

A S C A N I U S;
OR, T H E
Y O U N G A D V E N T U R E R .

Containing an impartial Account of the late
Rebellion in SCOTLAND.

THE THIRD EDITION:
With considerable Additions and Improvements.

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THE
EDITORS PREFACE
TO THE
THIRD EDITION.

THERE are few abuses in the literary world which the Public have a better right to claim a correction of, than that of tedious prefaces, stuffed with useless and uninteresting particulars.

True it is, the generality of prefaces favour only of the authors vanity, and are not worth the perusal. If any person shall deign to look into this preface, he shall not be long detained; nor shall he have any reason to be disgusted with those flimsey apologies for the publication of the book, or the prefixing the preface, which are so frequently made by Authors and Editors in their prefaces, and other introductory pieces.

Some authors are pleased to tell us, that their books are the offspring of a few leisure hours; the composition was intended at first, merely, for their private amusement; that, through time, it grew into a kind of work under their hands; and that they appear in public, solely, at the felicitation of a few friends, into whose hands their manuscripts unwittingly fell. It is difficult to imagine what could induce authors to talk at this rate. One is tempted to think that he was some pedant who at first alighted on these expressions, and other pedants, like himself, charmed, forsooth, with the delicacy of the apology, have blindly followed his example. But, when authors tell us such stories, without incurring the character of skeptics, we may safely discredit every syllable of them, and believe that their penury, avarice or vanity, induced the publication.

Had these apologizers the modesty to suppress their names, what they advance, of this kind, would be better in-

titled to our belief; but, when their names appear in large characters on the title-page, there is no help for them,—we must discredit them. Sordid motives are fond to appear in a decent garb; but, luckily the features are so strongly mark'd, that, notwithstanding their disguise, they are easily discoverable.

The editors of a second, third, or other following editions of a book, practise other little, tricks to catch favour. They gravely tell us the book is a much esteemed performance; the author was a man of distinguished abilities and erudition; a great demand has been made for the book; that several ingenious and worthy persons have expressed their desire of seeing a new impression of it; that it is with a view to oblige the world with an accurate edition of the author's works, that the present is undertaken; that the edition now offered is purged of all the errors of the former:—and what not. Such is the smoothness of their

tongues. And, with all this cluster of flourishing encomiums, it's as one page of the book to the whole of them; they never perused any part of the book save the title-page;—not a mortal ever desired its republication; the public sickened under the perusal of the first impression of the book; and a thousand errors are now swarming in it to which it was formerly a stranger. In short; their intention is private emolument; but self-interest frequently assumes the mask of disinterestedness. Were these gentlemen totally silent on these heads, it would be much better for them; they would save their own integrity, and avoid the mortification of being ridiculed.

So great is the itch of apologizing among some authors and editors, that they are full of it even for their prefaces, in these same prefaces. They complain that tyrant custom has so greatly confirmed the use of prefacing a book, that

they cannot dispense with it; they de-claim against the practice, and at the very same time fall themselves into the fault which they are censuring: just like the fat man is the croud, who bawls out, "What the d----l brought such a croud thither? one can't get elbow-room. Stand about there." Never remembering that his own large carcass contributes more to the inconvenience of the croud, than any person present.

As for those who are of opinion, that a book looks bare and imperfect wanting, a preface, the Editors, have gratified their humour, by prefixing the present; and those who despise the pedantry used in prefaces, they have been cautious not to offend; but, lest they fall into the abuses upon which, they have taken the liberty to animadvert, they shall not add a single word further.

ASCANIUS;

OR, THE

THE YOUNG ADVENTURER.

B O O K I.

*Containing an Impartial Account of the late
REBELLION in SCOTLAND, in the year 1745.*

THE family of the Stewarts is of great antiquity. The earliest accounts deduce them from a thane of Lochaber. But antiquity is ever involved in obscurity. However, we are certain that the first of them who reigned in Scotland was Robert II. surnamed Blear-eye. He was descended from Walter Stewart, and Marjory Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce. In the year 1371, Robert Stewart ascended the throne of Scotland, as next heir to King David Bruce the II. his mother's brother.

Upon the death of Elizabeth Queen of

England, the succession to the throne of that kingdom opened to the family of the Stewarts, in consequence of a marriage alliance betwixt the royal blood of the two kingdoms. James VI. was the first of the race of the Stewarts who ascended the English throne. He had come to the throne of Scotland in 1567, and after the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1604, he succeeded to the crown of England. Thus came the family of the Stewarts to reign over the kingdoms of Scotland and England.

This ancient and noble family governed these realms, in an uninterrupted line, down to James VII. This unfortunate Prince had a blind attachment for the Popish religion. During his administration he openly discovered it, and exercised, for a time, amongst his subjects, all those tyrannical measures which that religion naturally instigates those Princes, who are its votaries, to pursue. His eldest daughter Mary, was given in marriage to William Prince of Orange. This Prince the nation invited over, to redress the

grievances they suffered under the government of his father-in-law. James, foreseeing the consequences which would ensue, withdrew himself privately from the kingdom, and retired to France with his queen, and Prince George, then an infant. Upon this, William, and his consort, were proclaimed king and queen. The succession to the crown was secured, by several acts of parliament, to Protestant heirs alone: which order of succession hath been constantly observed since that time.

The first interruption, we see then, in the lineal descent of the family of Stewarts, in their succession to the crowns of Scotland and England, was in the person of James VII. This was in the year 1688; on account of which singular accident it is called the Revolution year. Two efforts have been made, since that time, to restore the former succession. Prince George made an effort in 1715, and his son, Prince Charles, made another effort in 1745; but both these proved unsuccessful. An account of the attempt made by Prince Charles is given

in the present history.

While the attention of Britain was employed in the war, in which it was at that time engaged with France, the plan of an insurrection, in favour of Prince Charles, was formed. It is thought to have been owing, chiefly, to the politics of France, that this project took place. The French ministry foresaw, that an invasion of this kind would embarrass Britain, and make a diversion in their own favour. The project was also favoured by the dispositions of many of the British subjects, who were strongly attached to the family of Stewart. France gave Prince Charles the strongest assurances of their assistance, and many in Great Britain, by their solicitations and promises, seconded the enterprize. The young Prince, cajoled by these considerations, and fired with an ambition to ascend the throne of his ancestors, fully resolved to make a vigorous effort for this purpose; in which, if he did not succeed, he should, at least for a time, become the object of the attention and surprize of all the

European powers.

Accordingly, upon the 15th of July, 1745, Prince Charles, being furnished with a supply of money and arms from the French ministry, embarked at Port Lazare, in Brittany, for Scotland. The vessel appointed by the French king to carry the Prince, was a frigate of 11 guns, which sailing first to Belleisle, was joined by the Elizabeth, formerly an English man of war of 60 guns. In their passage they met with the Lion, Captain Brett, and two other English men of war, with a fleet of merchantmen under convoy: the frigate bore away, but the Lion and the Elizabeth maintained a desperate fight, until night came and saved the latter, who made off, and got to Brest in a most terrible condition. Her captain and about 70 men were killed, and double the number wounded. She had on board a large sum of money, and arms for several thousand men, all designed for the service of Ascanius in Scotland.

The frigate arrived among the Scottish isles, and after hovering about several

days, put into the country of Lochaber; and there Ascanius, with only seven attendants, landed, and went directly to Mr M'Donald of Kinlock-moidart. Here he remained in private several weeks, while some of the Highland chiefs were getting the clans together, in order to declare openly for him, and to endeavour first to reduce Scotland. By the middle of August they had assembled about 1800 men, consisting of the Stuarts of Appin, the M'Donalds of Glengary, the Camerons of Lochiel, and others. Ascanius set up his standard, on which was this motto, *Tandem triumphans*, that is, *At length triumphant*: He also published two manifestoes in his father's name, one of which was printed and dated in 1743; a third he published in his own name, in which he promised many things agreeable to the Scots, and among others the dissolution of the union with England.

By this time the government was informed of his being in the Highlands, who sent strict orders to Sir John Cope,

generalissimo of the king's forces in Scotland, to take all possible care to prevent him from making his party formidable, and if possible to take him alive or dead; and as an inducement to this, a reward of 30,000*l.* was set on his head.

Before the end of August, two companies of General Sinclair's regiment being sent to reconnoitre the Highlanders, were most of them made prisoners, as was soon after Captain Swethenham of Guise's foot. This gentleman being released on his parole, gave the government the first circumstantial account of the number and condition of the Highland forces.

Ascanius now prepared to march southward, with a view of taking the city of Edinburgh: Mean time, Cope having collected all the king's forces in Scotland, and armed the militia, marched for the Highlands in quest of Ascanius; who, not chusing to risk a battle in his infant state of affairs, gave the old General the slip over the mountains, and September 4. entered

Perth without resistance. The news being carried to Cope, who was got to Inverness, after a very fatiguing march, he saw no other remedy but to march back, tho' not the same way he came; accordingly, he ordered transport ships to meet him at Aberdeen to carry his forces to Leith. Mean time, Ascanius proclaimed his father at Perth, where he was joined by several persons of distinction, who brought supplies of men and arms: From thence he marched his troops to the river Forth, which they forded on the 13th, Ascanius first plunging in at the head of the infantry. Directing his march towards Glasgow, he summoned it, but receiving no answer altered his rout, and marched for Edinburgh, which he reached before Cope could be back from Aberdeen.

