of the 9th current has also reached me. It appears to me that Mr. Chambers is wrong, it should have been I who had most reason to be hurt<sup>6</sup> (sensitive?) since he has never answered the letter I wrote to him by Mr. Truth,<sup>7</sup> but true friends do not take offence<sup>8</sup> for such trifles. I sent many compliments to Mr. Goodman<sup>9</sup> by Mr. Symon,<sup>10</sup> and I do not doubt but that what you desire will be executed in one way or another. I forgot to tell you that Mr. Campbell had written to me, and announced that he hoped shortly to see Mr. Burton. I have no difficulty in writing to Masterson if there is a favourable opportunity or a pretext, but otherwise it is not desirable. It will suffice in the meantime if you will express to him in the strongest terms how much I am his friend and that I should consider myself happy if

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<sup>1</sup> Prince de Soubise.

<sup>2</sup> Waters, the banker.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Waters.

<sup>4</sup> [‘D’ores en avant’ for ‘dorénavant.’—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> [Maurepas.—TR.]

<sup>6</sup> [‘Sensible.’—TR.]

<sup>7</sup> [Gordon of Coherlie.—TR.]

<sup>8</sup> [‘Se formaliser.’—TR.]

<sup>9</sup> [Dr. King.—TR.]

<sup>10</sup> [See p. 56.—TR.]

I could give him proof of it. My health is very good, as I hope this will find yours. Adieu, my dear friend.

I beg you to give my compliments to Mr. Mansfield, and to tell him I have received his packet of the 3rd, and his last of the 9th, with yours.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

22nd *July* 1757.

I HAVE received yours of the 17th current and am surprised at not having received anything from Mr. Mansfield of what you tell me regarding Janing.<sup>1</sup> You will find here a letter for the worthy Helebrune.<sup>2</sup> I send it to you with an open seal, but do not forget to seal it after having read it. I have written it as you will see without ceremony, making my excuses to him thereupon. You will tell him that I write in this way because the letter goes by post and they are sometimes opened. In this way he can honour me with his correspondence, without its being of the least consequence, whenever he sees fit.

I have the honour to be, your true friend,

J. D.

*P.S.*—The 23rd. This was too late to send yesterday; you will doubtless not fail to pay your court to Helebrune as often as he permits it, and you cannot too strongly express to him how deeply I feel all his goodness to me.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

21st *August* 1757.

I RECEIVED, Sir, yours of the 15th current on my return from a visit I made to the baths. The contents you may be sure gave me pleasure, and you cannot too strongly show friendship on my part to Harrison, Meldrum,<sup>3</sup> and Wynn.<sup>4</sup> As this last seems to be often seen by Desborough,<sup>5</sup> you must recommend him (I mean Desborough) to make all the most suitable expressions to Wynn on the part of Burton, as to his gratitude for all the goodwill he (Wynn) has for him. Mr. Elliot<sup>6</sup> has written me a very pretty letter; he wished to have a conversation with me about Mr. Burton's affairs. I replied to him in a manner which has flattered him, but at the same time, I tried to avoid his visit, as there might have been inconvenience just now. He is a man to be cultivated,<sup>7</sup> and if Burton's affairs turn out well, he would be very good as one of his clerks for his merchandise. Adieu, my dear Sir.

J. D.

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<sup>1</sup> [Probably misspelt for Faning—Abbé de La Ville.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> The Pope. [According to the French original, Helebrune does not appear in the new key.]

<sup>3</sup> [King Stanislaus of Poland.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [Abée (later Cardinal) de Bernis.—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> [Heguerty (de Paris).—TR.]

<sup>6</sup> [Lord Clancarty.—TR.]

<sup>7</sup> ['Ménager.'—TR.]

*P.S.*—By my letter of the 16th to Mr. Mansfield he must have informed you about Mr. Symon.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*1st October. 1757.*

HERE, Sir, is a letter which I have been requested to send you. Do not lose time in making a fitting use of it. I have the honour to be your true friend,

W. J.

*Copy of the letter of the Prince to the Marquise de Pompadour dated 1st Octr. 1757*

The interest, Madam, which you were good enough to take in my fate, some time ago, makes me hope that my misfortunes will find you again susceptible. The same principles that guided you then, subsist still with you; also the sentiments which inspired me, last still and will ever last. As you have lately shown yourself, Madam, the support of sovereigns unjustly overpowered,<sup>1</sup> is my House to be the only one in regard to which you will act contrary to a role so fine and so worthy of you? No, Madam, I am convinced of the contrary, and as our attachment and the justice of our cause are well known to the King, I flatter myself that you will not refuse to employ your credit with His Majesty for the re-establishment (restoration) of the King my father on the throne of his ancestors, as there is nothing that can more contribute to his<sup>2</sup> glory, and it would be the true means of having a solid and lasting peace. I will not speak to you, Madam, of the gratitude of my Father or of my own. Views yet more elevated will assure us; your devotion to the honour of the King and the pleasure which all souls like yours have in doing great things, will be your motives. They will also be the measure<sup>3</sup> of the sentiments of esteem and distinguished goodwill with which I shall always be, Madam, your affectionate and sincere friend.

C. P.

*[Note by the Translator.*—The above letter with the few lines to Mr. Le Grand (Mr. Walsh) preceding it is reproduced as a facsimile of the Prince's writing in the French edition, after the printed copy of the same.]

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*26th Nouber. 1757.*

I HAVE received, Sir, yours of the 19th current. I can assure you that Mr. Burton despises heartily all the criticisms of his little clerks.<sup>4</sup> He has planned a system for himself and he will follow it. Everything has its time (there is a time for everything); for the present what he does is to the purpose. I know well the clerk whom you call Metcaf,<sup>5</sup> it is not the first time that he has wanted to meddle with things which do not concern

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<sup>1</sup> Allusion to the alliance of France with Maria Theresa at the outset of the Seven Years' War and of the rupture with England.

<sup>2</sup> [The King of France—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Règle.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> His partisans.

<sup>5</sup> [King of Sweden.—TR.]

him. He is quite devoted to the wife of Bertie,<sup>1</sup> thus I am not surprised at his remarks. As to Verdum I do not know who he is; explain his name to me, even in case you have to name him another time. It is a month since I wrote to you about the passport for my friend Mr. Douglas; you know that the one he had expired the 1st of this month, therefore do not neglect to get the new one and send it at once to your true friend,

W. J.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*Decr. 11th, 1757 (H.W.).*

I HAVE just received yours of the 7th instant, and have only time enough to write these few words to you in forwarding you the letter you wish to have.—Your sincere friend,

W. J.

M. MANSFIELD

*Decr. 16th, 1757 (H.W.).*

THIS letter, which is of no importance, mentions Le Grand, Caleb (P. A. D'Heguerty), and the Duc de St. Anian (Duc de St. Aignan).

M. LE GRAND

*Decr. 23rd, 1757 (H.W.).*

I HAVE received yours of the 17th inst. This is to let you know that Mr. Campbell has written to me concerning a person whom he has seen and who has come lately from Pratt<sup>2</sup> and Eyres.<sup>3</sup> He proposes to despatch him to Manners.<sup>4</sup> I have replied to him that he ought to consult with you upon the subject, as your brother<sup>5</sup> was a long time in Manners' country.<sup>6</sup> You can ask Mr. Elliot to show you what I have written to him with regard to Campbell. I have nothing to add for the present.—Your sincere friend,

W. J.

*Decber. 31, 1757 (H.W.).*

SIR,—I beg of you to go and visit M. Des Andrée on my behalf, and tell him how much I am concerned about his health. Here are the two letters you wanted. You may as well show Elliott the one which concerns him. You had better give the letter of Comte de B., Harrison's brother-in-law, to Mansfield. As I have always answered him myself it will be necessary to send me a draft reply as soon as possible, and Mansfield may add it to your answer so as to avoid making so many packages.—Your sincere friend,

W. J.

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<sup>1</sup> [Lord Lismore.—Tr.]

<sup>2</sup> The Empress of Russia.

<sup>3</sup> The Queen of Hungary.

<sup>4</sup> The King of Spain.

<sup>5</sup> Count Walsh de Serrant, who was a ship owner at Cadiz.

<sup>6</sup> Spain.

## MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*10th Jany. 1758.*

I Have received, Sir, yours of the 3rd and 5th current. Mr. Burton troubles himself very little about what may be said; he has made his plan and he will follow it. His courage has only been too well proved, but I would rather they did not try his patience too far, for it is only held by a thread, and I think he is right; he cannot with honour trifle with the friends at Sanford,<sup>1</sup> and if they do not soon come to a decision about the lawsuit in question, their counsels must make the best bargain they can with Mason,<sup>2</sup> I speak of his merchants. You will find herewith two words to Mansfield, not to multiply the letters, and he can put the address on the enclosed for the Cte. de B. I am well, as I hope this will find you.

MONSIEUR MANSFIELD<sup>3</sup>*Ye 10 dec. (10 Jany.?).*

SER, ye recewd yrs of ye 31st december last wit did not acknouledg it sooner as that (I had) nothing particular to mention; my friend takes very kinde yrs remembrance of him on ye new year, and desiars me to thank you for the Columba. You will do well to put yr adress to the letter y (I) now send Le Grand for ye Ct. de B. Y am sorry to have been informed that yr health was deranged, be pleased to let me know how you are at present, as you are a sober man y flatter myself you will be soon quite well again.

## MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*19th Janry. 1758.*

MONSIEUR LE GRAND,—I have received, Sir, yours of the 10th Janry. and the contents have given me pleasure. The person who Mr. Campbell proposed is by no means suitable, though a very honourable man, his age and his infirmities would make him run too great a risk in undertaking so long a journey. When the time comes, persons will not be wanting. I have many acquaintances at Rotterdam, but I would never persuade any of them to undertake this lawsuit, without being assured of good pay, which could only be done if I saw the money on the table. This is all I have to say to you about this affair for the present.—Your true friend,

W.J.

## M. LE GRAND

*Jany. 26th, 1758 (H.W.).*

I HAVE received since I wrote to you on the 19th inst. a letter from you without date with a few words at the end from Mr. Mansfield. I will add my answer at the end of this letter. The man suggested by Mr. Campbell does not come from Sanford<sup>202</sup> but from Vernon;<sup>4</sup> it therefore seems to me useless for him to meddle in a lawsuit which does not

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<sup>1</sup> England.

<sup>2</sup> The King of England.

<sup>3</sup> [This letter is written in English, and the blunders in the spelling are surely intended to disguise the identity of the writer.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> Scotland.

concern him so deeply as if he belonged to Sanford.—Your sincere friend, W. J.

M. LE GRAND

*Jany. 30th, 1758 (H.W.).*

SIR,—You may tell Mansfield that I have received his letter of the 21st inst., together with Newland's<sup>1</sup> letter. You will find my answer enclosed to be addressed by Mansfield. If you see my friend Chambers tell him how anxious I am about his health.—Your sincere friend,

W. J.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*Febr. 10th, 1758.*

MONSIEUR LE GRAND,—The person whom Mr. Campbell wished to be sent for is in no way suitable, as he would alarm the adverse party, and that would do more harm than good. When the time comes, it will be easy to have a person from Sanford, that will be my business. I have been informed, and credibly, that Mr. Mill is very well disposed towards Mr. Burton, and I have been begged to write to him. I think it would be best also to enclose in his letter one for Mr. Wade, begging him (Mill) to remit it to him if he should judge it proper. Consult Mansfield on this affair, and if you think it well, get him at once to make the sketch of these two letters which I will copy, leaving their names blank, and the said Mansfield will address them, and the letter can then be sent to your brother or straight in a cover as you think best. The person who told me this, begged me to keep the affair<sup>2</sup> secret, therefore I make the same recommendation to you.—Your true friend,

W. J.

M. LE GRAND

*Feb. 17th, 1758 (H.W.).*

SIR,—I have received yours of the 10th inst., and am very much pleased with its contents. If you think it advisable you may send me a draft letter for M. Des Andrée's brother; I will write it at once. As there are several people of my name here, in order to avoid any mistake, you must add to my ordinary address 'living on the Place St. Jean at Liége.' Advise Mr. Mansfield to do likewise.—Your sincere friend,

W. JOHNSON.

M. LE GRAND

*Febr. 18th, 1758 (H.W.).*

SIR,—I received yours yesterday of the 12th inst. shortly after I had written to you. I have read Mr. Mansfield's letter to the end. I had already written to him on the 16th inst. with regard to what you suggest to me in respect to Newland,<sup>206</sup> and I am still of the same opinion. That is to act for myself should matters mature. Certainly if you have not

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<sup>1</sup> The Duc de Bouillon.

<sup>2</sup> [i.e. The favourable disposition of Mill.—TR.]



adopted this resolution, none could be more suitable than Newland.—Your sincere friend,

W. J.

M. LE GRAND

*March 6th, 1758 (H.W.).*

SIR,—I have just learnt that M. de B. (Maréchal de Belleisle) has been appointed Minister of War. It would therefore be as well if you got Mr. Mansfield to make out a draft letter on the subject and to send it as soon as possible.—Your sincere friend,

W. J.

M. LE GRAND

*March 9th, 1758 (H.W.).*

SIR,—I have received yours of the 3rd inst., and can assure you that neither Mr. Burton<sup>1</sup> nor myself have written to the person mentioned by Mr. Shee.<sup>2</sup> The father and son are perfect strangers to me, as I have had no dealings with them of any kind. By my last letter you will have seen that I had the same idea with regard to Harrison, and I am waiting for a draft letter on the subject. Present my compliments to Mr. Mansfield in communicating to him the contents of this letter. That is all I have to say in answer to what he has written at the end of your letter.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*16th March 1758.*

I SEND you herewith, Sir, letters from Harrison and Lumley.<sup>3</sup> You will have the kindness to get their addresses added by Mr. Mansfield. There are two lines to him at the end of your letter.—Your true friend,

W. J.

MONSIEUR MANSFIELD<sup>4</sup>

SIR, y received yrs of ye 8th and 10th current and there (here?) send ye tow letters, in case you think it proper do not delay ye model of ye one for Chambers. It is reported he is not well with Ellis. In that case it would be no ways proper in my oppinion for Mr. D. to write to him at present. You will be sorry to hear that Mr. Pervet died last night of a violent fit of appoplexy with convoltions, he was in perfect health before he took the fit.—Yr. sinciere friend.

*P.S.*—No accounts yet from Mr. Elliot.

M. LE GRAND

*March 30th, 1758 (H.W.).*

SIR,—I wrote to you on the 26th inst. with an enclosure for Mr. Mansfield. This letter

<sup>1</sup> [James VIII. in this place.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> No clue to this name.

<sup>3</sup> [Prince de Soubise.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [Letter written in English, and without date.—TR.]

is only to inform you and Mr. Mansfield that I have at last heard from Mr. Elliott. The letter is dated March 21st from Boulogne-sur-Mer. He does not tell me when he can see Mr. Burton, but he hopes it will be shortly. His health is being restored. —Your sincere friend,

D. J.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE WALSH<sup>1</sup>

*Versailles, 3rd August 1758.* I Have the honour to send you, Sir, the accompanying letter for Prince Edward, which you will be good enough to pass to him. When you are pleased also, Sir, to send me the note as to what concerns you, I shall see it with pleasure. I beg you to be persuaded that I shall do all that depends upon me on this subject, and that I shall likewise take advantage of all the opportunities on which I can prove to you the sentiments with which I am more truly than any one, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

THE FIELD-MARSHAL, DUC DE BELLISLE.

## MONSIEUE LE GRAND

*21st August 1758.*

MONSIEUR LE GRAND,—I have received, Sir, yours of the 11th and 14th current. It is not possible for me to write a letter of congratulation to any one without their giving me advice; but it is necessary and very fitting that you should go on my part to pay a compliment to Mr. Wyn<sup>2</sup> on his promotion, as also you can make one (a compliment) to the agent of Mr. Grant<sup>3</sup> at Paris, who is very much my friend. I will confirm all that at the proper time and place, but for the present you must retain all these things under your cap (bonnet).—I am, your good friend,

C. P.

## MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*3rd Sepber. 1758.*

I HAVE received, Sir, yours of the 2nd August and am very sorry for the step which you have to take.<sup>4</sup> I greatly esteem the Comte de Serrant, your brother, and beg you to give me his address that I may employ him when opportunity presents itself. Adieu, my dear Sir, I wish you a prosperous voyage and every kind of prosperity; tell me when you expect to be back. The health of my Father makes me very anxious; try to inform yourself what is positively his illness; I think that they conceal from me his real position.—I am, your good friend,

W. J.

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<sup>1</sup> François-Jacques Walsh, born at St. Malo in 1714, died at Serrant in 1782.

<sup>2</sup> [Abbé de Bernis.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Pope.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> Walsh's departure for Saint Domingue.

## MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*16th Sepber. 1758.*

I HAVE received, Sir, yours of the 10th current, and am very surprised at what you tell me regarding the succession to a certain property.<sup>1</sup> It is indivisible, as are all the parts which concern the property of Sanford.<sup>2</sup> If this land is not ceded there is nothing to be done, and I have good reasons for thinking that it cannot fail to be so decided, as the thing is just, and therefore not difficult to accomplish if they choose; besides, Mr. Burton does not lack friends in Sanford, even to help him against all those who would wrong him. As regards Mr. Grant, it is not possible for me to write to him. You know how many weak people there are in the world who might make a bad use of it. You can say that to his clerk with many regards from me.—I am your true friend,

J. D.

I hope that Mr. Mansfield will be back before your departure. My compliments to your brother, the Comte de Serrant.

## MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*28th Sepber. 1758.*

MONSIEUR LE GRAND,—I have received yours of the 18th Sepber., and am very sorry that your affairs oblige you to absent yourself from our climate for some time. No one wishes you more happiness than I do, as I am very persuaded of all your zeal for my intimate friend Mr. Burton. You cannot say too many polite things to Mr. Grant's clerk, and for his master, but it is impossible for me to write to him at present, the reasons are only too clear to any reasonable person. As regards the lawsuit, I have news recently very favourable from persons living at Sanford regarding the lawsuit in question. It is useless, Sir, to think of any means of conciliation<sup>3</sup> (temporising), as the gain is sure if the least justice is done, so there cannot and never will be a question of Mr. Burton ceding or entering into any accommodation about the little lands of Vernon<sup>4</sup> and Stanley.<sup>5</sup>—I am, your true friend,

J. D.

## MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*14th October 1758.*

I HAVE received, Sir, yours of the 8th current, and I send you herewith a letter which should be shown to Mr. Harrison, and that I consider sufficient at present. As regards Mr. Grant, I have received quite recently a letter from the old Burton,<sup>6</sup> who undertakes to make suitable compliments on my part; and with what has been said to the clerk of

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<sup>1</sup> The kingdom of England.

<sup>2</sup> [England.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Tempérament'—the figurative meaning is 'adoucisement,' or 'moyens de conciliation.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [Scotland.—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> [Ireland.—TR.]

<sup>6</sup> King James.

the said Grant, it does not seem to me necessary to do more; besides I do not know the style, and there might be great inconveniences which I cannot explain here. I should like to have news of Mr. Mansfield, and wish at least that you should not leave before seeing him; give him the direction of your brother, the Comte de Serrant. I wish you every kind of happiness, and am your true friend,

J. D.

THE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Versailles, 26th October. 1758.*

I HAVE read, Sir, the memoir which you left for me the other day, with all the attention which the matter of which it treats deserves. This is why I wish to follow this object; but you can well feel that the matter is too important not to be discussed, and to obtain all the necessary explanations. You are too good a servant of the King to refuse, however hurried you may be to leave, to come to see me with the person who has formed this project, and who is to follow it out with me after you are gone. I cannot be at Paris till Thursday, which is the day when the King will return to Fontainebleau. Consequently, it will not be till the Friday morning that I can accomplish with you the ceremony of which you know; thus we shall be able, if you can come here Saturday or Sunday (I should like still better Monday), to enter into the matter thoroughly enough to be able to follow it, after your departure, with the person from whom you will have made me acquire the first knowledge of it. I shall wait until then for your news, and beg you, however, to be well persuaded of the sentiments with which I am truly, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

THE FIELD-MARSHAL, DUC DE BELLISLE.

MONSIEUR LE GRAND

*10th Nouber. 1758.*

MONSIEUR LE GRAND,—I have received, Sir, yours of the 30th October, to which I should have answered sooner, if I had had anything new. It only remains for me to say what I repeat again, and can assure it, that there must be no thought of Stanley,—he is a ridiculous man, and of no use except to embarrass both parties, and without any profit except to give money to be wasted by the ridiculous lawyers. One must think of those in Sanford, they are good and would be very profitable to them.<sup>1</sup> I have seen two (and good ones) who have assured me of that. Here are two lines for our friend Mansfield, the recovery of his health gives me true pleasure. —Your true friend,

J. D.

M. MANSFIELD<sup>2</sup>

I RECEIVED y<sup>rs</sup> of ye 31 octo<sup>er</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> current it is verry rediculus Williams<sup>3</sup> proposal you may esely judg the-ir are *many* more Worthy, as you know the institution of ye Kist should be only for such as has been in a certain pleace, it is true many exceptions have

<sup>1</sup> [Meaning apparently 'to both parties.'—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Letter in English.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [Duc de Noailles.—TR.]

been *made*,<sup>1</sup> but i never meddeled in that affaire, and you know who did. Shall write to you more fully in a few days.—So remain y<sup>r</sup> sincere friend.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Saint-Georges-sur-Soire.*

MONSIEUR,—It is true that our misfortunes are not quite so great as had at first been given out, but pretty considerable in what was the elite of our troops; and though we have not as yet very circumstantial details, still, however, by a rough estimate<sup>2</sup> our loss is estimated at seven thousand in killed, wounded, and captured, thirty cannon, a few standards, flags, and kettledrums.<sup>3</sup> The good face which M. de Broglie put upon the retreat prevented a greater disaster. You will doubtless have heard, Sir, that the Marshal de Contade has made a complaint against M. de Broglie, but His Majesty, knowing the rectitude and capacity of the latter, gave him the benefit of the case, and also a very favourable reception to Madame de Broglie when she went to thank him.

The Maréchal d'Estrées has gone this morning to replace M. de Contades in the capacity of Generalissimo with *carte blanche*, and has been made Duke and Peer according to report. He will not delay to repair our honour, and it is believed that orders are given to march forward and retake what has been lost. M. de Saint-Germain and the Chevalier Nicolais each destroyed 8 or 900 Hanoverians in the retreat, and the Duc de Brissac came back to the army with three thousand of the four thousand he had, after he had fought during four consecutive days against the different parties double and treble his strength. Now there is a beginning of animation again, and one persuades oneself that the presence of M. d'Estrées will do wonders, all the more that the victory of the Russians, which has brought them to Berlin, will encourage the French army to revenge themselves on these Hanoverian peasants. Dresden is evacuated, and Leipzig taken, and it is reported that Daun has forced the formidable entrenchment of Landshut. From one moment to another a battle is expected against the King of Prussia himself; if he is beaten, he cannot recover himself, and I hope the campaign will finish gloriously.

It is here affirmed that on the return of M. d'Estrées, which will not be long, he will be made first Minister, that M. de Bellisle will retire, and that the Duke de Choiseul will be Minister of War, M. de Chavelin (ambassador at Vienna), Minister of Foreign Affairs. All this, however, requires confirmation. Our equipments for the descent continue their course: 55 flat-bottomed boats from Havres have gone up to Rouen, and they are working strenuously for the others; at Vannes the division of ships from Nantes and elsewhere is expected; the squadron from Toulon started, it is asserted, on the 4th of this month; it is reported that the squadron of England, which was in the Mediterranean, has been obliged to go to Tunis in consequence of a bad illness on board; the junction of that of Toulon with that of Brest will render us powerful.

I have heard nothing of Talbot since his departure; it is supposed he is with the equipment of Tauros and that he will have the command of one of the frigates of this

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<sup>1</sup> [The italics are in the printed copy, showing that the queer spelling is no misprint.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [‘À vue de pays’ — glance over the country, *i.e.* rough estimate.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [‘Timballes.’—TR.]

expedition. It was given out that they had gone out of Dunkerque, but it is not so, and they will even have much difficulty in doing so, having an English squadron opposite: there is in no way question of our Prince in all this. It is now three months since Mr. Kelly left here. He gave out in leaving here that he was going to the waters of Barège: 'it was spread out there that our P. had writ a letter to L<sup>d</sup> Clancarty assuring im that he had no hand nor would not have anything to say to this invasion of the french and desired L<sup>d</sup> Clancarty to tell every one so and even sheu (show) his letter w<sup>ch</sup> the other did, which is very ill done to my opinion for it is certain if the Prince does not go and has not ye principal hand, when a shoare (ashore) in great Britain, that the french will never be able to keep their ground there, and that not one of them will ever come back, for every English soul will rather suffer death than be brought to boundage.'<sup>1</sup>

I see, Sir, that you have ordered the payment of the 'Capucins de Tarbes': there is still something to the Curé in compounding. M. La Geyre in giving him something might finish all this business, for with this sort of people they are always coming back upon it.

I hope that M. Berryer will consent now to give you some sailors, anyway; there are all the ships of Nantes provided, so once off they cannot refuse some of them.

I have learnt the misfortune to the child of Mad. Portier,—it is certainly very painful for her.

The tall Priest Burké has begged me to remind you to send him by coach his books. He is installed in his old Church; he is bearer of the Host<sup>2</sup> there, which is worth money to him.

I have the honour to be, with much respect, Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant, O'Brien.

Paris, 18th August 1759.

MONSIEUR LE SERRANT<sup>3</sup>

*Ye 28th Janry. 1760.*

SIR,<sup>4</sup>—I received yours with the enclosed and thank you for them, I knowe your correspondent and his attachement to me and desier you may assure him of my particular esteem. It is absolutely necessary to continue your correspondence with him and to be punctiolly informed of the dispositions of the Court, and in what manner the ministry will be setteled, and with all if the Queen Dowayer is likely to continue her usual credit; because y can make no application untill I know who are the proper persons to be applied to, and the sooner y can be informed the better. The name I have for your correspondent is Draw which you may make use of for the future, so remain assuring you of my most sincere friendship,

J. D.

<sup>1</sup> [The passage within the quotation marks is in English in the French copy and with the said marks.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Porte Dieu.'—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Walsh.

<sup>4</sup> [In English—TR.]

## COMTE DE SERRANT

‘Minute of letter.’

*4th Febr'y. 1760.*

I HAVE, Sir, imparted to the person whom you know, the contents of your letter of the ... and I am charged by the answer I have received, to assure you of his particular esteem, and it is added that you will be obliged to inform me eventually of the disposition (inclination?) of your Court, and of the arrangement of the Ministry, and also whether the Queen Dowager is still in favour. You must feel, Sir, that these explanations are necessary to know to whom to address oneself, when one seeks to obtain something from a Court, and that the sooner you can answer me on all these subjects the better. According to the public news your Court is considerably increasing her land troops and gives<sup>1</sup> by sea. I do not well know what to think about it, but if that is true, more than one power will take umbrage at it. It is not doubtful but that peace is a great blessing, but if once we are entirely crushed and our colonies at the mercy of the English, do you suppose Spain could avoid having sooner or later the same fate, it is a reflection which does not escape any one. However, your King is good and wise, and your ministers also: may God enlighten them and direct them for the best.

Wrote from Moni, the 31st March, and received the same information.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT AU LUXEMBOURG, COUR DES FONTAINES,  
PARIS

*Madrid, 26th April, 1762.*

AS soon as I could speak conveniently to our man, I reported to him, all of which you inform me, my dear Count, in your letter of the 15th ultim<sup>o</sup>. I was answered in the same tone as before, always the same good-will, but always the same replies, let the first onset be given, and it will be seen what can be done here. This person has told me things which have truly vexed me, you know them probably better than any one. I speak of the paper which the Maréchal de Bellisle left which has done irreparable injury, for he says that he has taken all the steps possible with the person<sup>2</sup> in question, and finding him quite inflexible, has finally disabused the Court regarding him, giving him out as a man on whom one can never rely.

What a misfortune that a man on whom the fate of millions depends, thinks only of himself and of his passion. It is the anger of Achilles, and for the same reason, but may the modern hero remember that the hero of old let himself be moved in the end, and had he not done so he would never have acquired the glory which his immortal exploits deserved. Let him listen to Minerva, that is to say his reason, and the superb Troy will fall; a thousand heroes wait to imitate his valour and to immortalize themselves under his standards, let him second their ardour, let him put himself at their head, Heaven which calls him to it will sustain him. If he is not the son of a false goddess, he is that of a holy virgin. You tell me that what envy and calumny have given out about our hero is false. I believe so, but unhappily what his best friends say of him in the bitterness of their soul is true, it is that he himself puts an obstacle in his affairs. Must he be served in

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<sup>1</sup> [‘Donne’—Perhaps meaning ‘takes’ or ‘yields supplies.’—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> Prince Charles Edward.

spite of himself? I think, with you, that it is futile to attempt a stroke in the country in question without him and his friends. Do we not see that the country in which you are, is in a position to do a thousand follies and to do nothing that should be done? Is that a reason to fail in duty to self? Have they not accepted already most humiliating conditions? If they were to admit others still more humiliating, would that mend our affairs? In the state in which we are, ought we not to profit by everything? A caprice seizes them, they want to spoil the enemy in his own home; well, let us profit by it, let them take the first step, bravery, a good cause, and Heaven will do the rest, but we are no longer in the age of miracles, if we do nothing on our side, it is sure that nothing will be done.

Our friend has certainly friends in France, for there is still there, in the midst of the corruption which prevails, honour and some knowledge of their own interest; let our hero, carrying off a victory over himself, make it to be seen that the impressions given by Mr. de Bellisle are unfounded, in a word, as our friend here says, let them begin over there, and I have great confidence that here they would not fail, otherwise I am obliged to tell you sincerely, there is nothing to be hoped for here.

As to your idea of attempting anything here by some other channel different from our man, it is quite useless. I know the ground and it is that which makes me speak as I do, it will not do to deceive oneself nor to lose time, as for me all I can do is to ask Heaven to guide us, and open for us a road, and to give our hero the thoughts which are suitable for his good and for ours.

WARD.<sup>1</sup>

*May 6th, 1763. (H. W.).*

(No address.)

I HAVE received yours of the 26th inst. with that of M. le Comte de Serrant. You know I neither write to, nor answer any one. But tell Count de Serrant from me that I appreciate his attention and that I felt deeply his brother, Lord Walsh's death whom I respected so much. I regret him most sincerely. Tell him also that when my position changes, I will seize the occasion with pleasure of rendering service to his whole family, and that I will never forget the zeal they have displayed on my behalf.

[UNSIGNED.]

COMTE DE SERRANT

*29th Febr. 1764.*

I FLATTER myself, Sir, that you do not attribute my long silence to lack of the particular esteem which is engraven in me for you and for all those who belong to you, as they cannot have sentiments other than yours, and those of the defunct Lord Walsh; it is in the blood. But as, since a certain time, I have made it a rule not to write to any one, I wait for your return to Paris, to cause you to be told by Mr. Gordon the interest I take in the marriage of your deaf nephew, announced in yours of the 7th August of last year. I beg you not to own to any one that I have written to you, and to believe me always your

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<sup>1</sup> [Probably of the family of Bernard Ward, created Baron Bangor 1770.—TR.]



true friend,

J. Douglas.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Bouillon, 11th Nouber. 1765.*

I HAVE received, Sir, yours of the 26th October last. I compliment you on the alliance with double tie which you have just contracted by the marriage of your niece with your nephew. I wish them every kind of happiness and of prosperity, and I shall be charmed to find myself able to give them proofs of my friendship; be also persuaded of my gratitude for the continuation of the promise which you made to me to undertake my orders for a certain Court, my interests cannot be in better hands, receive the assurance of all my esteem.

I am, your good friend,

J. DOUGLAS.

A somewhat severe inflammation has prevented my writing to you myself.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR M. LE COMTE DE SERRANT<sup>1</sup>

YOU will first of all address yourself to M. de Roda, to whom you will deliver the letter you are charged with for him, and to desire he will [give] instruction as to the allures [customs] of the Court and of the means you are to use for the delivery of the other letters to the king and queen and to the ministers.

So soon as you have had a full conference with M. de Roda, you will give us an account of it by a letter to be addressed to Mr. John Douglas at Rome under cover to M. Belloni; and you will be punctual in informing us by every post, of every circumstance that may happen in the course of your negotiation.

We leave entirely to your discretion to communicate what you are charged with to such persons as you may think can contribute to the success of your negotiation and to ask them to support you in your sollicitations.

If there shall be question of your friends, you are to assure that we have a great number in England, Scotland and Ireland, who are very zealous and ready to act whenever a proper occasion shall offer.

Philip the 5th granted us a subsidy of 20,000 german florins per month for six months, which was paid for six months only. You will act as your discretion shall direct you as to a demand of payment of the three months of the subsidy which are in arrear.

Mr. Stafford, a gentleman in our service, has a demand on the court of Spain for arrears of pay due to him as a Captain of Horse in the Spanish Service, and for renewing his commission which he lost in going in to England on our account, as to which a particular memorial will be sent you.—Given at Paris, the 28th day of december, in the year of our Lord 1765.

Charles P. R.

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<sup>1</sup> [In English.—TR.]