While both parties were thus advancing towards the metropolis, the inhabitants were preparing for a vigorous resistance: But the Prince having many friends in the city, no sooner came near it, than a treaty of surrender was entered upon, and on the

17th the provost admitted him into it; however, the brave, tho' very old, gen. Guest, retired with a few regulars into the castle, which he held for the king. While the Prince was entering the city, Cope was debarking his troops at Dunbar, within two days march of Edinburgh, and being there joined by Brigadier Fowke, with Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, marched the 19th, and encamped that night near Haddington. Marching early next morning, they arrived at Prestonpans in the evening, where they perceived Ascanius's troops on the hills towards Edinburgh, at which place only a small body of Highlanders were left to secure a retreat thither. That night both parties lay under arms, and firing frequently passed between them. The 21st, about three in the morning, the King's troops were briskly attacked: Some dragoons ran on the first fire, and left the infantry exposed to the broad swords of the Highlanders, with whose weapons and manner of fighting they were unacquainted; and not having time to

recover the disorder they were thrown into, they were finally routed in a few minutes; about 300 were cut to pieces, and most of the rest made prisoners. The conduct of the gallant Colonel Gardiner, in this action, will be remembered and admired by latest posterity. He was deserted in the battle by his own regiment of dragoons; but, alighting from his horse, he joined the infantry who kept the field, and fought on foot with surprising intrepidity. This gentleman, who preferred an honourable death to an ignominious flight, fell, covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. Many other principal officers were desperately wounded, and a considerable number of the common prisoners. All the cannon, tents, &c. of the vanquished were taken.

The general had the good fortune to escape to Berwick, with the Earls of Loudon and Hume; and brig. Fowke and col. Lascelles got safe to Dunbar. This was called the battle of Preston-pans, or by some the battle of Seaton, from two little towns near which it was fought; but

is more properly called the battle of Gladsmuir, which was the field of action, a wide barren heath about seven miles east from Edinburgh. We have no certain account of the number of Cope's army; the regiments he had, were those of Gardiner, Hamilton, Lee, Guise, Murray, Lascelles and Loudon; but of these almost every one wanted near a third of their compliment: and in all they are supposed not to have exceeded 4000, sutlers, &c. &c. included. The victors did not exceed 3400, above two fifths of which did not fight.

From this victory Ascanius reaped considerable advantages. It inspired his followers with courage, intimidated his enemies, and many, who before that time acted upon the reserve, now crowded to his standard. This victory, also, put his army in possession of fire-arms and ammunition, with which they were formerly ill provided. He now returned in triumph to Edinburgh, loaded with the spoils of his late victory, where he took up his residence in the palace of Holyrood-house. He levied an

army in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood; imposed taxes; compelled the city of Glasgow to furnish him with a large sum; and laid all the country round under contribution. These things he judged necessary, to enable him to carry on his enterprize with vigour, money being the nerves of war.

We cannot help observing the conduct of the French court on this occasion: When they had heard he had gained a victory, they supplied him with money, artillery and ammunition; his interest with them seemed to depend on the success of his arms.

Ascanius did not find so many in the kingdom espouse his cause as he was made to believe. The greater part of the kingdom did not favour his family and pretensions; but they were unarmed and undisciplined, and, therefore could make no resistance. Even in the Highlands, where Ascanius thought a good part of his interest lay, there were found many friends to the government, who in the most open manner avowed

their royalty. Argyle armed his vassals; the Earl of Sutherland brought to the field 1200 men; Sir Alexander M'Donald, and the Laird of M'Leod, sent 2000 hardy islanders from Skie, for the service of the government: and many other clans appeared under their several potent chiefs. There was also a body of gentlemen, who served on horseback at their own expence, stiling themselves the *Royal Hunters*, of which gen. Oglethorpe had the command:—surely the sacred flame of liberty glowed warmly in the breasts of these gentlemen, who stood forth in the cause of their country, on such honourable terms!

At the same time, Duncan Forbes, Esq. Lord President of the court of session in Scotland, extremely distinguished himself there, by his zeal for the Georgian interest; and it was principally by his means, that a considerable body of Highlanders and other Scots were raised, under the command of the Earl of Loudon, for the security of the forts of Inverness, Augustus, and William, a

chain of fortified places commanding the north of Scotland.

But notwithstanding all these preparations, the intrepid Ascanius resolved to pursue his designs through all obstacles. Nov. 1. He went from Edinburgh to the camp at Dalkeith, from whence he daily dispatched his agents into England, and received intelligence of what was doing there both by his friends and enemies: And, though he had the mortification to find, contrary to the assurances he had received, that the former were but few, yet he still inflexibly resolved to push on the daring attempt, having only, as he publicly signified, a Crown or a Coffin in view. He hoped that, by his presence in England, he should be able to put new life into his friends, to reclaim the apostate, fix the wavering, animate the fearful, and inspire the zealous with that activity, courage, and contempt of danger, of which himself would give an immediate example.

With these views, and in this resolute disposition, he began his march for

Carlisle, with an army not exceeding 6700 effective men; a small number for such an expedition; but he relied much on English reinforcements, and more on a timely descent by the French in the south; for in case of such a diversion, nothing could have effectually obstructed his march to London. The principal persons in his army were, the duke of Perth, general; lord George Murray, lieut. general; lord Elcho, son to the earl of Wemyss, col. of the life-guards; the earl of Kilmarnock, col. of a regiment mounted and accoutred as Hussars; lord Pitsligo, gen. of the horse; the lords Nairn, Ogilvie, Dundee, and Balmerino; Mess. Sheridan and Sullivan, Irish gentlemen; gen. M'Donald, his aid de-camp; John Murray of Broughton, esq. his secretary; and many others.

The 6th, the army passed the Tweed, and entered England. Marshal Wade was at this time, as hath been observed, at Newcastle upon Tyne, and might have intercepted Ascanius on the borders; but being ignorant of the rout he intended to take, whether by Carlisle, or Newcastle,

the cautious old general determined to wait Ascanius's motions, and by them regulate his own: but this conduct rendered his army of little use to the government in this critical and dangerous juncture: for Ascanius taking the Carlisle road, arrived at that city (which is almost parallel to the Scots coast with Newcastle, from whence it is but three winter days march,) and took it before Wade could arrive to prevent him. After proclaiming his father here, he proceeded southward, leaving a garrison of Highlanders in the place. Wade had marched about half way to Carlisle when he heard it was taken: As the weather and roads were so bad as almost to have ruined his army, and as, consequently, they were not in a condition to attempt retaking the city, it was thought proper to return to Newcastle, leaving the Adventurers to get so far to the southward, that it would have been absurd for Wade's people to attempt the overtaking them; therefore the general remained in the North, in order to guard those parts, and prevent

the Prince from receiving supplies or reinforcements from thence, or out of Scotland.

And now the progress of Ascanius had thrown all England into confusion, and the Georgians began to dread his arrival at London, before another army could be formed in the southern and midland parts to impede his march, which was amazingly swift, all the country flying before him, none daring or caring to resist. However, the duke of Cumberland, youngest son to the Georgian King, returning from Flanders, where he commanded his Father's troops, most of which returned with him, or were before arrived and put under Wade's command; this prince, I say, returning from abroad, in order to lead the Georgian troops against Ascanius, his now successful rival in more respects than one, an army was formed with all expedition, and the duke put himself at the head thereof, resolving to wait the coming of Ascanius, and by one decisive stroke determine the fate of the British Crown.

Mean time, the young Adventurer advanced. with prodigious celerity, while the attention of both kingdoms was fixed on the expected approaching action. It was on the 20th that our Adventurer left Carlisle, from whence he proceeded to Lancaster, where he arrived the 24th; on the 27th saw him at Preston, the 29th at Manchester. Till now the Prince had been joined by few of the English, and on this account the spirits of his faithful followers began to droop. "The English are degenerate," say they, and lost to all sense of justice or gratitude: They are stupidly in love with their present government, bigotted to their new-fangled notions, and strangers to those noble sentiments of loyalty which glowed in the breasts of their ancestors. In vain have we made this long fatiguing march, in vain doth the generous Ascanius invite the infatuated English to shake off the yoke of whiggism, to do justice to his catholic family, themselves, and their posterity; in vain this glorious opportunity, if they refuse the proffered blessing, and chuse

to live in ease and indolence.” In these terms were the complaints of the army couched; and Ascanius himself now began to see his error, in trusting to the accounts sent him while in Scotland, of the number and disposition of his partizans in the south; nevertheless, he prudently tried to disguise his sentiments, and keep up the spirits of the people. “Who knows (said he, at a council of war held at Manchester,) but all will yet happen for the best, and my greater glory. I grant we have run ourselves into imminent danger; or rather, perhaps, Providence has brought us hither, to shew what great things may be done for us. Victory doth not always declare for numbers. Few though we are, we have arms in our hands, and I hope every man here is well satisfied as to the goodness of his cause. We found the English less than men at Gladsmuir, and we shall not find them more than men on any field in England. Our friends, for ought we know, are, at this instant, striking a more effectual blow for us than if they joined us in person. Let us

suspend our fears and our judgements as to our situation, until I have received fresh advices from London, for there I hope fortune is yet working for us.”

Thus cheered, the Adventurers still went southward, until they came within the borders of Staffordshire, where the duke lay with an army to intercept them: Wade was also marching after them through Yorkshire, intending to put them between two fires. Thus was this little army encircled by the English, unable to proceed any way without meeting an army treble their number, for even yet they did not exceed 7400 men, not having been joined by more than 500 since their entering England.

I must not forget to mention, that in every city and market-town through which Ascanius passed, he took possession of it for his father, by proclaiming him; for instance, in Carlisle, Penrith Kendal, .Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, Burton, Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton; the two last in Cheshire. At Congleton, finding his march southward absolutely

stopped by the duke, part of whose army lay at Newcastle under line, within ten miles of Congleton, he resolved to turn off eastward to Leek in Staffordshire, and so through the Moorlands into Derbyshire, marching east by south till he got to Derby town, where he would be nearer London than the English. This resolution was the most prudent he could take, in the circumstances he was in; for it would have been madness to engage the English army, not only superior in number, but abounding in all necessaries; nor had they been harassed by forced marches, as the troops of Ascanius were, who wanted necessary refreshment. On the other hand, had they gone back the way they came, that would have been at once to forfeit every opportunity of getting possession of the capital: had they turned westward, in order to take refuge in Wales, they would be never the nearer conquering England, and out of the way of seconding a French invasion, or a general rising of their friends in London: besides, had Ascanius attempted to pass

into Wales, he might have been obstructed in his march through Cheshire, particularly by the garrison of Chester, city, where, besides the militia, some new regiments were quartered.

Dec. 2. Ascanius was at Leek in the Moorlands of Staffordshire, next day at Ashburn in the peak of Derbyshire, and on the 5th at Derby town. Mean time, the duke, finding the dexterous Adventurers had given him the slip, crossed the country, expecting to intercept them in Lancashire or Northamptonshire; and this he had infallibly done, had not Ascanius perceived, that still to go forward, would be obliging himself to risk a battle under all the disadvantages above-mentioned, or to surrender at discretion: He now saw that the English were not to be depended on. Here he received advice from London, "That his friends there had not the power to rise in his favour, without desperately hazarding both his own ruin and that of his party in the kingdom; that there was no likelihood of a descent from France, all the southern

coasts being well guarded, as were the circumjacent seas, by the English fleet, for fear of whom the French durst not stir out.”

Hereupon a council of war was called, at which the chiefs spake very freely, and strenuously insisted on the army's returning to Scotland by the way he came; urging, that they might get through Derby and Stafford before the duke, on the south side of them, could know they had begun to return; and that, as Wade lay directly north from them, they doubted not of again giving him the slip, and reaching Carlisle before he could obstruct their flight.—To this advice Ascanius consented, still comforting himself with hopes that Providence intended to work for him by some other means than those he yet thought of. However, the common soldiers, who had flattered themselves with the taking of London, were greatly chagrined at their disappointment, and would have severely revenged themselves on the people of Derby, and the other towns thro' which they were to

repass, had not Ascanius and his officers appeased them, and convinced them of the necessity of their returning, and of injuring the persons and properties of the English as little as their necessities would admit. Nevertheless, discovering that a subscription had been here set on foot by the English party, and already pretty full, the Adventurers procured a copy of the subscription list, and made the town pay the money to them. They also obliged the people of Derby to furnish them with many necessaries at an easy price. But this proceeding (which Ascanius could not easily prevent) was perhaps the principal reason of their being joined by only four or five in this county, one of whom was counsellor Morgan.

As a delay of a day or two must have rendered the retreat of Ascanius and his troops impracticably they stayed at Derby but two nights. Dec. 6. we find them again at Ashburn in the Peak. While Ascanius is thus giving the world as extraordinary a proof of his dexterity and skill in a retreat, as he had before of

his courage and conduct in a battle, (with one body of English foot hotly pursuing at his heels, and Oglethorpe with a body of horse on his right flying to intercept him, but in vain, though the general made a very swift march cross the country,) let us leave him on his march, and take a view of what his friends in Scotland were doing for him there.

Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the duke of Gordon, who remained in Scotland to take care of Ascanius's interest while himself was in England, was very active in raising men and money in the northern parts. His endeavours were greatly supported by the arrival of Fitz-james's regiment of horse from France, of which most of the men were Irish and Scotch, or descended from parents born in those kingdoms; these were commanded by lord John Drummond, brother to the duke of Perth, who joined lord Lewis: their forces together made near 3000 men. With these troops the two lords quartered themselves in and about

Perth, at the same time that Ascanius set out on his return from Derby.

On the other hand, the earl of Loudon was equally active in spiring up the clans in the Georgian interest; he raised considerable supplies among the M'Leods, Grants, Monroes, Sutherlands, and Guns, and at last he had above 2300 effective men; with these he forced the son of lord Lovat to retire from before Fort Augustus, which he had besieged with a considerable body of Frazers, a clan of which his father was chief. The city of Edinburgh, now again in the hands of the English, likewise exerted itself in raising men, as did also Glasgow, betwixt which two numerous regiments and several independent companies were raised. Thus, whether in England or Scotland, Ascanius was like to have enemies enough to deal with.

Let us now return into England, and follow Ascanius in his flight from Derby. Dec. 7th, he arrived at Leek in Staffordshire, and on the 9th at Manchester. Mean time, the duke of

Cumberland having intelligence that his enemies had begun to retreat northward, prepared to follow them with all expedition. Flying with a body of horse through the counties of Warwick and Stafford, the 10th he arrived at Macclesfield in Cheshire, 1000 foot following him at no great distance; for the duke's scheme was to get up to the Adventurers with his horse, and retard their march until his infantry came up, and then to endeavour to bring Ascanius to a general engagement. This, however, was what the latter prudently avoided, well knowing the difference, betwixt the spirit of troops pursued in an enemy's country, and that of the pursuers. Besides, perceiving that fortune inclined her face with a smile towards his royal highness, the brave and active duke of Cumberland, the country people voluntarily supplied his army with horses, carriages, provisions, and all other necessaries; while the Adventurers could get nothing but what violence forced from the grumbling English, who took all methods to distress them.

Macclesfield, where, as we have observed, the English arrived on the 10th, is but a day's march from Manchester, from whence Ascanius marched that day, resting his troops there only one night; whose fickle inhabitants, perceiving fortune seemed to frown on the Adventurers, whom they had joyfully received a few days before, now gave the troops several rude marks of a very different spirit: This Ascanius so highly resented, that he made the people pay him 2500*l.*, to save them from being plundered, before he left the town; however, in consideration of the many friends he still had there, he promised repayment when the kingdom should be recovered to his family, of which he did not despair yet.

On the 11th, the Adventurers marched further northward, and came to Wigan, and next day to Preston. The duke still followed at about a day's march, yet still he found it impossible to gain upon Ascanius, who felt it equally impracticable to outstrip his formidable rival in youthful vigour and vigilance.

On the 13th, in the morning, Ascanius quitted Preston, which he had no sooner done, than Oglethorpe, with the horse and dragoons from Wade's army, arrived there, having, in three days, marched above 100 miles through ice, and over mountains covered with snow. And now the Adventurers had certainly been forced to an action, had not their English friends, in the south, luckily, at this critical juncture, done them some service. A report was successfully propagated, "That the French were landed in the south;" and this was so generally believed by the English, that an express was sent to inform the duke thereof, whereupon he halted a day for further information, and sent orders to Oglethorpe to discontinue the pursuit, and march towards his army. Still more happy, indeed, had it been for Ascanius, if this report had been grounded on fact: but the seas were so well guarded by the English fleet, that though a strong squadron of French men of war had been fitted out, with a great many transports, having a considerable body

of forces on board, yet they durst not venture out of port. But the report was of great service to Ascanius, for had not the duke and Oglethorpe been thus retarded, he would have been forced to halt; and though the General's troops were as much fatigued and disordered by their forced march as his, yet they would, at least, have been able to obstruct his retreat until the duke came up, and then the action must have been decisive; for the harrassed Adventurers could have little hopes of victory over an army so much superior in all respects.

However, on the 14th, upon better information, the duke ordered Oglethorpe to continue the pursuit, whilst himself followed as fast as possible. The 15th, Ascanius arrived at Kendal in Westmoreland, and marched next day for Penrith in Cumberland, the English following with great celerity. On the 18th, the duke, with the king's own regiment of dragoons, and Kingston's new raised light horse, came up with the rear of the Adventurers, after a fatiguing ten hours march. Ascanius was then at

Penrith, and knew not that his rear was in so much danger till it was over; for, on sight of the English, lord George Murray, who commanded the rear, in conjunction with lord Elcho, ordered his men to halt in a village called Clifton, and there receive their attack. Mean time, the duke, whose capacity as a soldier all impartial persons must acknowledge to be consummate, made every necessary disposition for driving the Adventurers from their post. The attack was resolutely made, and as resolutely opposed. The Highlanders, being much sheltered by the walls and hedges, from behind which they fired with great security, lost very few men, nor had the assailants time to receive any great loss, night being so far advanced before the action was well begun that it was soon ended. The Adventurers (who must have been overpowered by numbers, had the action happened in the day) abandoned the village, continuing their retreat to Penrith, where they joined Ascanius before midnight. The darkness of the

night, added to the closeness of the country, which was extremely rough and covered with wood-land, obliged the English to discontinue the pursuit till morning. Their loss in the action was about 20 men and officers killed, and 30 wounded. Ascanius's troops suffered no loss, only capt. George Hamilton, of col. John Roy Stuart's regiment, was taken prisoner: He made a stout resistance, and killed two troopers with his own hand, but was at last dangerously wounded in the head and on the shoulder by one of the Austrian hussars, who voluntarily served the duke.