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
COMTE DE SERRANT<sup>1</sup>

*Rome, Febr. 18th, 1766.*

I HAVE received your letter of the 28th past from Montpellier, and heartily thank you for your compliment of condolence on the death of the King my father. Ever sensible of your zealous attachment to my person and service, it will always give me a real satisfaction when I can bestow on you marks of my particular esteem. I sent you a large packet under Mr. Joyes's cover, the 4th instant, and to which I refer. Nothing material has since occurred. I shall long to hear of your safe arrival at Madrid, and the success of your negotiation. You know of what importance it is to me to be supported, especially in my present situation, by the Court of Spain.—Your sincere Friend.

Charles R.<sup>2</sup>

For the Comte de Serrant.

THREE THINGS TO BE DEMANDED<sup>3</sup>

1st. That His Catholic Majesty should use his good offices with the Pope that His Holiness may acknowledge the Prince of Wales as King of England, and grant him the same honours and the same pension as the late king.

2nd. That His Catholic Majesty should order his Minister at Rome to render to the said Prince of Wales the same honours which the Ministers and Spanish ambassadors at Rome rendered to the late King his father.

3rd. That His Catholic Majesty should be so good as to grant him an annual subsidy to assist him to live with the decency proper to his birth.

COMTE DE SERRANT<sup>4</sup>

*Rome, Febr. the 20th, 1766.*

I THANK you for your kind letter from Montpellier of the 28th last month. The loss I have made of the King, my Father, has indeed been in all shapes very sensible to me. It is no doubt a great comfort to *me my* haveing with me the King, my brother, who shows me all possible love and confidence, but this is accompanied with an *existe*<sup>5</sup> of grief in *seeing* him receive such hard treatment in the country in the world he ought less to have expected it. I am very glad to find he has pitched upon a person of your known merit and zeal for to sollicit his affairs in Spain; and am as certain that if it is possible to succeed you certainly will. I shall be impatient to hear accounts of your arrival and you may be very well assured that I shall be allways glad of occasions where I can give you proofs of the esteem and friendship I have for you.

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<sup>1</sup> [Also in English.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [James, the elder Chevalier, who married Princess Marie Sobieska, died Jany. 1766.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [In French again.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> [In English.—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> [Curiously used in the sense that there exists a grief, etc. All the words in italics are underlined in the original letter.—TR.]

Au Comte Walsh-Serrant. Henry Cardinal.

COMTE DE SERRANT<sup>1</sup>

Rome, March 26th, 1766

I HAVE received your letters from Madrid on the 22d and 23d February, and 3d and 10th instant. I cannot but heartily approve of the steps you have taken to serve me at that Court. If the success does not correspond to your activity and zeal, it must be ascribed to the unlucky conjuncture of the times. I know, however, that you will leave nothing untried that may be useful to me. But when you find that your stay at Madrid is of no further use, you will no doubt return to France where you may be of more real service to me at the court of Versailles, where I intend to employ you as my Minister. I shall send to you, when at Paris, my powers and instructions for that purpose. It is of the utmost consequence to me to have a Minister of your activity zeal and fidelity at this last court, since it appears that they must begin the dance and that Spain will only copy after them. I expect, indeed, you will be able to settle a correspondence with Don Emanuel de Roda, as well as with Lord Peter, and that you will endeavour to engage either the one or the other, or even both, to sollicite my interest at Madrid. For this purpose make them kind compliments in my name: assure them of the confidence I have in them, how sensible I am of their good hearts towards me, and how much I desire to give them proofs of my esteem and friendship. Represent to them, and likewise to M. de Squillace, the necessitous state to which I am reduced, and that without some subsidy from the Court of Spain, I shall hardly be able to procure the necessaries of life, and much less to perform the obligation that lies on me to maintain many of my honest subjects who have lost their all in the service of my family. If any subsidy is given, it was always my intention to give the administration of it to Messrs. Joyes. I will give them a procuration for that effect, or if it is necessary to be in the Spanish form they may send me a procuration and I shall sign it. You may let them know the particular consideration I have for them. I cannot but inform you that some nights ago I had a private visit from M. d'Azpuru, the Spanish Minister, here. He said he had just received positive orders from the King, his master, as well as from the Queen-Mother, to inform me that they had received my letters, that it was a great mortification to them that the present situation of their affairs prevented their answering them as they wished, but that I might always depend on their regard and good inclinations towards me. I told the Minister, that from my youth I had received so many marks of their friendship, that I could not doubt of the continuance of it, and left it to himself to make them a compliment in my name, since the sincerity of my attachment to them could not be exaggerated. M. d'Azpuru mentioned to me M. de Roda's attachment, and that he had desired him to assure me of it. I directed him to thank M. de Roda, and to say whatever was proper from me to him. He neither mentioned M. de Squillace nor Grimaldi. I know nothing else to add to you concerning my affairs but what will naturally occur to yourself. My disagreeable situation at Rome continues the same. In short I am fully persuaded that you wil omit nothing that can properly be done for me at the court of Madrid. Last night I received a letter from Lord Bonaventure, late Grand Prior of England, dated at Madrid the 15th March; he takes no notice of the death of the King, my father. He addresses the letter '*a Monsieur le baron de Douglas à Rome,*' and treats me with the appellation of

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<sup>1</sup> [In English.—TR.]

royal highness. He certainly should have known long ago the change of my state. Until he writes me properly I cannot think of answering his letter. He writes me that there has been injustice done him in his preferment, and desires my consent to abandon Spain, and to come and live with me. It seems odd that a son of the family of Berwick should be in this situation. I am afraid he must have been guilty of some extravagance. But at present there can be no question of my bringing him here, since I can hardly maintain the very few gentlemen I have about me. I leave it to yourself to make what use you shall judge proper of what I now write.—Your sincere Friend, Comte de Serrant.

CHARLES R.

COMTE DE SERRANT<sup>1</sup>

*Rome, Augst. 12th 1766.*

I CANNOT but be sensibly touched with my present disagreeable situation. Can it be supposed that the courts of France and Spain will abandon me at this critical conjuncture? From what I have wrote to you of late, I am persuaded that you have pressed the Duke de Choiseul on this point. I hope he will keep me no longer in suspense, but come to some resolution, that I may know with certainty what I have to depend on, in order to regulate my affairs accordingly.

I am much surprised that I have not heard from Don Gregorio Joyes. I sent him my instructions, May the 28th, of which he has not owned the receipt. I do not suppose that my letter has miscarried. However, I write to him again, and send him a copy of what I formerly wrote. My instructions to him were little more than a repetition of those you had given him. I desired him to advise with Lord Peter and Don Emanuel de Roda of the properest method to lay the situation before his Catholic Majesty. I now desire him to take the advice likewise of Don Domenica Pasqual y La Fuentes, my brother's agent at Madrid, a person who has much access to and esteemed by the Ministers. I think it would be proper you should inform Joyes of what I now write you in case of any accident befalling my letter to him.

I have received your letter in favour of Dr. Mahony. You may easily believe what weight your recommendation would have had with me, had it been possible for me to have gratified him with the title he asks. I have a value for him, and am persuaded of his worth. But many of my subjects of superior merit would have claimed the same mark of distinction, which the present situation of my affairs makes me unwilling to grant.

Sensible of your unwearied zeal to serve me, I shall always wish for opportunities to give you proofs of the particular regard and value I have for you.—Your sincere friend,

CHARLES R.

Comte de Serrant.

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<sup>1</sup> [In English.—TR.]

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT<sup>1</sup>*Rome, Decembre the 9th, 1766.*

IN hopes of hearing something more satisfactory with regard to my affairs at the Courts of France and Spain, I have hitherto delayed to mention the receipt of your letters to me of the 30th August and 28th October. I have read the Duke of Choiseul's letter to you. I cannot indeed allow myself to think that the Court of France will so far mistake its own interest as to abandon me, or, which is the same thing, refuse me those subsidies so indispensably necessary at present for my support. Your zeal for my service and knowledge of my wants will no doubt make you still urge this point with that Minister. Were my case properly represented to his most Christian Majesty, I am persuaded he has too good a heart to allow me to remain in this dismal situation. I mentioned to you that, in consequence of your recommendation, I wrote, May the 28th, to Joyes, and not having a reply, Lumisden wrote to him again by my order, August the 14th; to neither of these letters have I received any answer. I am at a loss to conjecture from whence this proceeds, and therefore desire you may write to him that I may know the reason of such a disappointment. My situation here continues too disagreeable for me to describe. I shall at present draw a veil over it. Your son's advancement gives me much satisfaction, as I particularly interest myself in whatever relates to you or your family.—Your sincere friend,

CHARLES R.

## THE COMTE DE SERRANT, THE YOUNGER

*Rome, December the 16th, 1766.*

Your advancement gives me much satisfaction. The value I so justly have for you and your family cannot but engage me at all times to wish for opportunities to give you proper marks of my regard and consideration.

CHARLES R.

For the Comte de Serrant, the younger.<sup>2</sup>MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT<sup>3</sup>*4th April 1767.*

I HAVE spoken to you, my dear papa,<sup>4</sup> of the marriage of Prince Edward.<sup>5</sup> Nothing could be truer. It was said yesterday that it took place the day before, and that the Duke of Fitz James had been the 'procureur' (the proxy for the King). That mistake is a proof of the secrecy attached to it. Here is the truth, the marriage took place at the house of the Duke of Berwick, Friday, the 27th March, at noon. M. de Berwick was the proxy, and Melle. de Stolberg, eldest sister of the Marquise de la Jamaïque, was there in person. At

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<sup>1</sup> [In English.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> Antoine Joseph Walsh, *né* at Cadiz, 1744, *ob.* at Serrant 1817.

<sup>3</sup> Francois Jacques Walsh, born at St. Malo in 1714, *ob.* 1782.

<sup>4</sup> [Letter (in French) from the young Vicomte de Serrant to his father.—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> [Charles Edward, known latterly as Count of Albany, married Louise de Stolberg in 1767. He died in 1788.—TR.]

5 o'clock the same day she started, and was to have been attended by Melle. Power, of whom you have heard, by a German young lady, who missed her by 24 hours, and by M. Ryan, Major in Berwick's Regt., so that she left with only Melle. Power, and M. Ryan. They were to arrive yesterday at a town of Frioul,<sup>1</sup> where the Prince will be married. Monsieur de Salm from whom I got these details, and who is cousin-german, and at the house of whose father Princess Stolberg stayed here (at Paris) a month, and from whence she went off, assured me that the Pope recognised and would treat the Prince as King, and that there were hopes here as to the pension. Milord Harcourt it is said made complaints, which, however, could not, and ought not to embarrass a Minister of Foreign affairs such as M. d'Aiguillon.<sup>2</sup> I am going this morning to Versailles with M. de Salm, who takes me. If I learn any other details I will send you them.

[No address.]

*Bouillon, Nov. 23rd, 1769.*

SIR,—I beg of you to come to Paris without waste of time, to let me know that you have received this letter, the day on which you can arrive and where you can be found. It is needless to ask you to keep the object of your journey secret. No one ought to know anything about it.—I am, your good friend,

J. Douglas.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Frascati, 9th December 1791.*

MY DEAR WALSH,—I had the satisfaction of receiving the 6th of this month the letter which you wrote to me about the Abbé Walsh, your Great-nephew, by his own hands, and I am very well pleased with him. He appears to me to have intelligence and good inclinations to profit by the studies adapted to his profession. You can count on the lively interest which I shall take in the good success of this young lad. I shall make him come to me from time to time, and I shall watch over his conduct, in order, in two words, that they may not spoil him. I know you too well not to be sure of your monarchical principles, and I rejoice with you to see you fifth of your family united under the banner of the respectable Princes who are at Coblentce, for whom I form the most ardent prayers that the Lord may bless their operations and fulfil their desires, which are very surely mine. I profit very willingly by this opportunity to give you the most lively assurances of the sincere affection which I bear to you personally and to all your family, and to embrace you with all my heart.

HENRY R., CARDINAL.<sup>3</sup>

MINUTES OF A LETTER FROM THE COMTE WALSH DE SERRANT TO THE COMTE  
PERGEN AT VIENNA

MONSIEUR LE COMTE,—A long time ago the Duc de Polignac<sup>4</sup> asked your Excellence for a passport that I might go to Vienna, where various affairs call me; I have the honour to

<sup>1</sup> The part of Italy in which Udine is situated.

<sup>2</sup> The Duc d'Aiguillon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Benoit, Cardinal of York, brother of Prince Charles Edward, died at Rome in 1807.

<sup>4</sup> Armand Jules Marie Heraclius, *ob.* 1847.

recal the remembrance of this to your Excellence, by addressing myself directly to you. I cannot for an instant suppose that any difficulties can be found; for being the first of the faithful Frenchmen who have appeared at Vienna since the end of 1789, I am far from considering myself included in the prohibitions established in many places against the generality bearing the French name; all the administrations, and yours certainly, Monsieur le Comte, know how to make just exceptions of persons of conduct and of character; they distinguish victims from the guilty, and they can only place among the cosmopolites of the best kind, among the zealous defenders of all thrones and all governments, those who like myself have, from the 19th July 1789 and before the torrent of emigration, followed the eternal principle of the French monarchy which, when the King is in the hands of the enemy or of the rebels, places the representation of his authority and of obedience where there is the first of the free Princes of his blood.

Of English origin, French by the chances of another revolution in the last century, and by the effects of the same fidelity in opposition to the same crimes, I hold strongly (insist) Monsieur le Comte, on your presenting my demand to His Majesty the Emperor, at whose feet I had the honour of placing myself in 1789 and since at Frankfort.

He will be willing, I dare to hope, to receive again the homages of one who knew how to appreciate the qualities which he already showed for the happiness of his peoples before reigning over them, and who now admires and follows with ardent vows his glorious march to the high destiny of being the benefactor of the world, and the preservation from a total submersion.

I have the honour to be, with the most distinguished consideration, M. Le Comte, of your Excellency the very humble servant,

LE COMTE DE WALSH SERRANT.

To the Comte de Pergen, Minister of the Emperor of Austria.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Frascati, 19th November 1793.*

I Cannot express to you, my dear Walsh, my great sense of the zeal and attachment which you show me by your letters of the 14th, 22nd, and 25th October, and one of the 15th September which, by I know not what chance, has only now reached me. I have had a memoir drawn up which you will find herewith, by which you will know precisely my sentiments to which you can conform yourself as if it was written by my own hand. I have written a few words to the Nuncio at Brussels referring to the said memoir which you can communicate to him. Thus there remains nothing for me to add except to assure you of all my esteem, and of the friendship with which, my dear Walsh, I embrace you with all my heart.

HENRY R, CARDINAL.

*P.S.*—The Duchess Fitz James (Fitz-James) knows perfectly the nature of the memoir which has been drawn up hastily. Address yourself to her, to whom I have also written two words, and observe with exactness the last article of the said memoir.

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Frascati, 10th Decr. 1793.*

I HAVE not time, my dear Walsh, to enter into detail as to your letter, which I received the other day at Rome. It will suffice for you to know to what a degree I am sensible of your zeal and attachment to my service, and that the energy you put into all your operations assures me of its continuance. What is necessary is that you should not lose a moment without informing the Count de Trautmansdorff and the Count de Wallis of my appreciation of the obliging interest which they have been so good as to take in me, reserving myself to send them later more fully my sentiments of gratitude. All the explications possible will be sent to you. Adieu, my dear Walsh, you know already all the sentiments of esteem and of friendship with which I embrace you with all my heart.

HENRY R, CARDINAL.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Frascati, 14th Jany. 1794.*

I HAVE received, my dear Walsh, your long letter of the 19th Novr., by which I see your zeal for my service in all its extent. Nothing remains therefore for me to say, as you are well aware of my sentiments, except that I pride myself infinitely on having in all this affair a person like you on whom I can count as on myself. I see that the Nuncio is very eager to second your views in all that depends on him. Signify to him my gratitude, and employ him as the channel through which to send your letters. Adieu, my dear Walsh.—I am entirely yours,

HENRY R, CARDINAL.

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KEY TO THE CYPHER IN THE FOREGOING CORRESPONDENCE,  
RECENTLY SUPPLIED BY MR. HUSSEY WALSH.