Next morning Ascanius arrived at Carlisle, after a miserable march all night. The same morning also, the duke marched for that city, and in his rout he gleaned up the stragglers, the weak, the weary, the sick, and the wounded Adventurers, about 100 men, who were confined in the country jails.

The 20th, the English army advanced to Hesket, within a short day's march of Carlisle. At the same time Ascanius left that city, continuing his march for

Scotland; he forded the river Esk, tho' at that time very much swoln, and many of his men were drowned: He was forced, against his will, to leave a small garrison at Carlisle, in order to stop the duke, and prevent his pursuing him into Scotland, at least, not so soon as to force him to an engagement, before he had got recruits of men, money, and spirits,. It was with regret, I say, that he left any garrison in Carlisle, for he well knew that they must be sacrificed to his convenience; but he was over persuaded by Mr Sullivan, who insisted that he ought to improve this opportunity, and run the hazard of sacrificing a few of his followers to the safety of himself and all the rest, who had so chearfully ventured their lives, and experienced so many hardships in their unfortunate expedition into England, particularly the Manchester regiment. This small garrison, animated with a greater share of courage and fidelity to the cause they had embraced, than of prudence or human foresight, resolved obstinately to defend the city. They were greatly spirited up by Mr

John Hamilton of Aberdeenshire, their governor, who represented unto them, “That it was both their duty, and the most honourable thing they could do, to defend the place to the last extremity. The place is, said he, both by art and nature, pretty strong, and we have artillery enough: the English have no cannon, nor can speedily bring any hither, so that we may, doubtless, hold out a month; mean time, Ascanius will certainly do all in his power to relieve us, and who knows how far it may be yet in his power? Besides, the English may not, perhaps, when they see us resolute, stay to besiege us in form, but follow our friends into Scotland; in which case you may do Ascanius some service, by employing part of the enemy’s troops to look after us, and thereby, in some measure, pave the way to his being a match for them in the field; whereas, at present, he is in danger of being overwhelmed by numbers.”

On the 22d, the duke’s army entirely invested Carlisle, it being thought proper to reduce this important key of

the kingdom before the army marched after Ascanius into Scotland. This step was disapproved of by many of the government's friends, who objected, "That the duke's army was amusing itself with a trifling siege, while Ascanius was suffered to escape, and had time given him to strengthen himself by a juncture of the several corps his friends had been raising for him in Scotland, during his excursion to the southward." But these censurers were, doubtless, unacquainted with the duke's reasons for not immediately following his enemies out of England. They did not consider that he might, by the time he got to Carlisle, be convinced that he could never overtake or bring Ascanius to a battle, unless the latter pleased: that tho' he might again come up with his rear, yet it would be still as difficult to bring the main body into action; since, as before, the rear would cover the retreat of the rest; and further, that it could be of little advantage to the English interest to harass and weaken their army, by forced marches and

skirmishes with the Adventurers, who might, at least, lead them into such a country, as they would find it difficult to subsist in, and in the end, perhaps, become the weaker party, and have their own retreat into England cut off.

As the army under the duke was destitute of the artillery and ammunition proper, for a siege, it sat still before the place till the 16th, when being amply provided with all things necessary, two batteries were raised, which played upon the city, from the 28th to the 30th, in the morning, when the garrison, having no prospect of relief from their friends in Scotland, and fearing to be reduced by storm, hung out the white flag to capitulate: however, the best terms they could obtain was, that they should not be massacred, but reserved for the king's pleasure; which they were forced to accept, and the English took possession of the city the same day. In this affair, besides the men, they lost 16 pieces of ordnance, being all that Ascanius brought with him into England. Of this garrison many have

been tried and condemned, and some executed, particularly, John Hamilton, esq. the governor, besides col. Townley of the Manchester regiment.

The duke had no sooner reduced this city than he invested gen. Hawley with the chief command of the army, with orders to march into Scotland, and there make such opposition to the motions of Ascanius, as the future circumstances of affairs should direct: meanwhile, the duke returned to his father's court, there to concert measures for entirely compleating the ruin of the Adventurers.

Let us now follow the indefatigable Ascanius into Scotland, where we shall find him emerging from his late disgrace, and carrying his affairs to a higher pitch of prosperity than ever. But I know not if it be proper to look upon that as a disgrace which was not the want of any vigilance or capacity in him, but of treachery or remissness, or want of sincerity in those who made great professions of zeal for his interest, and who, after having drawn him into a vain dependence upon them, remained idle

spectators of the danger they had run .him into.

Dec. 22d, Ascanius, who had divided his forces on the borders of Scotland, marched with the largest body, about 4000 men. to Dumfries, where he demanded of the inhabitants 2000*l.* contribution money; of this 1100*l.* was immediately paid, and hostages for the rest. From this he moved northward on the 23d, and the 25th arrived at Glasgow, chusing rather to take possession of that town (of which he resolved to raise another large contribution, for its active zeal against his party while he was in the south) than to attempt the recovery of Edinburgh, which the English had now put into a much better posture of defence than it was when he took it. Glasgow was also the more obnoxious to him, as it had ever been distinguished for disaffection to his kingdom, particularly in the reigns of Charles and James II. and was considered as the principal fountain of whiggism in the north.

Accordingly, he quartered his troops

for several days upon the inhabitants, and, before he left the city, obliged them to furnish him with necessaries to the value of 10,000*l.* Sterling. And now it was, that he formed a design of laying siege to Stirling, one of the strongest and most important places of Scotland. As all his forces would be wanted to carry on this siege, he dispatched orders to lord Drummond and Gordon, the master of Lovat, and other chiefs in the north, to advance with their troops and meet him betwixt Perth and Stirling. These chiefs had with them a considerable treasure, which had been landed from on board some Spanish privateers; also some artillery, ammunition, and other stores. Lord Gordon had likewise raised a vast sum of money in Scotland, part of which was voluntarily contributed, and the rest levied under pain of military execution: He and the other chiefs had also taken other vigorous methods for serving their party. The Hazard sloop of war, which the Adventurers had taken from the English, they fitted out for their own service, as also a stout privateer at

Montrose, and an armed sloop at Perth.

Jan. 3d, 1745-6, Ascanius and the troops left Glasgow; and on the 5th, having got the best part of his forces together, he summoned the town of Stirling to surrender; but General Blackney, who commanded there for the king, gave him a flat denial, declaring, "He would sooner lose his life than betray the trust that was reposed in him." However, the town being of no great strength, though the castle is, the inhabitants, after some hours spent in treaty, obtained their own terms of surrender, and next morning the Adventurers took possession? but the resolute old Blackney retired with his troops into the castle, determined to defend it to the last extremity. He was again summoned to surrender, but to as little purpose as before; and therefore Ascanius prepared to besiege it in form with what artillery he had, which was insufficient for so considerable an undertaking.

Mean while, lieut. gen. Hawley, commander in chief of the English

forces in Scotland, was assembling a strong, tho' not numerous army, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and having all things in order, he determined to march to the relief of Stirling castle; but first he detached brigadier gen. Huske, (who was next in command under Hawley) with part of the army, to dislodge the earl of Kilmarnock from Falkirk, where he lay with the young Adventurer's horse, and which, being of little use in a siege, he posted at this town, which lies in the direct road from Edinburgh to Stirling. On the first intelligence of Huske's approach, Kilmarnock retired to the rest of the army at Stirling, not having forces enough to engage the brigadier general's troops; and thus the road being opened, the whole English army marched to Falkirk, where Ascanius resolved to give them the meeting.

Ascanius's affairs, not now in the same situation as when he was in England, encircled by the English, and without the least prospect of any reinforcements in case of a defeat, it was the highest

prudence in him to avoid an engagement, and retire into Scotland before his retreat was cut off; but now at the head of a body of resolute fellows, elate and re-animated by their successful retreat, the fresh troops which had joined them, and the absence of the duke from the English army, of which he was the very life and soul, he had little to fear as to the event of an engagement: he doubted not his troops in their own country, in which they had already been so successful, and in which he foresaw so many ways of retrieving the loss of a battle.

Hawley's design was to have attacked Ascanius, who, being sensible of the difference betwixt an army's attacking and being attacked, and of the usual disadvantage in the latter case, resolved to give the English battle, without giving them time to chuse their ground. This he did with great success, on the 17th in the afternoon. The field of battle was the Moor of Falkirk, about a mile distant from that town. Ascanius was informed that the English (who had made great

haste to gain the rising ground on which they were posted) had left their cannon in their camp, and would find it very difficult to get any up the hill, therefore he resolved to attack them before they could get up their artillery.

The English army, though formed in a hurry, advanced in good order, the dragoons on the left, and the infantry in two lines. When the adverse parties came within little more than musket shot of each other, Hawley ordered the dragoons to fall on sword in hand, and the foot to advance, at the same time to give the Adventurers a close fire. But before they could execute these directions, a smart fire from the latter put the dragoons into some disorder, and at the same time the English battalions, firing without orders, increased the confusion; and the dragoons falling in upon the foot, occasioned their making only one irregular fire before they began to retreat. Barrel's and Ligonier's regiments, however, were immediately rallied by brigadier Cholmondely, and

col. Ligonier. These troops made a brave stand, repulsed the Adventurers, who poured upon them very briskly. Mean time, gen. Huske, with great prudence and presence of mind, formed another body of foot in the rear of the above two regiments. Gen. Mordaunt also rallied another corps of infantry; and, upon the whole, the English made a tolerable retreat to the camp at Falkirk.

This battle cannot properly be said to have been fought out; it had certainly been renewed had not bad weather prevented it. The rain and wind were violent, and rendered the fire-arms of little use. The English, wanting their artillery, had no arms to oppose to the broad swords of the Highlanders, except their bayonets. During the action their artillery was drawn up the hill, but the owners of the draught horses, seeing the army in disorder, rode away with the horses, so that none could be found to draw the useless cannon from the field; by which means the whole train (except one piece, which the grenadiers of Barrel's regiment yoked themselves to

and carried off, and three others which the people of Falkirk furnished horses to draw away) fell into the hands of the Adventurers.

The English at first (after quitting the field) determined to keep possession of their camp, and wait to see if Ascanius would attempt to dislodge them; but the rain coming heavy, the tents were so wet, and so much of their ammunition spoiled, that it was judged proper to order the troops to the town of Linlithgow that night, purely for the sake of shelter: next day they continued their retreat, and in the evening took up their former quarters in and about Edinburgh, where they examined into their loss, and missed more officers in proportion than men. Thus far, all the facts I have mentioned, relating to the memorable battle of Falkirk, are admitted by the English: let us now consult the other party. The following narrative was drawn up by Mr Sheridan, and by him transmitted to the kings of France and Spain, the Pope, and other powers in alliance with the young Ad-

venturer's family.

“After an easy victory, gained by 8000 over 12000, we remained masters of the field of battle; but as it was near five o'clock before it ended, and as it required time for the Highlanders to recover their muskets, rejoin their colours, and form again in order, it was quite night before we could follow the fugitives. On the other hand, we had no tents nor provisions; the rain fell, and the cold sharp wind blew with such violence, that we must have perished had we remained all night on the field, of battle; and as we could not return to our quarters without relinquishing the advantages of the victory, the Prince resolved, tho' without cannon or guides, and in extreme darkness, to attack the enemy in their camp, and the situation of it was very advantageous, and fortified by strong retrenchments; their soldiers were seized with such a panic on our approach, that they durst not stay therein, but fled towards Edinburgh, having first set fire to their tents. They had the start of us by an hour, and some

troops which they left at Falkirk disputing our entrance, gained them another hour, so that our cavalry, being poorly mounted, could not come up with 'em. Hence it was, that in a flight in which 5 or 6000 prisoners might have been taken, we did not make above 500, only half of which were regular troops. They had 600 slain, two thirds whereof were horses and dragoons, but we know not exactly the number of our wounded. Our wounded were not above 150, and our slain only 43, officers included. We have taken 7 pieces of cannon, 3 mortars, 1 pair of kettle-drums, 2 pair of colours, 3 standards, 600 muskets, 4000 weight of powder, a large quantity of grenadoes, 25 waggons loaded with all kinds of military stores, tents for 470 men, and all the baggage that escaped the flames. Among their officers that fell, were 5 colonels and lieutenants colonels, with all the chiefs of their Highlanders and militia. Our *** who at the beginning of the action had been conjured, for the love of his troops, not to expose himself, was in the second line

of the piquets; but as soon as the left wing was thrown into some disorder, he flew to their relief with an ardour that was not to be restrained. In the disposition of his troops, he followed the advice of lord George Murray, who commanded the right wing, and fought on foot during the whole action at the head of his Highlanders. Lord John Drummond commanded the left, and distinguished himself extremely; he took two prisoners with his own hand, had his horse shot under him, and was wounded in the left arm with a musket ball. We should likewise do justice to the valour and prudence of several other officers, particularly Mr Stapleton, brigadier in his most christian majesty's army, and commander of the Irish piquets; Mr Sullivan, quarter-master-general of the army, who rallied part of the left wing; and Mr Brown, colonel of the guards, and one of the aid de camps, formerly of major gen. *Lalley's* regiment."

Camp at Stirling,
1745-6, Jan. 31st, N.S.

ON the 18th, the day after the battle, Ascanius marched his army back to Stirling; and as he was satisfied that Hawley's design of relieving this fortress was disappointed, he again summoned Blackney, who answered, "That he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and he would die so." Hereupon the besiegers erected new batteries to play upon the castle, and continued to ply it with small arms, which did little mischief; but they suffered pretty much from the fire of the garrison. This made the Highlanders soon grow tired of the siege, and their uneasiness was greatly increased by a scarcity of provisions, which obliged Ascanius to send out parties on all sides of the country, to carry off what corn and meal they could find.

In this siege we shall at present leave the Adventurers engaged, but without any progress, disappointed of the succours they expected from France and Spain, and very much perplexed to find

means of subsisting their troops.

When the news of the battle of Falkirk reached London, the government thought it highly necessary to take more vigorous measures for defeating the designs of the once more formidable Ascanius, who was now more dreaded by the English than ever. The army in Scotland was so considerably reinforced as to free the English from their apprehensions of the further progress of the Adventurers; but as an invasion by the French and Spaniards was yet to be feared in England, it was judged unsafe to send many of its forces into Scotland. The Hessian troops in British pay, then lying in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, were ordered into the northern parts of Britain; some of them landed in the north of England, others in the south of Scotland, and immediately were assembled in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, under the Prince of Hesse, who had married a daughter of the King of England.

The troops under Hawley were extremely mortified at their late

disgrace, and ardently wished for a speedy opportunity of retrieving their honour. In order to this, they were every day busied in preparations for marching to the relief of the gallant old Blackney, who still continued to defend Stirling castle with courage and constancy. In a few days the English army was in all respects in a better condition than before the action at Falkirk; and to animate the troops still more, Jan. 30. the young duke arrived at Edinburgh. He was received by the army as its guardian angel, whose presence was a sure omen of victory; in short, his arrival banished all remembrance of the late disagreeable affair, and the soldiers expressed unusual ardour to be led against the enemy, bad as the weather still continued.

The active and indefatigable duke reviewed the troops the day after his arrival at Edinburgh, and immediately marched them towards Stirling in two columns, consisting of 14 battalions, besides the Argyleshire Campbels, and Cobham's and Ker's dragoons. The first

night, Feb. 1st, eight battalions of this army took quarters at Linlithgow, where the duke himself lay; brigadier Mordaunt, with six battalions, lay at Borrowstounness, the dragoons in the adjacent villages, and the Campbels took post in the front of the army towards Falkirk, where Ascanius had stationed a considerable body, who thought it convenient to retire upon the approach of the English, and marching back in the night to Torwood, they were met by a courier from Ascanius, with orders to halt there until morning, when he intended to join them with the rest of the army from Stirling, and to give the duke battle.

Next morning the English continued their march, and the officers and soldiers eager to come to a fresh trial with the adventurers; But hardly had they arrived, when they received advice that the enemy, instead of preparing for battle, were repassing the Forth with great precipitation; and, to confirm this intelligence, they saw all the advanced guards retiring from their posts in great

haste and confusion. This news was soon after put out of all doubt, by the noise of two great reports like the blowing up of magazines. Hereupon the duke ordered brigadier Mordaunt to put himself at the head of the Argyleshire troops and dragoons, and harass the Adventurers in their retreat. Mordaunt began to execute this order with all alacrity and diligence imaginable, and arrived late in the evening at Stirling, where he took possession of the camp, which Ascanius and his troops had abandoned, with all their artillery. They had blown up St Ninian's church, in which they had a great magazine of powder and ball; the noise of this explosion was what the duke's army heard, as before-mentioned.

The Adventurers had also left behind them all the wounded men they had made prisoners at the battle of Falkirk, together with 19 of their own sick men.

As it was late when Mordaunt and his troops arrived at Stirling, and as the fugitives had broke down the bridge which crosses the river running by that

town, it was judged unnecessary to continue the pursuit; accordingly the brigadier halted there till next day at noon, when the duke, with the rest of the army, joined them.—Having thus particularly related the motions of one party, let us return and take a view of what Ascanius had been doing, and attend to an explanation of his motives for, and the obligations he was under of quitting the camp at Stirling, and retiring to the Highlands.

On the approach of the English towards Falkirk, the Adventurers quarter'd there retired to Torwood, as we have before observed, where Ascanius intended to join them in the morning and fight the duke. To this end he called a council of war, to which he communicated his purpose, and it was approved by the officers and the chiefs of the clans. However, when the troops were ordered to march, the Lowlanders, struck with a sudden panic on the retreat of the detached corps from Falkirk to Torwood, and the approach of the duke with an army treble their

number, were found to be all in disorder and confusion, scattered about the fields, and, as it seemed, preparing rather to shift for themselves than to advance against the enemy. In vain did their leaders endeavour to re-inspire them with fresh courage, the dastardly Lowlanders were not to be reanimated: Not even the presence of the undaunted Ascanius, who appeared among them; not all his commands, intreaties, reproaches, exhortations, in the least availed; they attended to nothing but their unaccountable panic, and absolutely declared, they would not sacrifice themselves, nor madly throw away their lives, by engaging an enemy so vastly superior both in number and condition. Ascanius, seeing that it was in vain to waste his precious minutes on these troops, gave orders for their passing the Forth, and retiring towards Perth, while he, with his trusty Highlanders, would abide the coming of the enemy, and defend their camp to the last man; chusing rather to die on the spot than join in the ignominious flight

of his troops.