Bertie,	<i>Lord Lismoir.</i>	Mansfield,	<i>George Kelly.</i>
Burton,	<i>Prince Charles Edward.</i>	Mason,	<i>George II.</i>
Campbell,	<i>Alexander Murray.</i>	Masterson,	<i>Mme. de Pompadour.</i>
Chambers,	<i>Duc de Richelieu.</i>	Metcaf,	<i>King of Sweden.</i>
Desborough,	<i>Heguerty (of Paris).</i>	Meldrum,	<i>King Stanislas of Poland.</i>
Dumont,	<i>Supposed to have been a French agent.</i>	Mill,	<i>General Wall.</i>
Eliot,	<i>Lord Clancarty.</i>	Rotterdam,	<i>London.</i>
Ellis,	<i>Louis XV.</i>	Sackville,	<i>The Dauphin.</i>
Eyres,	<i>Queen of Hungary.</i>	Sanford,	<i>England.</i>
Faning,	<i>Abbé de la Ville.</i>	Stanley,	<i>Ireland.</i>
Goodman,	<i>Dr. King.</i>	Symon,	<i>Mr. S.</i>
Grant,	<i>The Pope.</i>	Truth,	<i>Mr. Gordon of Coherlie.</i>
Harrison,	<i>Maréchal de Belleisle.</i>	Vernon,	<i>Scotland.</i>
Jones,	<i>General Lally.</i>	Wade,	<i>Duca del Huernar.</i>
Lee,	<i>Waters, the Banker.</i>	Wigley,	<i>Maurepas.</i>
Lumley,	<i>Prince de Soubise.</i>	Williams,	<i>Duc de Noailles.</i>
Manners,	<i>King of Spain.</i>	Wynn,	<i>Abbé, afterwards Cardinal de Bernis.</i>

**APPENDICES AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES**

## APPENDIX TO THE FRENCH EDITION

*Dublin, 2nd Janry. 1580 (22nd year of the reign).*

Queen Elizabeth nominates Walter de Montayne, Vice-Lieutenant of the County of Kilkenny (in Ireland).

Elisabeth, Dei gracia, Anglie, Francie et Hibernie regina, fidei defensor, etc. Omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, salutem.

Sciatis quod constituimus dilectum nobis Walterum Walshe de Mountayne generosum, vicarium nostrum comitatus nostri Kilkennensis; habendum, tenendum occupandum et exercendum officium illud prefato Waltero Walshe quamdiu nobis placuerit; ita quod firmas debitas comitatui predicto nobis annuatim reddat; ac de omnibus aliis redditibus, exitibus et profituis comitatus predicti nobis ad saccarium nostrum Hibernie respondeat et computum inde reddat, prout moris est. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras fieri fecimus patentes; teste Thoma comite Ormonie et Ossori, thesaurario regni nostri Hibernie. Datum apud Dublin, secundo die januarii, anno regni nostri xxiido.

MAIMVARINGE, RECEPTOR REGINE.

(Act on parchment, small quarto, formerly sealed on double tag.)

*Dublin, 4th Jany. 1580 (22nd year of the reign).*

Queen Elizabeth orders Richard Sheethe and Robert Rothe to receive the oath of Walter Walsh de Mountagne, nominated Vice-Lieutenant of the County of Kilkenny. (Original on parchment.)

*Dublin, 29th Novber. 1586 (28th year of the reign).*

Queen Elizabeth nominates Walter Walsh, Vice-Lieutenant of the County of Kilkenny (in Ireland). (Original on parchment.)

*Dublin, 11th May 1621.<sup>1</sup>*

James I., King of England, of Scotland and of Ireland, approves the lease on fief passed between the late Walter Walsh of Castlehoell, in the County of Kilkenny, Esquire, on the one part and Richard Grant of Corsoddy, and William Wale of Muckery in the County of Tipperary. The revenues of these lands will be delivered to Walter Walsh, after him to his wife, Elicie Cutler; after her to one of their five sons, Robert, Edmund, James, William and John Walsh; after them to Robert Walsh, father of Walter Walsh.

(Original on paichment.)

*Dublin, 6th August (21st year of the reign in England).*

James I., King of England, Scotland and Ireland, referring to his letters patent dated at Westminster, 23rd Sept. 1622 (20th year of the reign), gives to Walter Walsh junior, cousin and heir of Walter Walsh of Castlehoyle in the County of Kilkenny (in Ireland), son of Robert Walsh, himself son of Walter Walsh the elder, the heritage of the latter on

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<sup>1</sup> [The original must of course have been in English (if not in Latin) but in the publication from which this is taken, it is in French.—TR.]

payment of 57 pounds, sixpence eight farthings, Irish money, into the Treasury of Dublin. Witness Henry, Viscount of Falkland, Deputy General in Ireland.

(Original on parchment sealed with double strip.)

*Blackfryers near Kilkenny in Ireland, 8 April 1635, (old style).*

Attestation regarding the alienation by the late Walter Walsh of Castlehoyle (County of Kilkenny) of a fief situated at Farrenfelbine and Ballyferoge, for the benefit of Edmund Walsh of Killmanalim, and of Agnes Walsh his wife, according to the rolls of the Chancellery of Ireland, under Charles I.,—Notarial copy made in 1752 with numerous seals and attestations legal and diplomatic to be made use of abroad.

(Original on parchment.)

LETTERS OF 'ARRET' [DECREE] BEARING BECOGNITION OF NOBILITY IN  
FAVOUR OF ANTHONY WALSH.<sup>1</sup>

Louis by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre to our loved and faithful<sup>2</sup> councillors, the persons holding our courts of Parliament and of the Accounts of Brittany and to all our other officers and justiciaries whom it may concern, greeting.<sup>3</sup>

By decree given in our Council of State, we being present, the 10th Novber 1753, on the request of our dear and well-beloved Anthony Walsh, Secretary of the King, of the Crown of France and of our finances, of Irish origin. We have on the titles herewith and for the causes there contained acknowledged the said Mr.<sup>4</sup> Walsh as noble by name and by arms, and maintained in his nobility of ancient extraction, ordered that he should be regarded as such, both in judgment [law?] and outside, and that in consequence he should enjoy for himself and his posterity, born and to be born in lawful marriage, the same honours, privileges, pre-eminences, prerogatives, franchises and exemptions as are enjoyed by the nobles ['gentilshommes ']<sup>2</sup> of the kingdom, so long as they live nobly and do no act derogatory to nobility, and that for this effect he should be inscribed in the catalogue of the nobles, conformably to the regulation and decree of the 22d. March 1666 and 26th Feby. 1697, and ordered also that on the present decree all the necessary letters should be expedited, which the said Mr. Anthony Walsh has very humbly entreated us to grant to him. For these causes by the advice of our council, by these presents signed by our own hand we acknowledge (or recognise) the said Mr. Anthony Walsh to be noble by name and by extraction, we will and order that he should be regarded as such, as well in judgment as outside, and that in consequence he shall enjoy himself and his posterity, born or to be born in lawful marriage, the same honours, privileges, pre-eminences, prerogatives, franchises and exemptions as are enjoyed by the nobles and 'gentilshommes'<sup>5</sup> of our kingdom as long as they live nobly and do no act derogatory to nobility; that to this effect he shall be inscribed in the catalogue of the

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<sup>1</sup> [See Translator's Appendix C]

<sup>2</sup> ['Féaux,' plural of 'féal,' old French adjective.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Salut.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> ['Sieur': this is simply a diminutive of 'Monsieur' often used in law, and is of no special signification.—TR.]

<sup>5</sup> [The term is applied only to nobles, not in the English signification.—TR.]

nobles, conformably to the regulation and decree of the 22d. March 1666, and the 26th Feby. 1697. Here we make known to you that you have to register these presents and to execute the contents of these<sup>1</sup> according to their form and tenor, stopping and causing to stop all troubles (difficulties) and hindrances, notwithstanding all things to the contrary. For such is our pleasure. Given at Versailles first day of December the year of grace 1753, and of our reign the thirty-ninth.

LOUIS.

Par le Roy, PHÉLIPPEAUX.

‘Insinué’ [inserted?] at Nantes the 9th June 1756, due the sum of 120 pounds including the four shillings per pound, without further liability<sup>2</sup> according to the registration.

MIONNET.

Registered at the office of the Court of the Parliament of Rennes on the final decree of 9th Jany. 1754.

PICQUET.

Registered at the office of the Chamber of the Accounts of Brittany by virtue of the decree of the same<sup>258</sup> of the 6th Feby. 1754.

FLEURY,  
Office Clerk.

(Sealed on single tag.)

LETTERS PATENT CREATING THE COUNTSHIP OF SERRANT, GRANTED TO  
FRANÇOIS JACQUES WALSH, 1755

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France, and of Navarre, to all present and to come, greeting. We see with pleasure that the fertility of our kingdom, the mildness of the habits of our subjects, the wisdom of our laws and the moderation of our government has attracted to it several foreign families, who are able in the extent of our states to make establishments [settlements] advantageous for them and for our Kingdom, in order also to favour these settlements and encourage them to multiply we should not neglect any opportunity of giving to these families proofs of our goodness by adopting them among our other subjects by letters of naturalisation, preserving to them the prerogatives of their birth by letters recognising their nobility and adorning the possessions they may acquire by the titles of which they are susceptible; it is by these same motives and on these same principles that the brothers Walsh, born in our kingdom but Irish by origin, having by authentic titles satisfied us that they descended from an ancient noble house, which goes back to their nineteenth great-grandfather, Philip Walsh, surnamed the Breton<sup>3</sup> (in Irish, Brenagh) who in 1174 killed with his own hand the admiral of the Danish Fleet which had invaded the country, and thereby acquired an immortal glory and great possessions in Ireland, which his descendants have enjoyed and which they have augmented by illustrious alliances, and that the

<sup>1</sup> [‘Icelles,’ old term for ‘celui-la,’ ‘celle-la or ceux’ only used in law.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [‘Sans tirer à consequence.’—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [A Welshman.—TR.]

splendour and the riches of the Walshes in Ireland has subsisted as long as it has been permitted to subjects faithful to God and to their king to preserve their possessions and their titles. We have recognised their ancient nobility by the decrees of our Council and letters patent which our Parliament and our Chamber of comptability of Brittany have registered with a kind of eagerness which well showed the satisfaction given to these courts by the titles which have been presented to us, and in which we have recognised the ancient noble extraction of the gentlemen Walsh. The distinguished proofs which they have given us of their zeal for our service, have also induced us to receive the very humble supplication made to us by M. Francois Jacques Walsh, Lord of the County of Serrant, of the barony of Ingrande, the chatelaintries of Champtoce, of Savenières, of Serrant, of the Roche Serrant, of Belnoè-en-petit-Paris and other places, to unite these different lordships and their dependencies and erect them into the Countship of Serrant for his legitimate posterity born and to be born, and we have also determined to grant him this favour on the recognition which his authors, (the writers of the original deeds) have given to us, or the 'fiefs servants' (the deeds delivering over the fiefs?) rendered to the Lords of Serrant, in which recognitions, as also in the judgments and arrestments, they took formerly the title of Counts of Serrant;<sup>1</sup> we are besides informed that this estate is adorned with one of the most beautiful 'Chateaux' in our kingdom, so that with the union solicited it will form a revenue of about 50,000 'livres,' and will be composed of an ancient barony which has the finest rights and five great 'châtellenies' [lordship over a domain with a castle], from which a number of fiefs hold. These are the considerations which have determined us to agree to the erection of the county [countship] which he desires for his land, and we have been willing to grant him the letters necessary for this.

For these causes and for other considerations, we have of our special favour, full power, and royal authority, joined, united, and incorporated, and by these presents signed by our hand, unite and incorporate to the said land and lordship of Serrant, the barony of Ingrande, the 'Châtellenies' of Champtocé of Savenières, of Serrant, of La Roche-Serrant, of Belnoè-en-petit-Paris, circumstances and dependencies of which Mr. Walsh is proprietor, that they may henceforward form only one and the same estate, fief and lordship, which are here created, erected and elevated, and by these presents create, erect, and elevate in title and dignity of Countship, under the denomination of Serrant, to be enjoyed by the said Mr. Walsh and his legitimate posterity, born and to be born, under the name, title, and dignity of Comte de Serrant; we will and it pleases us that they should so style, name, and qualify themselves in all acts whether in judgment or outside, and that they should enjoy the honours, rights of arms and of blazon, of authorities, prerogatives, ranks, pre-eminences in relation to war, assemblies of states and of nobility, the same as the other counts of our kingdom; again even if they should not be particularly specified we will in like manner that all vassals, sub-vassals, and others holding nobly or otherwise<sup>2</sup> of the said count should in future yield faith and homage and give their recognitions, reports, and declarations, the case occurring, under the name of the Comte de Serrant, and that the officers exercising the justice of the said county entitle their sentences and judgments under this said name, without however

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<sup>1</sup> [This must refer to the ancient proprietors of the funds here given to Mr. Walsh.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> ['En roture,' not noble.—TR.]

any removal or change of competence of jurisdiction or feudal dependence, and without interference with the royal cases, of which the justice will belong to our bailies and stewards; nor that by reason of the present the said Mr. Walsh, should be held towards us, or his vassals and tenants towards him, to other greater rights and duties than those which they owe at present, without however lessening or prejudicing the\* rights and duties, if any are due to others than ourselves; nor that on the failure of heirs-male in lawful marriage we, or the kings our successors could not claim the said lands to be united to our domain, but only that they would return in the same and similar state that they were in before these presents. Here we give and announce to our loved and faithful councillors, the persons holding our Courts of Parliament and assistants of Paris, that they have to see registered the present letters of union and erection, and to make the said Mr. Walsh enjoy and use their contents as also his legitimate posterity born and to be born, peacefully and perpetually, stopping and causing to stop all troubles and contrary hindrances, saving always our rights and those of others<sup>1</sup> in everything. For such is our pleasure, and in order that it may be a thing fixed and stable for ever we have had our seal put to these presents.

Given at Versailles, in the month of March, the year of grace 1755 and of our reign the fortieth. Signed *Louis*; lower down '*par le roi,*' *Phélippeaux*; at side *visa Machault*. (Sealed on 'ravelled cords'<sup>2</sup> of red and green silk.)

These letters patent were registered 1° at Angers, 9th April; 2° at the Parliament of Paris, 16th July; 3° at the Court of Assistants, the 30th of the same month; 4° at the Office of the Stewardry<sup>3</sup> of Angers, 5 Septm. of the same year 1755.

#### LOUIS XV. TO THE MARECHAL DE THOMOND

My cousin having given to Anthony Joseph Walsh the charge of 2nd Lieutenant ('Lieutenant en Second') in the company of Mortaugh O'Brien in the Regiment of Irish Infantry of Clare which is under your charge, vacant by the promotion of John Shongron to a lieutenancy. I write you this letter to tell you that you have to receive him, to make him recognised in the said charge by all those, and such as he will belong to, and the present having no other object, I pray God that He may have you, my cousin, in His safe and worthy keeping.

Written at Versailles, the 13th July 1760.

LOUIS.  
BOYER.

#### COMMISSION TO THE YOUNG COMTE DE SERRANT

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to our dear and well loved Mr. Anthony Joseph Walsh, Cte. de Serrant,<sup>4</sup> 2nd Lieutenant in the Regiment of Irish Infantry of Clare, greeting; taking into consideration the services which you have rendered to us, on all the opportunities which have presented themselves, and wishing to testify our satisfaction for these causes and others moving us, we have committed

<sup>1</sup> ['Autrui,' one's neighbour.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Lacs,' meaning 'cordon délié'.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Néchausée.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> Born in 1744 at Cadiz, eventually second Comte de Serrant, died at Serrant in 1817.

(appointed), ordered, and established you and we commit, order, and establish you as captain 'réformé à la suite'<sup>1</sup> of the Regt. of Irish Cavalry of Fitz-James, to serve there in the said capacity from the day and date of these presents, notwithstanding what is borne by the 6th article of our regulation of the 29th Feby. 1728, under our authority, and under that of the Lord Marquis of Bethunes, colonel-general of our light cavalry, and of the Lord Marquis of Castrie's general of the same, on the part and as by us or by our lieutenant-general you may be commanded and ordered for our service, our intention not being, however, that you should claim any pay in the said capacity of Captain 'Réformé.' To do this we give you power, commission, authority, and mandate special. We inform our very dear and well beloved cousin, the Marquis de FitzJames, 'Maréchal du Camp' of the said regiment, and in his absence him who commands it, to receive you and make you recognised in the said capacity and all that belongs to it that you in doing this may be obeyed. For such is our pleasure.

Given at St. Hubert, the 25th day of July the year of grace 1762, and of our reign the forty-seventh.

LOUIS.

'Par le Roy,' THE DUC DE CHOISEUL.

[Without Address.]

*Versailles, 10th May 1773.*

The king having judged proper, sir, to incorporate by his regulation of the 26th of last month the Irish regiment of infantry which you command in the Corsican Legion, which takes the name of the Dauphiné, to replace the infantry which His Majesty passes into the Royal Corsican Regiment to form a second batallion to it, His Majesty has named you to be Colonel of the Regt. of Bassigny which is to be formed of the 2nd and 4th battalions of the Regt. of Aunis; you will have for Lt.-Colonel, M. Castillon de Monchamp who is of the Regt. of Aunis, and for Major, M. Clarke, who is that of the Regiment of Balckley.

Mr. Butler, Lt.-Colonel of the Regiment of Walsh, becomes Lt.-Colonel of the Regt. of Aquitaine.

After what you have said, that it might be reported to me, that Mr. Segrave, Major of your Regiment, not knowing a word of French could not follow you, I have judged that the interests of the service opposed his being replaced, and as he is an old officer who has served well, I have proposed to His Majesty to grant him 1800 'livres' of pay per annum, to serve him as pension, he to enjoy it as Major attached to the Irish Brigade, or in a situation at his choice without other deduction than 4 farthings<sup>2</sup> per 'livre.'

As to what concerns you personally, His Majesty has ordained that you will keep, even when you become a general officer, the entire pay of Colonel of an Irish Regiment, which is 12,000 'livres' per annum without other deduction than the '4 deniers per livre,' in which, however, it is understood that the pay of the Colonel of the French Regiment to which you are to be appointed is to be included during the time that you are provided

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<sup>1</sup> sic.

<sup>2</sup> [Denier, 12th part of a Sou, of which there are 20 to the franc.—TR.]



with it, so that your pay will be under all circumstances the said sum of 12,100 'livres.' That in order to complete it, the pay of the Colonel of a French Regiment being only 4500 'livres,' you will be paid by these special regulations 7500 'livres' annually under title of continued pay.

That when you leave the Regiment of Bassigny, whether you give in your resignation, or are advanced to the grade of Field Marshal, you will draw 24,000 of the price which will be deposited by the officer who His Majesty may choose to succeed you. That, however, you will be replaced in the charge of Colonel of an Irish Regiment when one is vacated, whether you are still provided with the Regiment of Bassigny, or whether you have been made a general officer; in the first case you will not draw the said 24,000 'livres,' and in the second you will be expected to restore them.

Thus the pay of 12,000 'livres' which is continued to you will be suppressed when you are replaced in an Irish regiment or other corps where the colonel receives as pay the same sum.

I have represented to His Majesty that when you were nominated Colonel of the Regiment of Roscommon, there was made on the pay of this charge the reserve of 2000 'livres' annually in favour of the Chevalier de Nugent, Lt.General, to be enjoyed by him for his lifetime. His Majesty is pleased to take away from you this charge, and to leave you the entire enjoyment of the pay of a Colonel of an Irish Regiment. The King has decided that M. de Nugent will be paid in future the 2000 'livres' as an annual gratification on the extraordinary war credit.

You can judge by these arrangements that the intention of His Majesty has been to treat you favourably, under circumstances in which the good of the service has appeared to him to necessitate the changes which deprive you of a Regiment which custom would have kept for you when you became general officer. The King is persuaded, moreover, that you will not show less zeal in the command of a French Regt., and that he will receive only advantageous testimony as to your conduct at the head of this corps.

THE MARSHAL DU MUY.

A ROYALIST FAMILY  
MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Versailles, 20th July 1776.*

It is impossible to be more appreciative than I am, Sir, of the letters which you have done me the honour to write to me, and the obliging things which you have had the goodness to say to me on the re-establishment of the Regiment of Infantry of Walsh. If I have been happy enough to contribute to it, I find myself amply compensated by the thought of having rendered to the Irish nation the justice it deserves. The King knows that that nation has rendered him important services, that she will still render them, and that she has always contributed<sup>1</sup> to the success of his arms.

Under all the circumstances of my life, I shall be very flattered to give you proofs of the consideration with which I am, gentlemen,<sup>2</sup> your very humble and very obedient servant,

THE PRINCE DE MONTBARREY.<sup>3</sup>

MONSIEUE LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Versailles, 4th July 1777.*

On the report, Sir, which I have rendered to the King as to your services, His Majesty has been pleased to grant you the rank of Chevalier in the royal and military order of Saint Louis. I shall send off the orders to have you received when you let me know the name and the qualifications of the officer who may be found nearest to confer on you the cross of this honour. I have the honour to announce it to you and to be very perfectly, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

THE PRINCE DE MONTBARREY.<sup>271</sup>

[ENCLOSURE.]

Monsieur Antoine Joseph Philippe Cte. de Walsh-Serrant, the satisfaction that I have in your services has induced<sup>4</sup> me to associate you to the military order of St. Louis. I write you this letter to tell you that I have committed to the Comte de Caramen 'Maréchal de Camp' in my armies and Chevalier of the said order, for and in my name to receive and admit you to the dignity of Chevalier de St. Louis, and my intention is that you should address yourself to him to make in his hands the oath which you are required to make in the said capacity of knight of the said order, and receive from him the 'accolade' and the cross, which you will hereafter wear on your breast attached by a little ribbon of flame colour, my wish being that after this reception has been made, you should hold rank with the other officers of this order and enjoy the honours attached to it. And the present having no other aim, I pray God that he may have you, M. Anthony Joseph Philippe Cte. de Walsh Serrant, in His holy keeping.

Written at Versailles, the 14th July 1777.

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<sup>1</sup> ['Été préteieuse.'—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Messieurs,' the plural is perhaps meant to include other officers.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [So signed in full.—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> ['Convié.'—TR.]

LOUIS.  
SAINT-GERMANS.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

I cannot sufficiently thank you, Sir, for all the letters you have been good enough to write to me; this exchange (commerce) has for me pleasure and utility, and I shall feel a real obligation to you to continue it as long as you remain in England, where you have liberty to remain as long as your affairs oblige you or require your presence. I make the use I ought of your letters, and such as you would desire, and I beg you to be very persuaded that I have an essential gratitude to you. I have the honour to be, with the most sincere attachment, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

THE PRINCE DE MONTBARREY.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Versailles, 1st March 1780.*

The King having been pleased, Sir, to grant you the grade of brigadier,<sup>1</sup> I have the honour to inform you of this with pleasure, and to be very perfectly, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

THE PRINCE DE MONTBARREY.

[ENCLOSURE.]

To-day, the 1st March 1780, the King, being at Versailles, taking into consideration the good and faithful services which M. Anthony Joseph Cte. de Walsh-Serrant, Colonel-Commandant of a Regiment of Infantry of his name, has rendered to His Majesty, in various trusts and war employments which have been confided to him, in which he has given proofs of his valour, courage, experience in war, diligence and good conduct, as well as of his fidelity and affection to his service, and wishing to signify to him his satisfaction, His Majesty has retained, ordered and established him in the trust of Brigadier of Infantry, that he may henceforward perform the functions, enjoy and use the honours, authorities, prerogatives and pre-eminences which belong to it, in such manner and similar to those which are enjoyed by those who are provided with such charges and with the pay which will be regulated for him by the 'Etats'<sup>2</sup> of His Majesty, who, as a testimony of his will, has commanded me to expedite to him (the Comte de Serrant) the present 'brevet' (commission), signed by His Majesty's hand, and countersigned by me, his Councillor-Secretary of State and of his commandments and finances.

LOUIS.

THE PRINCE DE MONTBARREY.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Versailles, 1st Jany. 1784.*

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<sup>1</sup> [Superior officer, intermediary step between a Colonel and a General.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [The parliament—TR.]

The King having been pleased, Sir, to confer on you the grade of 'Maréchal de Camp'<sup>1</sup> in his Army, I have the honour to inform you thereof, and to be with perfect attachment, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

THE M<sup>AL</sup>. DE SEGUR.

[ENCLOSURE.]

To-day, the 1st of the month of Jany. 1784, the King being at Versailles, taking into consideration the good and faithful services which M. Anthony Joseph, Comte de Walsh-Serrant, brigadier of infantry, has rendered to him in divers charges and war employments which have been confided to him, in which he has given proofs of his valour, courage, experience in war, diligence and good conduct, as well of his fidelity and affection to His Majesty's service, and wishing to mark to him his satisfaction, His Majesty has retained, ordered, and established him in the charge of 'Maréchal de Camp' in his armies, henceforward to perform the functions of the same, to enjoy and use the honours, authorities, prerogatives, and pre-eminences which belong to it, such and similarly to those which are enjoyed by those who are provided with such charges, and with the pay ordered by the Government of His Majesty, who as a testimony of his will has commanded me to expedite to him the present commission, which His Majesty has signed with his hand, and had countersigned by me, Councillor-Secretary of State and of his commandments and finances.

LOUIS.  
THE M<sup>AL</sup>. DE SEGUR.

COMMISSION TO ANTHONY FRANCIS WALSH, 3rd CHEVALIER WALSH DE CHASSENON<sup>2</sup>

The Comte de Walsh having given to Anthony Francis Walsh, born in 1767, the charge of Sub-Lieutenant Supernumerary of his company of Walsh in the Irish Regt. of Infantry which you command, created by my ordinance of the 12th July last, I write this letter to tell you that you have to receive him and to cause him to be recognised in the said charge by all those and in manner as he belongs, and the present being to no other purpose, I pray God, Count de Walsh, that He may have you in His holy keeping.

Written at Versailles, 2d Sepber. 1784.

LOUIS.  
THE M<sup>AL</sup>. DE SEGUR.

[No Address.]

Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, Prince of the Blood, Peer and Grand Master of France, Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, Knight of his Orders, Governor and Lieutenant-General of the provinces of Bourgoyne and of Bresse, Colonel-General of the French and of the foreign Infantry.

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<sup>1</sup> [Former name of the Generals of Brigades, different from that of the Maréchal de France, the highest rank in the army.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Son of Antoine Anthisme, 1st Chevalier Walsh de Chassenon. He was killed at the passage over the Elbe at Dresden 1813, *s.p.*—TR.]

Seeing the present letter of the King addressed to the Count de Walsh, signifying that His Majesty has given to the said Anthony Francis Walsh the appointment of Sub-Lieutenant Supernumerary in the Company of Walsh,

We, in virtue of the power which we have on account of our position as Colonel-General of the French and the foreign infantry, inform the Comte de Walsh, and in his absence the officer who commands the Regiment of Walsh, to receive and cause to be recognised the said Walsh in the charge of Sub-Lieutenant Supernumerary of the Company of Walsh by all those and in the manner which belongs to it, in faith of which we have expedited the present, which we have signed, and had countersigned by the Secretary-General of the French and foreign infantry.

Given at Paris, the 14th May 1785.

LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON.

For his Serene Highness,  
BOULOGNE DE LASCOURS.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE WALSH DE SERRANT

Monsieur Le Comte de Walsh, having confidence in your wisdom and in your zeal and affection for my service, I have chosen you to be of the number of persons who are to compose the General Assembly of Tours, and I write you this letter to tell you my intention that you shall go to Tours the 11th of the month of August next, in order to assist at the said Assembly. On which I pray God that He may have you, Sir, Comte de Serrant, in His holy keeping.

Written at Versailles the 20th July 1787.

LOUIS.  
THE B<sup>ON</sup>. DE BRETEUIL.

[The French Revolution having taken place in July 1789, the services of the Comte de Serrant, no longer available for his king by adoption, were transferred to the reigning King of Great Britain, as appears from the following commission. Several other members of the Walsh family joined the new Irish Brigade,<sup>1</sup> till on the restoration of the Bourbons they were able to return to France, and George III.'s kind action in the matter was much appreciated by those concerned.—TR.]

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT<sup>2</sup>

*Whitehall, 30th Septber. 1784.*

SIR,—The King, wishing to fulfil the intentions of the Irish Legislature and to give to his Catholic subjects of this kingdom a prompt mark of his affection and confidence, has determined to restore the corps known heretofore under the name of the Irish Brigade, and as you were Colonel of one of the regiments of which it was composed, His Majesty has given me orders to offer you in this new corps the same rank of Colonel that you held in the old regt.

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<sup>1</sup> See Pedigree of Serrant.

<sup>2</sup> [Letter in French.—TR.]

The intention of His Majesty is, that this brigade shall be composed of four regiments, the command of three of which I have been ordered to offer to the Colonels (or to their representatives) who commanded the three corps which composed the brigade, when it was in the service of His very Christian Majesty, and that of the fourth to Mr. O'Connell, formerly general officer in the service of France, and certainly well known to you and to all the Irish gentlemen who have served in this corps.

It has also pleased His Majesty to determine that all the officers, those of the staff as well as the others, excepting you, Monsieur le Comte, and the Duc de FitzJames, shall be taken from amongst those of his subjects who have been born in Ireland, and who have distinguished themselves by their services, in the same grades in the brigade, and that if there is a lack of officers (of which there is every appearance) to fill the inferior grades, they should be chosen from the families of gentlemen of the same religion, whose residence has always been in Ireland.

The intention of His Majesty in addition is, that this brigade, the moment it is complete, should be put on the military strength of this kingdom or on that of Ireland, so that from that moment, the officers who hold appointments in them should take rank with the other officers of His Majesty's armies, and in case the corps should be reformed, they will have right to the last pay.

His Majesty will also receive the recommendations of the Colonels in the choice of officers, and especially when these recommendations are made in favour of those who have formerly served in the Irish Brigade. But the King will not permit that any pecuniary consideration should be given to obtain any rank in the corps; and consequently as no officer, of whatever rank he may be, will have been permitted to pay anything for his position, he will not be permitted to sell it.

His Majesty has commanded me also to inform you that he has determined that this corps shall be specially connected with the service of His Majesty's Colonies in the West Indies, or in such other possessions of His Majesty outside of his two kingdoms of Great Britain and of Ireland as he may be pleased to employ them, and that His Majesty will expect that every officer, of whatever rank he may be, who has the honour of having a brevet (commission) in this corps will hold himself indispensably obliged to go with his regiment to whatever part of the world it may be sent.

Without entering into greater details on this subject, I will only add, on the question of your titles as proprietary Colonel of one of the regiments of the old Irish Brigade, what it is very essential that I should recall to you, Monsieur le Comte, that the constitution of this country does not admit of any such property, considering, as you must remember, that the funds for the military establishment are only granted for the year, and therefore it can only have an annual existence.

Still, although your position is only entrusted to you by the Legislature for one year, the possession of it may be considered as assured to you, during your good conduct, a term which I cannot regard as of shorter duration than that of your life.

I have now set before you all the circumstances which have appeared to me necessary to enable you to decide if you can accept His Majesty's gracious offers; I have only to add, that if after mature deliberation it appears to you more fitting not to avail yourself

of it, His Majesty's natural goodness will incline him to interpret the motives which have decided you in the most favourable manner for you; and I can even assure you that even in the case of your accepting the proposal I am entrusted to make to you, that when the war is finished, or even during its continuance, if you have a mind to leave His Majesty's service and to return to that of His very Christian Majesty, you will find the King disposed to grant you your 'conge' and to consider this step with his accustomed goodness.

I cannot doubt but what you will have the goodness to inform the officers of the brigade, who have had the honour to serve under your orders, about the King's intentions regarding them, according to the form and the conditions which I have specified to you above, and that you will also be pleased to recommend them to assemble themselves, as soon as possible, at some suitable place from which they can conveniently repair to Ireland and put themselves into a condition to perform the duties which will be required of them on the part of the King.

I need hardly say that in the case of your deciding to accept the proposal which His Majesty has authorised me to make to you, there will not be a moment to lose before coming here, in order to regulate all that relates to the raising of the corps as promptly as possible.

It only remains for me to beg you to be assured that I esteem myself very fortunate to have been authorised to give you this unequivocal testimony of the good opinion and of the esteem of the King.

I have the honour to be, Monsieur le Comte, your very humble and very obedient servant,

PORTLAND.

Palace of St. James, 1st October 1794.—Brevet (Commission) of Colonel of Infantry (in the Irish Brigade) to Anthony Walsh, Comte de Serrant, in the name of King George III., under the signature of the Duke of Portland.<sup>1</sup>

George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c, to our trusty and well beloved Anthony Count Walsh de Serrant, greeting: we, reposing especial trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage and good conduct, do, by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Colonel of a regiment of foot forming part of the corps known by the name of the Irish Brigade, and likewise to be Captain of a company in our said regiment. You are therefore to take our said regiment as Colonel and the said company as Captain into your care and charge, and duly to exercise as well the officers as soldiers thereof in arms, and to use your best endeavours to keep them in good order and discipline; and we do here command them to obey you as their colonel and captain respectively; and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from us, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust we hereby repose in you.

Given at our Court of St. James's, the first day of October 1794, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign.

By His Majesty's command,

PORTLAND.

Entered in the Secretary Office,  
GASPER LEK.

Entered in the 'Must. q<sup>r</sup>. Master Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Office,'  
W. HANDCOCK, depy. q<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Genl.