As for the Highlanders, they were resolved to standby him at all hazards, and to share in his fate, let it prove ever so desperate: however, a fresh council of war being held, the chiefs endeavoured to moderate the extreme ardour and forlorn resolution of the less experienced Ascanius, beseeching him not to hazard his *all* upon one desperate engagement.

Among others, the duke of Perth strenuously opposed coming to action with the duke, until their circumstances should become more favourable, and until they should have a better prospect of victory. In fine, it was at last thought expedient, to decline the battle for the present, and to march the whole army into the Highlands, where it was not in the least to be doubted but they should raise many recruits, and, in the end, either be able fairly to beat the English in a pitched battle, or to harass and ruin them, by terrible marches, fatigues, the badness of the country, and the rigour of the season, none of which they were so

able to endure as the hardy natives.

In consequence of the above resolution, Ascanius, with a sorrowful heart, (for he little thought he should have been obliged to turn his back on the enemy so soon after the advantage he had gained at Falkirk) gave orders that all the troops should quit the camp immediately, and follow the others that had marched to pass the Forth. This was done with all possible speed; for the consequence might have been fatal had they given the enemy time to come so nigh as to fall upon their rear and interrupt their retreat. I shall now give the reader the particulars of Ascanius's return to the Highlands, and the duke's march after him, in the form of a diary, or journal, that the future transactions of each party, every day, from this period to the decisive battle of Culloden, may be the more regularly exhibited, and more clearly comprehended by the reader.

Feb. 2, Having broke down the bridge at Stirling, to retard the enemy's pursuit, the Adventurers entirely quitted the

neighbourhood of that town, separating themselves into different routs, though all led to the appointed general rendezvous in the Highlands. Part of them took the road by Taybridge, directly towards the mountains; Ascanius, with the rest, consisting of lord Gordon's and lord Ogilvie's men, the French troops, and what horse the adventurers had, got to Perth the same evening.

The same day the duke entered Stirling, where he received the compliments of gen. Blackney and the officers of the garrison on this memorable occasion; and, at the same time, this young prince was pleased to testify his extreme satisfaction with regard to the good defence the general had made, by which a place of so much importance had been preserved, and the designs of his dangerous rival Ascanius defeated. Mean while, pursuant to the duke's orders, many hands were employed in repairing the bridge; it being intended to march the army over it, and follow the fugitives into the

mountains.

On the 3d, in the morning, Ascanius and his people quitted Perth, and marched northwards; lord John Drummond, with the remains of the Scotch and Irish troops, which he had brought from France, made directly for Montross. The Adventurers left behind them, at Perth, 13 pieces of iron cannon nailed up; and they flung a great quantity of ammunition into the river, with 14 swivel guns, which they had taken out of the Hazard sloop.

Feb. 4th, The bridge being repaired, the army passed over, and the advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire Highlanders and the dragoons, marched that night as far as Crieff, but the foot were cantoned in and about Dumblain, where the duke took up his quarters that evening.

Next day the duke's advanced guards took possession of Perth. Mean while, the Adventurers continued their retreat northward, in which we will leave them for a while, and make a short reflection

on one of the most surprising instances of the great effects of a general's reputation that any history hath ever exhibited.—In the space of a single week, the duke of Cumberland posted from his father's court, travelled about 300 miles in the midst of winter, put himself at the head of the forces in Scotland, and saw his enemies flying before him with precipitation; those very enemies who, in his absence, despised those troops by whom they were now pursued, were grown terrible to the flyers, chiefly on account of only one single person's having resumed the command of them. Should the duke's best friends endeavour to heighten this event, by any strains of compliment or panegyric, they would only obscure it; the bare recital of fact is the noblest eulogium.

Ascanius was very sensible how much the news of his retreat would alarm his friends both at home and abroad: therefore he caused several printed papers to be dispersed, setting forth his reasons for taking this step: besides

those already mentioned, the following were assigned, *viz.* That as his men, particularly the Highlanders, were loaded with the booty they had collected in England and Scotland, it was very proper to let them convey it home, where it might be lodged in safety; and further, that this would secure to them an acquired property, for which they would, doubtless, fight valiantly to the last, and be induced to stand by the ****, not only on his account, but also on their own; and, after so fatiguing a campaign, to allow his troops some relaxation; after which, when well refreshed and recruited, they would not fail to make another irruption into the Lowlands the next spring.

Ascanius had also other reasons, which he did not think proper publicly to divulge: he judged, that by removing the war into the Highlands, and by spreading reports of the severities of the enemy's troops, his men would be the better kept together, which he now found difficult to do, and would also contribute to increase the number of his

followers. He also judged, that this would furnish his friends in France and Spain with an opportunity to attempt an invasion in the south, which would be a means to free him from all his difficulties. He had likewise a great desire to make himself master of the fortifications which, run along the north of Scotland, *viz.* the forts William, Augustus, and George, the last being the castle of Inverness: By taking these places he would be able to secure the country behind him, and thereby afford means for his friends abroad, to land the reinforcements, of which he had received large promises.

But the duke, who had intelligence of all the enemy's motions, from the spies he had among them, easily penetrated all their views, and took the most proper measures for defeating them. He marched the army, by different roads, to Aberdeen, where he resolved to fix his head-quarters, raise magazines, and receive such succours and supplies as should come by sea from England. Nor were the Adventurers able to surprize

any of these separate corps, each detachment being capable to make a stout resistance in case of an attack.

He stationed the Hessian troops, and some corps of English, at the castles of Blair and Menzies, at Perth, Dunkeld, and other places, by which he secured the passage into the Lowlands, and put it out of the power of the Adventurers to return that way into the south. The Argyleshire men, under their warlike leader, gen. Campbel, undertook the defence of fort William, a place, at that time, of infinite importance, as it secured another passage through the west of Scotland, by which Ascanius could have made his way into England a second time.

Having taken these precautions, the duke set out for Aberdeen, where he arrived on the Feb. 28th. The necessary dispositions being made, the Georgian generals judged it necessary to make examples of some who had heretofore misbehaved; in order to which, a court-martial was held at Montrose, by which captain ----, an officer in the artillery,

who had deserted the train in the action at Falkirk, was sentenced to have his sword broke over his head by the provost, his sash thrown on the ground, and himself turned out of the army; and this was executed at the head of the artillery. A lieutenant, in Fleming's regiment, was broke for disobeying orders, and prevaricating before a court-martial, on account of plundering Mr Oliphant's house of Gask, a zealous Adventurer, and who was at that time with Ascanius in the mountains. From this, and other instances which could be produced, all impartial men must own, that the burnings, plunderings, and devastations of the houses and estates of the Adventurers, whereof the king's troops have been accused, were not connived at, nor permitted with so much impunity as reported by some over-zealous people. Let us now return to Ascanius, who made it his first care to become master of Inverness.

Lord Loudon was then there, with about 1600 of the new raised men before-mentioned. With these he

marched out to fight the Adventurers; but, upon their approach, finding them much stronger than he expected, he retreated, and abandoned the town of Inverness without the loss of a man, leaving major Grant, with two independent companies, in the castle, with orders to defend it to the last extremity.

These orders were, however, but indifferently obeyed, for Ascanius no sooner appeared before the place than the hearts of the garrison began to fail, and after a very short siege he became master of the town and castle, where he fixed his head quarters.

Besides the 4000 troops which now lay at Inverness, Ascanius had several detached parties abroad, and some of these falling upon several small corps of the duke's Highlanders, stationed about the castle of Blair, defeated them. These successes raised the spirits of the whole party of Adventurers, notwithstanding the badness of the quarters, want of pay, scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniencies.

And now, in spite of all the difficulties Ascanius lay under, he resolved to prosecute his design upon forts Augustus and William: the former of these was accordingly attacked, in which was only three companies of Guise's regiment, commanded by Major Wentworth, so that it was speedily reduced and demolished; which was the fate that George (the castle of Inverness) had already met with: a clear demonstration that Ascanius did not now think it necessary to have a garrison in that part of the country. But being still incommoded by lord Loudon, who lay at the back of the adventurer's, with only the Frith of Murray between them, the duke of Perth, the earl of Cromartie, and some other chiefs, resolved to attempt the surprising of Loudon, by the help of boats, which they drew together on their side of the Frith. By favour of a fog they executed their scheme so effectually, that, falling unexpectedly upon the earl's forces, they cut them off, made a good many officers prisoners, and forced Loudon to retire with the rest out of the

county of Sutherland.

But tho' these advantages made much noise, and greatly contributed to keep up the spirits of Ascanius's party, yet in the end they proved but of little service to him. Money now was scarce with him, and supplies both at home and abroad fell much short of his expectation; and his people began to grumble for their pay, and demanded their arrears, which could not be speedily satisfied; a sure presage of the ruin of his whole party. Let us now return to the duke, and see what he has been doing since we conducted him to Aberdeen.