(For) Anthony Count Walsh de Serrant,  
Colonel of a regt. of Foot.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*Weymouth, 30th August 1797.*<sup>2</sup>

SIR,—I have received here your letter of the 20th current, as well as the copy of the letter of the Duke of Portland, with regard to the formation of the Irish brigade, and I hasten to inform you that after the very unfavourable report which General Abercromby gave of the 2nd Regiment of this brigade at the time of its arrival at the Isles,<sup>3</sup> I found myself under the necessity of ordering that it should be transferred to Jamaica, there to be 'drafts' (drafted) into the 3d Regiment; but at the same time I informed the Earl of Balcarres that it depended on him to draft whichever of the two regiments he judged best after the inspection which was to be made, and the state in which they were

<sup>1</sup> [The heading of the Commission is given in French, in the work, the Commission follows in English.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [In French.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> 'Antilles,' *i.e.* West Indies.



respectively found. Now the 3rd Regiment having been sent to St. Domingue, Lord Balcarres received orders to send the second there also, and Lieut.-General Seincoc was required to execute the measure which had been dictated to Milord Balcarres, giving him the same liberty. He was also ordered to fill up the vacancies in the regiment which received the drafts by placing in it the reorganised officers, so that the major of the second regiment would be placed in the same grade in the third (which is the appointment for which you recommend Captain O'Shielt); but in the case of this last regiment being reformed, instead of the second, the appointment in question would not be filled.

The time which has elapsed since these orders were given has certainly decided the execution of them, and although I cannot but regret the inconvenience and the disagreeables which must naturally result therefrom to so many individuals, it is impossible for me in the future to change the arrangements which His Majesty has been pleased to make definitive.

I beg you to accept the assurances of my esteem, and I am, Sir, your very affectionate

FREDERIK.<sup>1</sup>

The Comte Walsh de Serrant.

#### DECREE BY NAPOLEON I.

Napoleon, by the grace of God, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, to all present and to come, greeting.

By the thirteenth article of the first Statute of the first March 1808 we have reserved to ourselves the faculty of granting titles as we might judge proper to such of our subjects as have distinguished themselves by services rendered to the State and to us. The knowledge we have of the zeal and fidelity which our dear and loved Mr. Walsh-Serrant has manifested for our service has determined us to employ this faculty in his favour. With this view we have by our decree of the 15th April 1810 named our dear and loved Mr. Walsh-Serrant, Count of our Empire.

In consequence and by virtue of this decree, the said Mr. Walsh-Serrant 's'tant retire\* par devant'<sup>2</sup> our Cousin the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, in order to obtain from our favour the letters patent necessary to enable him to enjoy his title, we have by these presents, signed by our hand, conferred and do confer on our dear and loved Anthony-Joseph-Philippe Walsh-Serrant, president of the Electoral College of Finisterre, born at Cadiz the 17 Janr. 1746, the title of Count of our Empire, under the denomination of Comte de Serrant. The said title will be transmissible to his direct descent, legitimate, natural or adoptive, from male to male by order of primogeniture, after he has conformed himself to the regulations contained in the 6th article of 1st March 1808.

We permit the said Mr. Walsh-Serrant to call himself and qualify himself Comte de

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<sup>1</sup> [Duke of York and Albany, brother of Kings George IV. and William IV., sons of George III.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Apparently meaning, 'having resigned all former claims in presence of.'—TR.]

Serrant, in all acts and contracts, as well in law as outside. We will that he should be everywhere recognised in the said quality, that he should enjoy the honours attached to this title, after he has taken the oath prescribed in article 37 of our Second Statute, before him or those delegated by us for the purpose, and that he should carry in every place the armorial bearings such as they are figured in these presents. Quarterly—On the 1st, the arms of the Counts presidents of the electoral Colleges; 2d, argent, a chevron engrailed gules between three pheons points upwards notched sable, two in chief, one in point; 3rd, argent a saltier gules; 4th, azure charged with a fess partly argent partly gules; for liveries the colours of the shield.

We charge our Cousin, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, to give communication of these presents to the Senate, and to have them transcribed on his registers. For such is our good pleasure. And in order that it may be a thing firm and stable always, (we also charge) our Cousin, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, to give communication of these presents to the Senate, for such is our good pleasure. And in order that it may be a thing firm and stable for ever, our Cousin, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, has had attached [‘apposer’] by our orders our great seal, in presence of the Council of the Seal of Titles.

Given at our palace of St. Cloud, the 2d Sepber. the year of grace 1810.

NAPOLEON.

Sealed the 7th Sepber. 1810.

The Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire,  
CAMBACÉRÈS.

(On the back) Transcribed on the registers of the Senate, the 28th Sepber. 1810.

The Chancellor of the Senate,

(Seal hanging in red wax on silk ribbons.)

De LAPLACE.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE SERRANT

*London, the 11th October 1814.*

I send you back, Sir, the Memoir which you sent to me with the ‘apostille’ [a note or recommendation on a document] which you wish. I shall feel a real satisfaction if it can procure for you the advancement in the service which you deserve so well by the zeal and devotion to the cause of H.M. which you have testified since I have had the pleasure of having you with me: Believe, Sir, in the sincere affection and friendship which I have devoted to you.

L. H. J. DE BOURBON.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, having an entire

confidence in the talents, the virtue, the good conduct, and in the fidelity and affection to our service of the Comte de Walsh-Serrant (Antoine Joseph), former retired officer, we have conferred on him, and do confer the rank of LieutenantGeneral, to date from the 1st Janry. 1793.

We make known to our general officers, and others whom it concerns, to recognise him, and cause him to be recognised in this capacity.

Given at Paris, the 23rd October 1816.

LOUIS.

‘Par le Roi’:

The Minister Secretary of State for War,  
MAL. DE FELTRE.

LOUIS PHILIPPE FIRST, KING OF THE FRENCH, TO ALL  
PRESENT AND TO COME, GREETING:

The Marquis Ollivier Ludovic Charles Robert de Walsh-Serrant, born in London, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the 27th August 1797, has made known to us that a royal decision, dated 22nd March 1824, transferred to him on the occasion of his marriage with Miss Élise Honorée Françoise Marie Erique D’Hericy, born at Paris 1st March 1801, the Grandeeship of Spain of 1st class possessed by her as heiress, through her late mother, of Count Charles de la Mothe-Houdancourt, in favour of whom the said Grandeeship had been instituted by a diploma of the King Philippe v., dated 17th September 1722, to be transmitted in perpetuity in his posterity, male and female; and that in 1830 the late King Ferdinand VII. having substituted the title of Duke for that of Count, under which this Grandeeship had been instituted and transmitted, the Declarant has begged us, in order to enable him to bear this title of Duke in France, to be pleased to grant him our authorisation, which, by our regulations dated 24th April 1836 and 25th May 1837, given on the report of our Keeper of the Seals, Minister-Secretary of State of the Department of Justice and of Worship, we judged proper to concede to him, under the express condition that he should provide himself with letters patent emanating from us.

For these causes, and the said Marquis Ollivier Ludovic Charles Robert de Walsh-Serrant having resigned<sup>1</sup> [his titles] before our Keeper of the Seals in order to obtain the letters patent which are necessary for him, with the attribution [gift] of armorial bearings, we have authorised him, and by these presents signed by our hand, we authorise him to carry in France the title of ‘Duc Espagnol’ such as has been attached to him, instead of and in place of that of Count, ‘à la Grandesse d’Espagne de première classe,’<sup>2</sup> which he possesses in right of his wife. We will that he may in all places qualify himself by this title of Duke, and take it in all acts and contracts concerning him, as well in law<sup>3</sup> as out of law. We permit him to carry in every place the stamped arms such as they are figured and coloured in these presents, namely, Quarterly, 1st, parted per pale azure and gules, the first charged with three stars argent, in fess; 2nd, argent, salter

<sup>1</sup> [‘S’étant retiré par devant.’—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Attached to the Grandeeships of Spain 1st Class.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [‘En jugement.’—TR.]

gules; 3rd, or, a chief indented azure; 4th, argent, a chevron engrailed gules between three roses of the same; over all, on an escutcheon, also argent, a chevron gules between three pheons, points upwards, sable, part argent, with three porcupines sable placed two and one. The shield surmounted with a ducal crown.

We give notice by document to the Councillors of our Royal Court sitting at Amiens, in the district of which the Duc de Walsh-Serrant resides, to publish and register these presents, after having received from him the oath prescribed by the Constitutional Charter of 1830, on which taking of the oath he will be 'justifié'<sup>1</sup> by our Commissary, as soon as it has taken place. And in order that what is above may be a firm and stable thing for ever, our Keeper of the Seals has applied to these presents by our orders our Great Seal, and we have adhibited our royal signature.

LOUIS PHILIPPE.

'Par le Roi'

The Keeper of the Seals,  
Minister-Secretary of State, Department of Justice and Worship,  
Ba ...

Seen at the Seals,  
The Keeper of the Seals,  
Minister-Secretary of State, Department of Justice and of Worship,  
Ba ...

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<sup>1</sup> In the sense of 'legally recognised'.

## TRANSLATOR'S APPENDICES

## TRANSLATOR'S APPENDIX A. (see Page 17.)

Taken from a Modern Work, published at the Port of Embarkation, entitled  
'*La Course et les Gorsaires du Port de Nantes par S. de la Nicollière-Teijeiro*,<sup>1</sup> Archiviste de la Ville de Nantes. Nantes, 1896.'

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### LE DU TEILLAY.

'A Dieu vat!'

The 19th June 1745, towards dawn, on the poop of a little vessel anchored at Bonne Anse, distant about 6 kilometres from Saint Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire, a young ecclesiastic, his eyes raised to heaven, waving his hat with a noble and graceful gesture, pronounced this old word of command of the French navy, at once the signal for action in important circumstances and a pious prayer.

The tide going out, the sparkling sun rising in the horizon, the wind, a light gentle breeze from the east, was most favourable, everything betokened a prosperous voyage. The lips of the Abbé had scarcely uttered the formula when the light ship, spreading out her white sails, already set towards the east, left her solitary anchorage.

The *Du Teillay*,<sup>2</sup> fine privateer (corsaire) of only 150 tons, armed with 18 cannons, 14 pierriers ['pateroro,' a kind of mortar], and a crew carefully chosen and drilled, belonged to Mr. Anthony Walsh, 'marchant à la fosse,' that is merchant shipowner of Nantes. The vessel was considered one of the best sailers of the river. The group on the poop, in front of whom stood the Abbé who contrary to custom had given the sailing orders, had just arrived. On the rather steep beach two or three men holding the bridles of panting horses covered with foam watched the departure. In a word, according to the well-known expression, these persons embarked surreptitiously (?)<sup>3</sup>...

Anthony Walsh, as a practical and experienced seaman, made a minute inspection of his ship, now in full course to the high sea. Three miles beyond the island of 'Pilier,' a

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<sup>1</sup> [The author died in 1902, but his widow has given cordial consent to the publication of the two quotations translated from the work.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> The English or French historians who write of the expedition of Charles Edward call this vessel *La Dontelle*, *La Doutelle*, *La Dentelle*, *La Duthil*, *Le Du Tilly*. M. Du Teillay, then Commissary of the Marine at Nantes, without any doubt gave his name to the privateer of Mr. Walsh. Almost everywhere the *Du Teillay* is stated as carrying 35 guns. The 'role d'armement' (list or register of equipments) for 1745 does not, it is believed, exist, but we have that of 1744 which preceded it, and which we follow. The small tonnage, as well as the necessity of not overloading a vessel which ought in case of need to give chase with the greatest swiftness, absolutely excludes so disproportionate a number of guns. Mellinet, in his *Histoire de la Commune et de la Milice de Nantes*, says that 'La Doutelle, avait 35 canons et portait 1800 sabres, 1200 fusils et 48,000l.'

<sup>3</sup> ['Embarquaient par-dessus bord.'—TR.]

vessel which appeared to be cruising about, exchanged signals with the *Du Teillay* and lay to near. A boat brought on board a personage whom the shipowner received with friendly attention, and in company with whom he went to the Abbé's cabin, having previously appointed a confidential officer to replace him [Walsh] to turn away indiscreet visitors, and only to disturb him in a case of extreme necessity.

'My Lord,' said he, with respectful deference, 'we are spinning along rapidly. No sail is in sight, may God always protect you thus. Here is Captain Douaud, commanding the King's ship, the *Elisabeth*, equipped by your faithful subjects residing at Nantes, and under the escort of which we shall navigate in full security.' The Abbé smiled amiably and held out his hand, which the brave sailor, kneeling on one knee, kissed respectfully. 'I can assure Your Honour,' said he, 'that I will resist, that I will fall, if it must be, to protect Your Grace and enable you to reach Scotland. That is my mission, I am justly proud of it, and shall not fail in it.'

'Thanks, Gentlemen, thanks,' rejoined the Abbé, visibly affected. 'Just now, watching the noble land of Brittany disappearing, I could not overcome my sentiments of gratitude and admiration for its cordial hospitality, for its generous reception. Oh! that Christian and touching vow which you wished to hear me pronounce at the outset of our enterprise, has made a profound impression on me. What a country is France!'

'We shall certainly be chased or attacked by English vessels,' continued the Abbé. 'It is therefore important to know the arrangements made, the measures settled, in view of this occurrence.'

'You are at home here, my Lord,' said the shipowner. 'The *Du Teillay*, her cargo, specie, arms, ammunition, crew, passengers, captain, are Yours, belong to you entirely. The *Elisabeth* will beat the enemy. We shall continue to sail towards Scotland.'

'What! my friends will fight, and we shall fly from the danger! We shall abandon them! Oh no, no Sir, that cannot be, that shall not be,' cried the false Abbé, energetically clasping his hands with a gesture of unspeakable supplication. ... The others, especially Mr. Walsh, succeeded in convincing the impetuous young man. He appeared to give in to their reasoning and became calm again, contemplating the manly and energetic face of the owner of the ship, so devoted and unassuming. ...

#### THE ELISABETH.

The remainder of the day and the following night passed without any other incident.

The next day, 20th July, towards nine in the morning, the watch signalled a fleet of fourteen sail. Three great men-of-war escorted this convoy. The strongest separated to give chase to the Nantes vessels. The *Du Teillay* forced on all sail to avoid an engagement which might compromise the aim of the expedition, but the *Elisabeth* sailed quietly in order to induce the English vessels to follow it.

At the sound of the cannon fired by the enemy, the Prince, seizing the first weapons within reach, rushed to the poop to take part in the action. Seeing him appear suddenly, his hair floating in the wind, his face inflamed with the smell of powder, the 'ship owner'<sup>1</sup> at his watch-post coldly invited him to withdraw. 'Sir Abbé,' said he, 'you forget

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<sup>1</sup> ['Armateur.'—TR.]

your role; your place is not here, go down to the passenger cabin and help us with your prayers.'

Charles Edward resigned himself unwillingly, and the ship which carried him continued to draw off.

At half-past 11 the *Elisabeth* had quite lost sight of the convoy and of the escorting ships. Captain Douaud, seeing the success of his cunning, and thinking that the *Du Teillay*, which had also disappeared from the horizon, was now safe from all danger, shortened sail to allow the enemy to come up, who, at a distance of about two miles to windward, performed exactly the same manoeuvre. The *Elisabeth* hoisted her pennant at the head of the mainmast, and hung out the French flag, the waving folds of which were saluted with one gun.

The enemy only displayed the French pennant, then remained an hour and a half in this situation. M. Douaud, then convinced that he only wanted to gain time for the other two vessels to give their aid, continued his route. The Englishman conformed to this movement, hanging out the flag at the fore and at the stern, and maintaining exactly his distance. At last the *Elisabeth* lowered the main topmast, and at 4 o'clock the enemy, arrived within gun range, opening the combat by a ball from his lower battery. 'Fire!' commanded the French captain, and the *Elisabeth* sent her volley, which the English parried by trying to pass before her. 'Helm starboard!' called out Captain Douaud, and the vessel, broadside on, forced the enemy by volleys, supported by her artillery and musket shots, to shut her lower battery to load again. But these two first volleys had completely disabled the *Elisabeth*, pierced and swept by a shower of projectiles and of old iron, part of this shot forbidden by the laws of war. Thus decimated, the French could not attempt to board, as had been the intention of the brave Douaud. Struck by a ball in the middle of the body at the third round, he fell panting, as did several of his officers.

Lieutenant Bart, a worthy grand nephew of the hero of Dunkirk, took the command, and far from slacking, the action only became more violent. At 8 o'clock the English had only 5 pieces in a condition to be fired, and the musketry stopped completely.

About half-past 10 some words spoken by the help of a speaking trumpet vaguely reached the ears of the French commander. Very probably the enemy was yielding. For a quarter of an hour his artillery was quite silent, yet the combat was still prolonged. He fired three more shots.

At 11 o'clock another attempt at parley was made with as little success as the preceding. However, as only the *Elisabeth* fired, M. Bart ordered to cease firing, but the gunners, too excited, sent six more shots, having either not understood or not heard the captain's order, which the officers, almost all wounded, could no longer transmit to the batteries.

The English, seeing the firing continue, doubtless imagined that their adversaries had decided to sink them. In this supreme danger they most carefully pointed one of their last pieces, the ball from which killed the helmsman and broke the wheel of the rudder of the *Elisabeth*, which, completely dismantled, fell immediately to larboard. They profited immediately by this fatal accident, in hastening away, although they were the



worst handled, their top-gallant-mast was cut, the poop and the main-yard carried away.