Tho' the rigour of the season, the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of supporting so many men as he had under his command, were sufficient to exercise the abilities of the most experienced general, yet the duke disposed them in such a manner as proved effectual, both for safety and subsistence, and at the same time took care to distress the Adventurers as much as possible; for the very day after he came to Aberdeen, he detached the earl

of Ancram with 100 dragoons, and major Morris with 300 foot, to the castle of Corgarf, at the head of the river Don, 40 miles from Aberdeen, and in the heart of the country then possessed by the Adventurers, and wherein they had a large magazine of arms and ammunition, which the earl had orders to seize or destroy. This was executed with great facility, for, upon his lordship's approach, the garrison abandoned the place with precipitation, not taking time to carry off their stores. However, for want of horses, he could not carry off all the booty, and was forced to destroy most of the arms, and above 30 barrels of powder.

March 16th, The duke received advice, that col. Roy Stuart, one of the chiefs of the Adventurers, had posted himself at Strathbogie, with 1000 foot and a troop of Hussars. Hereupon lieut. gen. Bland was sent with a strong detachment to attack him, and brigadier gen. Mordaunt was ordered after him with another party, to support Bland if occasion should be. The next day Bland arrived at

Strathbogie, but as soon as Stuart perceived the enemy, he quitted the place, and retired towards Keith. Tho' the weather was wet and hazy, yet the marquis of Granby, Conway, and capt. Holden, with the voluntiers, continued the pursuit. But fortune, tho' she had thus far seemed to favour these gentlemen, played them a slippery trick at last: For Bland detached a captain of Argyleshire Campbels, with 70 of his men, and 30 of Kingston's horse, to clear the village of Keith, and then rejoin the army; they, contrary to these directions, ventured to quarter in the place that night. This gave the Adventurers an opportunity to surprize the captain and his party, which they improved; for, returning to Keith in the night, they surrounded it, entered it at both ends, and furiously attacked the Argyleshire men, who defended themselves with great resolution, but were at last most of them cut to pieces; however, they sold their lives very dear. The duke of Kingston's horse did not come off much better, the cornet who

commanded them escaping with only one third of his men. But this accident made the duke's people more circumspect for the future, and nothing of that kind happened afterwards. Indeed the dispositions made by the duke put all attempts of that sort out of the power of Ascanius, who watched for such opportunities, and, had they occurred, he would doubtless have improved them to the utmost: Tho' at that time unable to encounter the Georgians in the open field, had the Adventurers found means to surprize them, they might have ended the dispute at one blow, and Ascanius had perhaps been enabled to make a second and more successful expedition into England.

The duke's army was cantoned in three divisions. The first line, consisting of six battalions; Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons lay at Strathbogie, within 11 miles of the river Spey, and was commanded by the earl of Albemarle, assisted by major gen. Bland. The second line, consisting of six

battalions, and lord Mark Ker's dragoons, lay at Aberdeen; and the third line, or corps de reserve, consisting of three battalions, with four pieces of cannon, was stationed at Old Meldrum, half-way betwixt Strathbogie and Aberdeen.

Brigadier Stapleton, of his most christian majesty's forces, was sent by Ascanius to besiege fort William: he had with him a large corps of the best Adventurers, and a pretty good train of artillery, and arrived at Glenavis, in the neighbourhood of this fortress, March 3d. About this time his detachment took a boat belonging to the Baltimore sloop, capt. Howe, employed in the service of the garrison of fort William. On the other hand, capt. Askew of the Serpent sloop, sent his own boat, with another of the Baltimore's, and a third that belonged to the garrison, and forced Stapleton's people from the narrows of Carron, where they were posted, and made themselves masters of all the boats they had in these parts: This was on March 4th, and proved a most

important and well-timed piece of service to the government.

As the siege of fort William was the only regular operation of that kind which happened in the continuance of this civil war, a journal of it, as drawn up by an officer employed in the siege, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

Journal of the Siege of fort William.

MARCH 14th, the Adventurers continuing in the neighbourhood of fort William, and the garrison at last perceiving that they were to undergo a siege, began to heighten the parapets of their walls on the side where they apprehended the attack would be made. This work lasted a whole week, and the two faces of the bastions were raised 7 feet high.

15th, A detachment of the garrison, with some men belonging to the sloops of war before-mentioned, went in armed boats to attempt the destroying of Kilmady Barns, commonly called the Corpoch. Stapleton having notice of their motions, and suspecting their

intention, sent out a strong party to frustrate it; however, the falling of the tide contributed as much as any thing to the miscarriage of this scheme. Some firing indeed passed on both sides, but little damage was done on either. On the side of the garrison, a sailor was killed, and three men were wounded: The Adventurers had five men wounded, four of them mortally.

18th, The Baltimore went up towards Kilmady Barns, in order to cover the landing of some men for a fresh attempt upon the place. They threw some cohorn shells, and set one hovel on fire: but the king's party were, nevertheless, prevented from landing, the Adventurer's party firing upon them, with great advantage, from behind the natural intrenchments of a hollow road or rill. The Baltimore's guns being only 4 pounders, had no effect upon the stone walls of the Corpoch; however, the sloop and the king's forces retired without any damage. On the side of the Adventurers, one of their principal engineers was killed, but no other hurt. This day 3

centinels, and a drummer of Guise's regiment, who had been taken at fort Augustus, made their escape from the Highlanders, and got safe into fort William.

On the 20th, several parties of the garrison being appointed to protect their turf-diggers, frequent skirmishes happened between them and Stapleton's people; but as both parties skulked behind crags and rocks, so neither received any damage.

The same evening the Adventurers opened the siege, discharging at the fort, 17 royals, or small bombs, of 5 inches and a half diameter, weighing about 16 and 18 pounds each, and loaded with 14 ounces of powder; these were played off from a battery erected on a small hill, named the Sugarloaf, about 800 yards off, which being at too great distance, the ordnance did little execution, the greatest part falling short. On the other hand, the garrison answered the besiegers, with 8 bombs of 18 inches diameter, 6 cohorns, one 12 pounder, and 2 swivels.

21st, The Adventurers finding that their batteries were too far off, erected a new one at the foot of the Cow-hill, about 400 yards off, from which, between 12 and 4 in the morning, they discharged 84 of their royals, which did little damage, except penetrating through the roofs of several houses, and slightly wounding 3 men. The garrison this day answered the besiegers, with 20 bombs, 9 cohorns, 36 pounders, and 2 swivels.

22d, The besiegers opened their battery of cannon, from Sugar-loaf-hill, consisting only of 3 guns, 6 and 4 pounders, but discharged only 7 times, and that without doing any damage. About 12 o'clock, the same day, gen. Stapleton sent a French drum to the fort, upon whose approach, and beating a parley, capt. Scot, commander of the garrison, asked him what he came about? The drummer answered, that gen. Stapleton, who commanded the siege by directions from Ascanius, had sent a letter to the commanding officer of the garrison, requiring him to

surrender. To this capt. Scot replied, I will receive no letters from rebels, and am determined to defend the fort to the last extremity. The drummer returning to Stapleton with this answer, a close bombarding ensued on both sides for some hours; but at last the garrison silenced the besiegers, by beating down their principal battery. However, about ten that night, they opened another bomb battery, near the bottom of the Cow-hill, about 300 yards off, from which, and from their battery upon Sugar-loaf-hill, they discharged, before three in the morning, 194 of their royals, and 6 cannon, against the fort; but all this without doing any other mischief than the demolition of the roofs of a few houses. The garrison did not return them one shell, but kept all their men within doors, except the piquet to stand by the fire engine; the governor and most of the officers being upon the ramparts.

23d, As soon as day light appeared the garrison fired 23 bombs, 2 cohorns, 2 twelve pounders, 7 six pounders, and 6

swivels, at the besiegers batteries, some of which tore up their platforms. The Adventurers, in return, fired as briskly as they were able upon the fort, but it did the besieged no other damage than shooting off the leg of a private soldier.

The same day, about 3 in the afternoon, some vessels appeared with supplies for the besieged, who, on sight of the ships, all at once discharged 8 twelve pounders, two six pounders, two bombs, and several cohorns against the besiegers batteries, which were so well levelled as to do great execution, and occasioned much confusion among the Adventurers, who, besides the damage done their batteries, had several men killed, and many wounded: However, to cheer the men, the officers gave out, that they would certainly burn the fort within four hours after their next new battery was erected; and accordingly, all this evening the people were employed in erecting another work or battery, under cover of their cannon, and at the distance of 300 yards, at the foot of the Cow-hill.

24th, Neither party fired much, and the garrison employed most part of the day in getting their supplies of provisions on shore.

25th, At day break, capt. Scot sent out a party, to a place about six miles off, to bring in some cattle. The Adventurers fired very briskly this morning, and the garrison plied them a little with their mortars and guns. About three in the afternoon, the afore-mentioned party returned with nineteen good bullocks and cows. The same evening, another detachment went from the fort for another prize of bullocks, with orders to pass the narrows of Carron, and to get off all they could from the adjacent estates of the Adventurers.

26th, The garrison fired slowly at the besiegers batteries on the hills; and as the latter only fired from two, the former perceived that they had dismounted the third. In the afternoon, the last-mentioned party returned with a booty of Black cattle and sheep, from the country near Ardshiels: They also brought in four prisoners, one of whom

was dangerously wounded; they had likewise burned two villages belonging to one of the chiefs of the Adventurers, with the whole estate of the unfortunate Appin.