The darkness of the night, and the extreme care with which he hid his lights, favoured the enemy in his retreat. M. Bart had hoped to have sent men on board<sup>1</sup> in the morning. Great then was his surprise when at 4 o'clock he perceived the ship nine miles to windward. The *Elisabeth* was absolutely unable to sail, her crippled masts were only held by the two great shrouds and one at the mizen-mast. Complete victory escaped her. Maurepas' company, led by its intrepid Captain, the Chevalier de Nansize, accomplished wonders, the second captain was very seriously wounded, two lieutenants, two sublieutenants, three volunteers killed.

The unfortunate Captain Douaud gave proofs of a stoical and rare composure. Cut through the middle of his body, he said to those who wanted to help him, 'Set me aside, my friends.' These were his last words.

M. Bart showed himself as a man worthy to bear this name, illustrious for ever. His valiant crew seconded him with courage above all praise. Fifty-seven men, including twelve officers, had lost their lives during this terrible combat, which lasted five hours, and on the deck or in the body of the ship lay one hundred and seventeen wounded, eighteen of whom were officers. Total thirty officers and one hundred and forty-four men 'hors de combat.'

The *Lion*, which was the name of the English vessel, carried 74 guns, amongst which between decks were French pieces of 37. This gave her a great superiority over the frigate, which was only armed with pieces of the calibre of 24. Captain Brett<sup>2</sup> was dangerously wounded and lost all his lieutenants.

The *Elisabeth*, which counted 150 balls in her shell, of which twelve were at the water level, had in great haste to take refuge at Brest. This glorious combat was therefore a real disaster for the Claimant, from whom it carried off a large portion of help in arms, in ammunition, and in the capable officers which she carried and who were so necessary to him.

Thanks to the cleverness of her captain, the *Du Teillay* passed amidst the English cruisers without being stopped. She anchored in the Hebrides, situated to the West of Scotland, and on one of which the Prince landed the 28th July according to some, the 1st August according to others. The inhabitants, almost half savage [!], hardened by fatigue and hard privation, soon declared themselves for him.

"When the news of this bold passage and fortunate debarkation was spread in France and in Europe, the Claimant became the object of general admiration. Every one praised the courage of which he had given proof, on board so small a vessel going to conquer three kingdoms, knowing that a price was set on his head.

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<sup>1</sup> ['Amariner.'—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> Sir Piercy Brett, Admiral of the Blue subsequently, and knighted by George II. The French writer erroneously supposes him to have ultimately become Lord Percy, misled doubtless by the Christian name.

**TRANSLATOR'S APPENDIX B. [see Page 17.]**

The *Lyon in Mourning*: a collection of journals, etc., relative to the affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, by the Rev. Robert Forbes, A.M., Bishop of Ross and Caithness 1746-1775, gives two accounts by eye-witnesses of Prince Charles Edward's voyage to Scotland, one entitled 'Journal of the Prince's embarkation and arrival, etc., taken from the mouth of Æneas MacDonald (a banker in Paris and brother of Kinlochmoidart) when he was in custody in London,' 1746-47; the other, Notes 'taken from Duncan Cameron, brought up in the Island of Barra, sometime servant to Locheil, and directed by Æneas MacDonald to attend the party.' The following excerpts are subjoined for comparison with the Journal of Captain Durbé, and although quoted from the *Lyon*, the two Journals are combined according to the plan of Chambers's *Jacobite Memoirs*, and respectively marked [M] and [C].

[M]<sup>1</sup> 'At a proper time the Prince went in disguise directly on board the ship lying in the Loire, being the river which goes immediately from Nantz (Nantes) to the sea. Here he found eight gentlemen ... ready to accompany and assist him in this expedition. They were, the Marquis of Tullibardine alias Duke of Athol, Sir John MacDonald (a French officer), Mr. Æneas MacDonald (a banker in Paris), Mr. Strickland, Mr. Buchanan, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr. O'Sullivan and Mr. Kelly. To these I may add a ninth, viz. Mr. Anthony Welch, the owner of the ship which carried the Prince. He staid on the coast of Scotland about three weeks, and did the Prince considerable service. ...

'On Saturday the 22nd<sup>2</sup> of June 1745, the gentlemen being all incog. to the crew, set sail out of the river Loire for Bellisle, on board a vessel of one hundred and ten tons called *La Doutelle*,<sup>3</sup> carrying sixteen guns, and commanded by Captain Durbe,<sup>4</sup> having first sent expresses from Nantz to the young gentleman's father at Rome, to the King of France and the King of Spain, acquainting them with the expedition, and desiring the two last to send arms, ammunition, and money to Scotland, which request was in part complied with.

'On the 23rd, being next day, they anchored at Bellisle, where they continued till the 4th July waiting for the *Elisabeth*, their convoy, a French ship of war, of sixty-four guns and about five hundred men, commanded by Captain D'Oe or D'Eau. During the stay at this island the Prince took great delight in fishing. The better to conceal himself he never would be shaved from his leaving Nantz to his arrival in Scotland.

'Next morning, being the 5th of July, both ships set sail with a fair wind, which continued so till the 7th, when it blew a brisk gale, but the next day was a dead calm. On the 9th,<sup>5</sup> being in the latitude of 47 degrees 57 min., and west from the Meridian of the Lizard thirty-nine leagues, they descried a sail to windward which proved to be a British man-of-war, of fifty-eight guns, called the *Lion*, Captain Brette commander, which

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<sup>1</sup> [Mr. MacDonald's narrative is indicated by the letter M.—TR.]

<sup>2</sup> [Julian calendar.—2d July Gregorian.—TR.]

<sup>3</sup> [French 'Dutillet.'—TR.]

<sup>4</sup> ['Durbé.'—Tr.]

<sup>5</sup> [Julian calendar.—TR.]

immediately bore down upon them. [C]<sup>1</sup> She came within a mile or so of them, when the captain of the *Elisabeth* came on board the frigate and told Mr. Welch if he could assist him by keeping one side of the *Lion* in play at a distance, he would immediately put all things in order for the attack. Mr. Welch well knowing the trust he had on board answered him civilly, and told him it was what he could not think of doing, and withal remarked to him, it was his humble opinion that he should not think of fighting unless he should happen to be attacked, because his business was to be convoy to the frigate in the voyage. However, he said, as he pretended not to any command over him, he might do as he thought proper.

‘The French captain to all this replied, that from the *Lion’s* appearing and disappearing so often it seemed as if she were looking out for another ship to assist her, and if she should happen to be joined by any other they no doubt would fall instantly on the *Elisabeth* and the frigate and devour them both, and therefore he behoved to think it the wisest course to fight the *Lion*, when single, because the *Elisabeth* in that case was fit enough for the engagement, and would bid fair enough to give a good account of the *Lion*. Upon this the French captain drew his sword, took leave of Mr. Welch and his company, went on board the *Elisabeth* with his sword still drawn in his hand, and gave the necessary orders for the attack.

‘Immediately the *Elisabeth* bore down upon the *Lion* (each of them consisting of about sixty guns and therefore equally matched) and began the attack with great briskness. The fight continued for five or six hours, when the *Lion* was obliged to sheer off like a tub upon the water.

‘About the time when the captain came on board the frigate, the Prince was making ready to go on board the *Elisabeth*, for more air, and greater conveniency every way, the frigate being crowded with the gentlemen, the servants, and the crew. His friends reckoned it very lucky that he had not gone on board.

‘The frigate all the time of the engagement lay at such a small distance that (as the Prince observed to several friends in Scotland) the *Lion* might have sunk her with the greatest possible ease; but, he said, it was their good fortune that the *Lion* had despised them and thought not the frigate worth the while. Besides, the *Lion* found enough of employment for all her hands, in playing her part against the *Elisabeth*.

‘During the time of the fight, the Prince several times observed to Mr. Welch what a small assistance would serve to give the *Elisabeth* the possession of the *Lion*, and importuned him to engage in the quarrel; but Mr. Welch positively refused, and at last behoved to desire the Prince not to insist any more, otherwise he would order him down to the cabin.

‘After the fight was all over, Mr. Welch sailed round the *Elisabeth*, and inquired particularly how matters stood with the captain and the crew. A lieutenant came upon deck from the captain, who was wounded and in his cabin, and told Mr. Welch that between thirty and forty officers and gentlemen, besides common men, were killed and wounded, and that, if Mr. Welch could supply him with a mainmast and some rigging, he would still make out the voyage with him. Mr. Welch replied, that he could not

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<sup>1</sup> [Duncan Cameron’s narrative.—Tr.]

furnish him with either mainmast or rigging, and that although he should have happened to be capable to serve him in these things, yet he would not have made it his choice to lose so much time as it would require to put the *Elisabeth* in some better order. He desired to tell the captain, it was his opinion that he should, without loss of time, return to France, and that he himself would do his best to make out the intended voyage. The *Elisabeth* accordingly returned to France, and the frigate continued her voyage to the coast of Scotland. [M] Before she set sail, all her lights were put out, except that for the compass, which still was so close confined that not the least ray could emit. This caution was observed every night, through the whole voyage, till their landing in Erisca. On July 11th she was chased, and made a clear ship to engage, but, trusting more to their speed than to their military power, they made all the sail they could, and escaped all pursuers. The 15th and 16th they had a rough sea and tempestuous weather; then they had fine weather till about midnight on the 20th, which was very stormy. The 21st being very mild, they sounded, and found ground at one hundred and eight fathoms. On the 22nd they made a small island, called Bernera, being the southernmost of the Western Isles of Scotland, near the latitude of 57. On the 23rd they arrived at the island of Erisca, belonging to Clanranald, which lies betwixt the isles of Barra and South Uist, having been eighteen days at sea from July 5th. ... [C] When they were near the shore of the Long Isle, Duncan Cameron was sent out in the long boat, to fetch them a proper pilot. When he landed he accidentally met with Barra's piper, who was his old acquaintance, and brought him on board. The pilot piloted them safely into Erisca. ... [M] They were scarce arrived, when they espied two sail, which they apprehended to be ships of war, and therefore got out all their money, arms, and ammunition on shore as fast as they could. All went ashore. ... Their fears, however, were soon dissipated, by finding the ships proved only merchantmen. [The Prince having returned on board] [M] they set sail about the 26th of July 1745, and coasting about the isles between Skye and Mull and landing some of their passengers, proceeded to ...' [The narrative says 'Loch Shiel,' but a footnote in the *Jacobite Memoirs*, by the editor, Mr. Chambers, corrects this, stating, 'The Prince landed July 25th<sup>1</sup> at Boradale in Arisaig from an arm of the sea called Lochnanuagh.'] [M] 'They unloaded the ship, whose cargo consisted of brandy, a thousand stand of arms, a proportionable quantity of ammunition, and some provisions. ... About the 3rd or 4th of August they had cleared the ship.' [The narrative goes on to state that the Prince sailed to Kinlochmoidart on the 11th of August, but gives a short notice of Mr. Welch's subsequent movements.] 'Here it must be remarked that Mr. Anthony Welch, the owner of the *Doutelle*, an eminent merchant of Nantz, after having landed his passengers and cargo as above mentioned; towards which expense the Prince gave him £2000 sterling, and knighted him, making him a present of a gold-hilted sword, which cost eighty louis d'ors, and was bought for the Prince against the intended Dunkirk expedition in 1743; this merchant, I say, after landing his passengers, went a privateering, having a letter of mark, and was of signal service to the Highland army, by taking six or seven prizes, the chief of which were loaded with meal. The biggest of these he ransomed for £60 sterling, and also the others in proportion, on condition the owners would carry their lading and sell it to the Prince, etc.; but if they did not bring certificates of that, then the ransom was to be three times as much. This Mr. Welch

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<sup>1</sup> [A note by the writer of the French work explains that this date of the Julian Calendar corresponds with Captain Durbé's date, 5th August, by the Gregorian Calendar.—TR.]

chiefly trades Martinico. He has twenty-four merchantmen and privateers, one of which took — man-of-war, in—, and sold it to the King of France for 15,000 livres.’

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### TRANSLATOR’S APPENDIX C.

In a paper entitled ‘*A Jacobite Privateer*,’ Mr. V. Hussey Walsh has given some details regarding the Irish refugees abroad, a few extracts from which may serve to explain the history of the branch of the Walsh family which settled at St. Malo and at Nantes.

‘The capitulation of Limerick (1691) was followed by the migration of many thousands of native birth, as well as those descendants of English settlers in Ireland who had become in course of time “*Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis.*” 14,000 Irish troops paraded before General Ginkell outside the walls of Limerick City. 1406 soldiers mustered at the Dutch General’s quarters, 2000 returned to their own homes, but the pick and flower of King James’s army elected to leave their native land and seek their fortune on the continent of Europe.’ ‘Many who had not been included in the Articles of Limerick followed in the wake of the original emigrants, and this emigration continued throughout the reigns of Queen Anne and of the first two Georges to such an extent that Irish names are still to be found amongst the highest nobility and in every rank of society in France, in Germany, in Spain, and in Portugal.’

‘No seaport on the north coast of France became in the course of time more crowded with men of Irish birth than was St. Malo, in Upper Brittany, towards the end of the seventeenth century.’

Philip Walsh was one of the most remarkable of all those Irish and Scotch Jacobites who settled at St. Malo. He was baptized at Dublin, 8th December 1666, the son of James and Margaret Walsh. His father forfeited his property of Ballynacooly in the Walsh mountains of County Kilkenny, April 15, 1665; he was nominally reinstated by Charles II, but the order was never carried out. The Ballynacooly family were descended from James, the third son of Walter Walsh of Castlehoel, High Sheriff and Governor of the county for Queen Elizabeth, and through him from a long line of ancestors who traced back to Philip Walsh, who obtained the original grant of the estates from Henry II. (of England). The father of Philip Walsh (of St. Malo) was a captain in the French navy, and it was on board his ship that James II. (VII.) fled from Kinsale to France in 1690. The son was a lieutenant under his father’s orders, and the King made them a solemn promise that he would always take a fatherly interest in the family fortunes. The young man served at first on board his father’s and cousin’s vessels. Early in June 1692 James II. (VII.) began to issue commissions to privateers, amongst them the *St. Aaron*, under the command of James Walsh de Valoio, a ship very successful in getting prizes. Philip Walsh, profiting by these prizes, was able to fit out the *Amitié*, a frigate of 200 tons, 20 guns, and 140 men, with which he sailed from St. Malo, September 1693. His ventures proving very successful, he married, January 1695, in the Cathedral Church of St. Malo, Anne, daughter of James Whyte, of Waterford and St. Malo. In 1708, having been appointed captain of the *Curieux*, 600 tons, 40 guns, 230 men, Captain Walsh was sent off by the St. Malo merchants with another ship, the *Diligent*, to the Red Sea, to engage in the new coffee trade. They had some severe fighting with Dutch ships, of which they

took possession, and they eventually landed at Mocha, January 1709. Walsh, however, died of a malignant fever, Sept. 11, 1708, his body being thrown overboard a few days later.

The fortunes of the two most distinguished of his sons appear in the course of this work and in the Genealogical Tables.

## **GENEALOGICAL TABLES**

**GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF WALSH (No. I.)**



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF WALSH (No. I).

NOTE.—The daughters of the Walsh and Berant families are only mentioned in these Tables if they have married any of their cousins, or if through them the actual representation of either family has been carried on, or that they are specially connected with the book.

EDMUND WALSH or BARRYWASH, of Castle Hoel = JANE BUTLER, daughter of the Baron of Poitlickery, seventh in descent from Hoyle Walsh, or Brettagh, who built Castle Hoel, in the parish of Kilmagany, county Kilkenny, who was son of Philip Walsh, a nephew of Reese ap Griffith, Prince of South Wales, who accompanied Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, to Ireland, and having obtained large grants of land in the parish of Kilkenny, married, about 1174, Eleanor, daughter of Maurice Burgh. Edmund died in 1448.

ROBERT WALSH or BARRYWASH, of Castle Hoel, = CATHERINE POWERS, of Dombill.  
died 1481.

WALTER WALSH, of Castle Hoel, signed certain = KATHERINE, daughter of — Butler, Baron of Poitlickery.  
protesta 1526 and 1527.

EDMUND BARRYWASH or WALSH, of Castle Hoel, = Secondly, MARGARET, daughter of Rowland FitzGerald, Baron  
died 1560. He had two younger brothers.

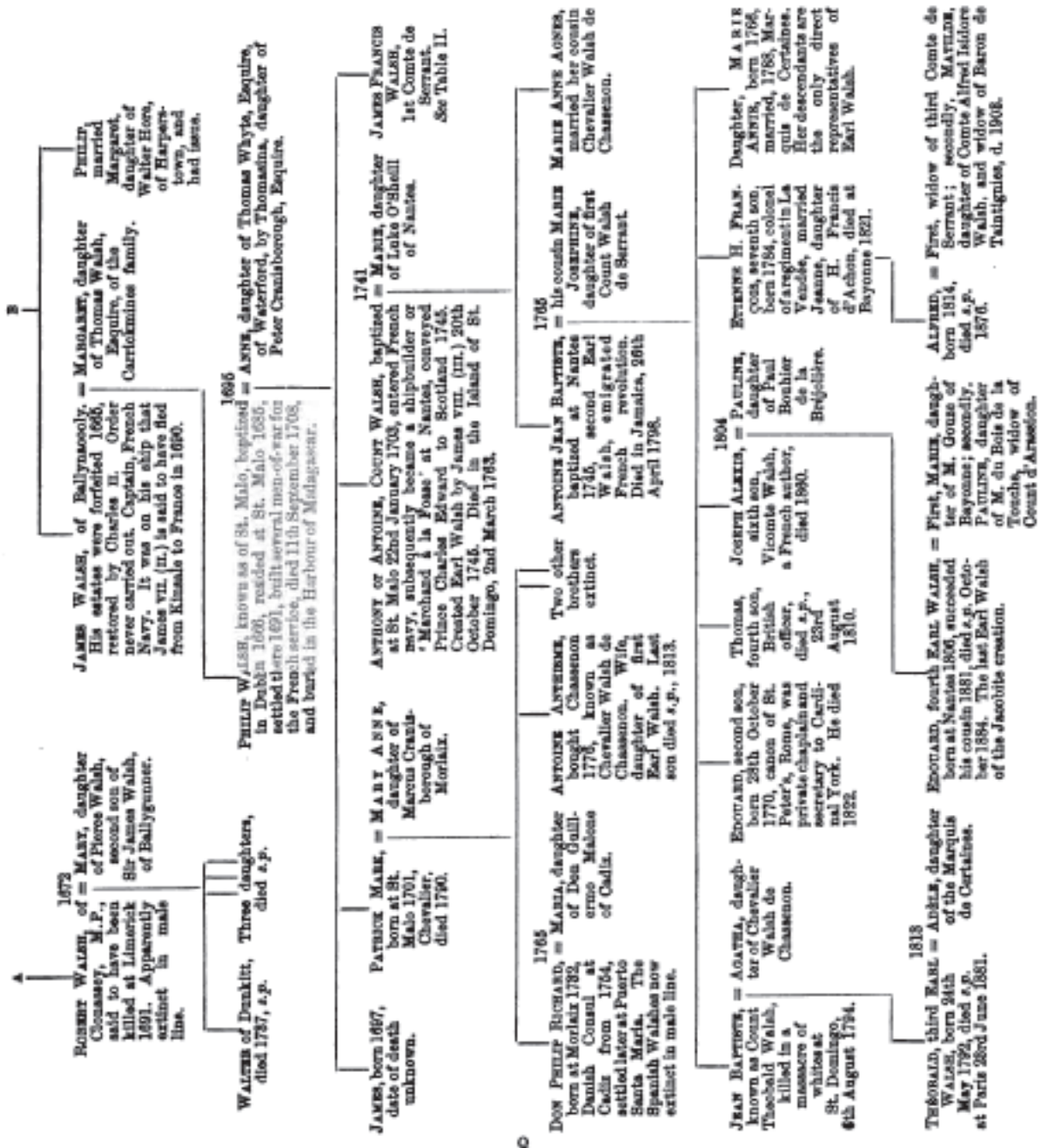
ROBERT WALSH or BARRYWASH, of Castle Hoel, = HELEN, daughter of James Tobin of Camskineagh.  
died 1567. Had two brothers.

WALTER WALSH, of Castle Hoel, Baron of = ELIZABETH BUTLER, daughter of first Viscount Mountgarrett.  
Shannon, Governor of Kilkenny 1680, died  
1618. Two brothers.

ROBERT WALSH, died 1608, before = EDMUND WALSH of Owning = JAMES WALSH, of Ballynacooly, = ANNE, daughter of John WILLIAM. JOHN  
his father, married Eleanor, or O'wry. His descendant = third son. Tobin of Camskineagh.

WALTER WALSH, of Castle = MARGARET SHEFFIELD, daughter of = 8 brothers. RICHARD WALSH of Ballynacooly, = ELIZABETH, daughter of Thomas  
Howel, M.P. for Kil- Sir John Sheffield, K.B., eldest living 1688. Sutton, Esquire.

1642 EDMUND = MARGARET, HOTEL, married ROBERT, captain, RICHARD, settled in = MARGARET, a JAMES WALSH, = MARY, PATRICK,  
daughter of Oliver Anne, daughter of the Beaur de French service, O'Connell, barony of daughter of Ballynacooly, = daughter of  
Grace, of the Beaur de Carlanth. died of wounds MARGARET, Bryan O'Connell daughter of  
M.P., of of wounds 1656. Walsh of family of Hussey of Bough, Thomas of Ballynacooly, = daughter of  
Inchmore. son of first Earl of Meigrove. and Mallesbury. 1661. Patrick being elder brother Robert, Esq.  
disinherited.

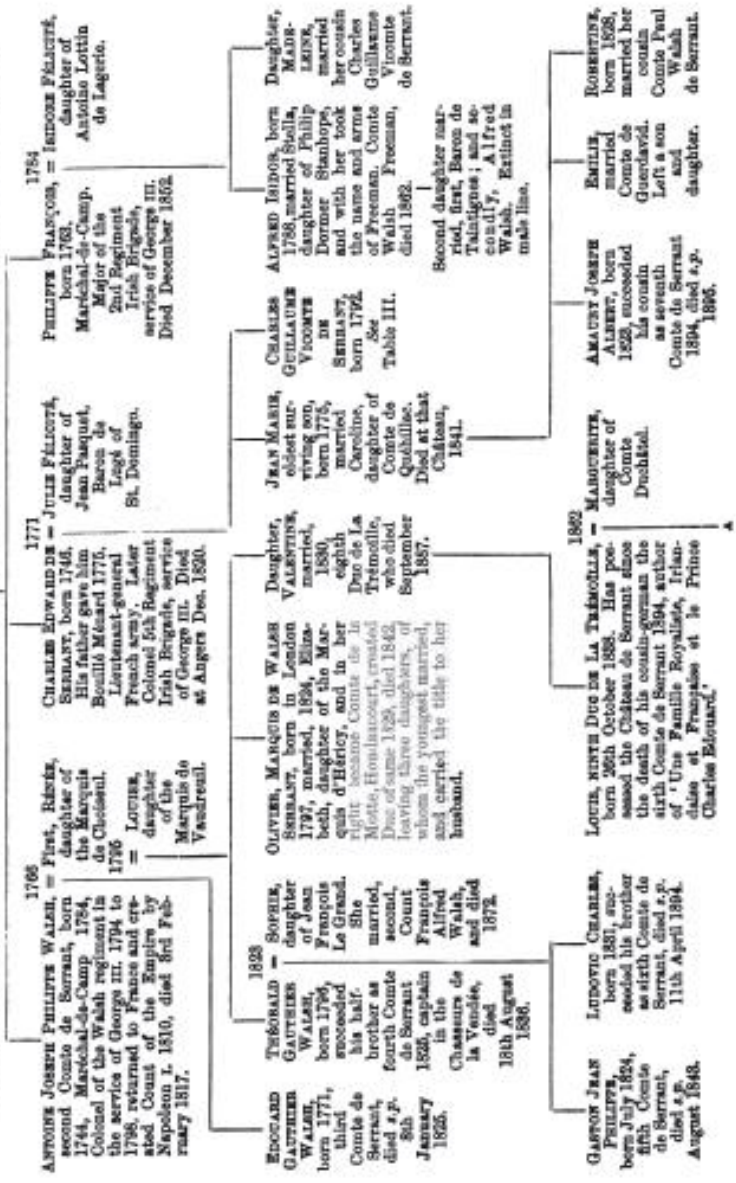


**GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF WALSH (No. II.)****COMTES DE SERRANT.**

FRANÇOIS JACQUES, fourth son of Philip Walsh of St. Malo, and brother of first Earl Walsh. Baptized at St. Malo 31st March 1704. Became a shipbuilder at Cadiz. Purchased the Château de Serrant from the Duchesse d'Estrées 1749. Obtained recognition of noble birth with his brothers Patrick and Philip 1754, and was created Comte de Serrant 1755 by Louis xv. Purchased also 'Bouillé Ménard.' Offered the Spanish Court in 1745 to transport at his own expense two regiments to Scotland, and would have succeeded in obtaining their command had it not been for the losses of the Spanish army in Italy. Acted as Prince Charles Edward's representative at the Courts of France and Spain after the death of his brother Earl Walsh. Died at Serrant, 20th August 1782. Married, 1743, Mary, daughter of Thomas Harper, Esq.

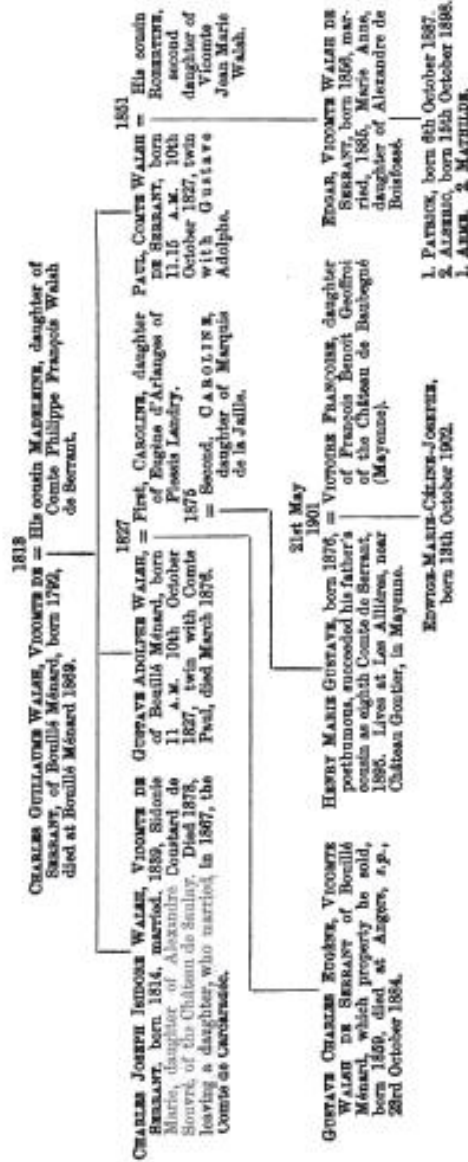
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF WALSH (No. III.)  
 PRESENT COMTE DE SERRANT.

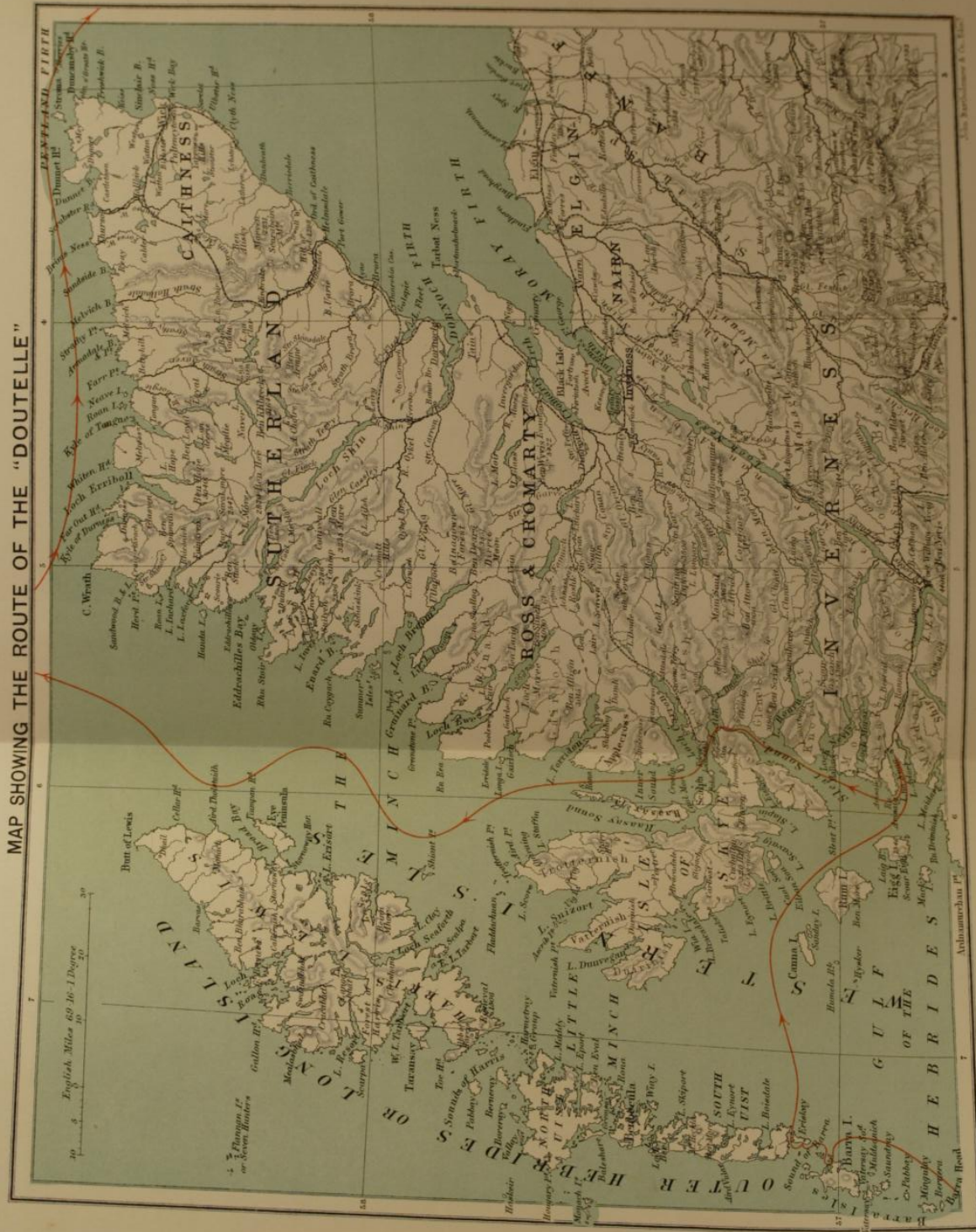


Le 1<sup>er</sup> Octobre, 1754, M<sup>re</sup> Le Grand  
 Voici Monsieur une Lettre que l'on  
 m'a prié de Vous envoie, ne perdez  
 pas de temps d'en faire l'usage Con-  
 venable, j'ai l'honneur d'être Votre  
 Veritable Ami. W. J.

Copie de la lettre du S<sup>r</sup> a M<sup>re</sup> Le Grand d<sup>re</sup>  
 datée du 1<sup>er</sup> Octobre, 1754.

L'intérêt M<sup>re</sup> que Vous Voulez, Rien y grandir a Mon  
 sort, Il ya quelques temps, Mefait Espirer, que Mes Malheurs  
 Vous trouvoient enlor-bonible, Les mêmes Evénemens qui Ont  
 quidain été. Subiste toujours Chez Vous, Aussi les Sentimens  
 qui m'inspirent, dans ce cas, ordinairement, Opimés, Comme Vous  
 Voulez de Mes Malheurs M<sup>re</sup> Lesquels des Invasions Invention  
 capable, Ma maison devoit être la seule aboyard, de  
 laquelle Vous demontrez la bonté de l'âme, et la digné  
 de Vous, Mon M<sup>re</sup> Lesquels Convaincu du contraire et  
 Comme Mon attachement et la Justice de Mon Cause  
 sont si bien connu au Roy. La Mefflate, que Vous Me refusez  
 des emplois, l'Etat Credit, au point de la Majesté, pour  
 l'establissement d'icy. Mon pays, les Lettres de des  
 Ancêtres, puisque Il n'y a rien qui puisse plus contribuer  
 a sa Gloire, et que l'Etat le Vray. Moyen d'avoir une  
 Paix durable, solide et durable, Elle Vous parleri point  
 Mon M<sup>re</sup> de la Chevalerie, de Mon pays, et de la Misere

Des Vains plus élevés, Anlève, Voir animés, et  
 Votre d'écoulement, et d'écoulement, de d'écoulement - et de d'écoulement  
 que Goutte, les ames, comme le Vostre, afin d'écoulement  
 Choses - d'écoulement, et d'écoulement, aussi de d'écoulement  
 des sentiments, d'écoulement, et d'écoulement d'écoulement.  
 avec lesquels, le d'écoulement, toujours d'écoulement. Vostre  
 affectionné, et d'écoulement, C. D.



MAP SHOWING THE ROUTE OF THE "DOUTELLE"