The same night capt. Scot went out and dammed up some drains near the walls of the fort, in hopes of rainy weather, to make a small inundation; and with some prisoners raised the glacis, or rather parapet, to 7 feet. For want of pallisadoes, the garrison could not make a right covered way; but then this might hinder the besiegers from seeing the foot of their walls.

27th, At day-break, the Adventurers opened their new battery of four embrasures, but only with 3 guns 6 pounders, with which, however, they fired very briskly; but the garrison plying them with their mortars and guns, silenced one of the besiegers guns before 8 in the morning; about 9 the magazine battery of the besiegers was set on fire, and it blew up. This day the garrison received no other damage than the wounding of two men and the

governor's horse in the stable. The Adventurers had 3 men killed, and 9 dangerously wounded.

31st, Capt. Scot ordered twelve men from each company to march out to the crags, about 100 yards from the walls, where the Adventurers had a battery; which, after some dispute, and the loss of a Serjeant of the Argyleshire Highlanders, the men from the garrison made themselves master of. The victors brought off from this battery, three brass field pieces, four pounders, and two cohorns, from which the besiegers threw their shells; also, another brass cannon a six pounder, which being too heavy to draw in, they spiked and left under the wall, whence they afterwards dismounted it by cannon shot. The other large cannon and mortars, on that battery, they likewise spiked and left there, and brought away two prisoners. The Adventurers, however, still continued with five cannon they had yet mounted, to give the garrison all the disturbance in their power, and destroyed, the roofs of most of the

houses; but they did not mind that, the men being safe.

April 3d, The Adventurers received orders from Ascanius to quit the siege immediately, and to join him at Inverness with all possible speed. Hereupon gen. Stapleton retired from the place with the utmost precipitation, and repaired to Inverness.

As soon as capt. Scot perceived they had turned their backs on the fort, he detached a party which secured 8 pieces of cannon and 7 mortars, the Adventurers not having time to carry off such cumbersome moveables. The miscarriage of this enterprize may be considered as the immediate prelude to the many disasters which afterwards befel the Adventurers, one misfortune immediately following upon the heels of another till their affairs became quite desperate, and their force entirely crushed by the decisive action of Culloden.

The reason of this sudden and hasty retreat of the Adventurers from before

Fort William, was the necessity Ascanius was under of drawing together all his forces in the neighbourhood of Inverness, upon the approach of the duke of Cumberland with his army. But before we come to treat of the measures taken by the Adventurers after the raising of this siege, it is requisite that we give some account of another misfortune that befel them, which was no less fatal in its consequences.

We have already observed, that they were in great distress for money and other necessaries, and waited impatiently for a supply from France, which they hoped (notwithstanding the miscarriage of so many vessels that had been fitted out for Scotland) would soon arrive on board the Hazard-sloop, which they had named the Prince Charles snow, and which they had intelligence was at sea with a considerable quantity of treasure. from France, and a number of experienced officers and engineers, who were very much wanted.

March 25th, This long looked for vessel arrived in Tongue Bay, into which

she was followed by the Sheerness sloop of war, capt. O'Brian, who immediately attacked her. In the engagement the Hazard had many men killed, and not a few wounded; so that, unable to maintain the fight, she ran ashore on the shallows, where the Sheerness could not follow her, and there landed her men and money. The place on which she ran ashore, after being chased 50 leagues, was in the lord Rea's country, and it happened there was then in his lordship's house, his son, capt. Mackay, sir Henry Monroe, lord Charles Gordon, capt. Macleod, and about 80 of lord Loudon's men, who had retired thither, when the Adventurers, under the duke of Perth and the earl of Cromarty, attacked them by boats, as hath been before related. These gentlemen, having animated the soldiers, advanced against the people who had landed from the Hazard, and, though the latter were superior in number, gained a complete victory, without much bloodshed on either side: For not much above four men of the Adventurers fell, and not one

of the other party, tho' many were wounded. Besides five chests of money, and a considerable quantity of arms, the victors took 156 officers, soldiers, and sailors, prisoners, with whom they embarked on board the *Sheerness*, and sailed directly for Aberdeen, in company with another prize which capt. O'Brian had taken in the Orkneys. The money, exclusive of one chest which was missing, and what had been taken out of another that was broken, amounted to 12,500 guineas; and amongst the prisoners were 41 experienced officers, who had been long either in the French or Spanish service.

At the same time that *Ascanius* employed so many of his forces attacking fort William, he sent another body, commanded by lord George Murray, to make a like attempt upon the castle of Blair, the principal seat of the duke of Athol, but of no great force, and in which there was only a small garrison, under the command of sir Andrew Agnew; which siege, or rather blockade, lord George raised with the same hurry

on the approach of the earl of Crawford with a party of English and Hessians, as Stapleton did that of fort William, upon the very same day, and from the very same motives.

Having thus, in as clear and succinct a manner as possible, run through all the operations of the adventurers, and shewn how their several bodies were drawn off, in order to join the corps under Ascanius at Inverness, and enable him to make a stand there, in case the duke of Cumberland should pay him a visit on that side the Spey; let us now return to the latter, whom we left: properly disposed to march, as soon as the season and roads would permit, in hopes of putting an end to all the future hopes of Ascanius by one general and decisive action.

The duke's troops, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the fatigues they had endured, by making a double campaign, were, at the beginning of April, so well refreshed, and in such excellent order, that they were in all respects fit for service; and so far from

apprehending any thing from the impetuosity of the Highland Adventurers, or the advantage they had in lying behind a very deep and rapid river, that they shewed the greatest eagerness to enter upon action. But tho' the duke encouraged, and took every possible measure to keep up this ardour in his army, yet he acted with great deliberation, and did not move till the weather was settled, when there was no danger that the cavalry should suffer for want of forage.

At length, April 8th, the Georgian army moved from Aberdeen, and encamped on the 11th at Cullen, where the earl of Albermarle joined them: Here, all the troops being assembled, the duke gave orders for their immediately passing the river Spey. Mean time, Ascanius was continually busied in a council of war, which was held day and night, and in which it was debated, whether or not they should suffer the Georgians to pass the river, and then to come to action; or whether they should defend the banks in order to gain time,

by obliging the duke to remain on the other side. Ascanius, with the warmth of a young general, argued for the latter measure; but most of the other chiefs were of opinion that it would be less hazardous to adhere to the first. The old duke of Athole, alias the marquis of Tullibardine, with great coolness and judgement, advised to give the enemy a free passage, if it mould prove that they really were determined to attempt it. "They are (said he) well provided with cannon and engineers, of both which we are in great want. Consequently they have it in their power to cover the passage of their troops, and mow down whole ranks on the opposite shore, while we are destitute of the like means for opposing them with any prospect of success; and what other means can we trust to? Our swords and small fire arms we cannot, for their cannon will not suffer us to come within musket shot of the river. In short, I believe no gentleman here, can (after mature consideration) reasonably hope for success by attempting to hinder the

enemy's passage. If we do attempt to hinder them, and prove unable, we are ruined inevitably. It will be impossible to rally and bring our men to renew the conflict, after our enemies have got ample footing on this side the river: And, on the other hand, will it not, at the same time, be too late to make any other retreat than a mere flight for our lives; and after such flight, can we ever hope to face the enemy again? But if we remain here, and suffer them to pass over to us, we have a fairer chance, we shall then have time enough to get ready for a regular action, or a regular retreat, according as circumstances occur. If we fight, we have the same advantage that we had at Gladsmuir and Falkirk; if we retreat, we may take our time, and having a sufficient distance betwixt us and the enemy, may march off either in the day or night, and shall have leisure enough to cover our rear. I said, we have the same advantage as at Falkirk and Gladsmuir, and I may further add, that we have also a chance which cannot turn out to our disadvantage, and may prove

of infinite service to us; if we come to action with the enemy, after they are entirely on this side the Spey, and gain an entire victory over them, we may possibly cut them entirely off, before they can find means to repass the river: In this case, their force in Scotland will be absolutely ruined, we shall carry all before us in this kingdom, and perhaps none on this side London shall be able to stop our progress: One lucky battle may yet put us in possession of that capital.”

The noble old lord pronounced the latter part of his speech with so warm an emphasis, as produced a great effect on the young officers, and even upon Ascanius: However, after a long debate, it was resolved to follow the marquis’s advice, and suffer the enemy to pass the river without opposition; and, mean time, Ascanius prepared to attack the duke: Nor was he disheartened by his enemy’s superior numbers, whom, however, he did not despise, tho’ he had already twice vanquished them; and much less did he despise the known valour and capacity of the duke, aspiring

to no greater honour than the vanquishing of so noble an enemy.

Early in the morning, April 12th, fifteen companies of English grenadiers, the Argyleshire and other Highlanders of that party, and all the duke's cavalry advanced towards the Spey, under the conduct of the duke, assisted by major gen. Husk. They no sooner arrived on the banks of the river, than the cavalry began to pass it, under cover of two pieces of cannon. Mean time, about 2000 Adventurers, who had been posted within ken of this part of the river, retired as the enemy passed over; and thereupon Ascanius began to call in his out-parties, as was before related.

Kingston's horse were the first that forded the river, sustained by the grenadiers and Highlanders; the foot waded over as fast as they arrived, and tho' the water was rapid, and some places so deep that it came up to, their breasts, they went thro' with great chearfulness, and without any other loss than one dragoon and four women. The duke's army marched to Elgin and

Forres the same day, and from thence to Nairn, where they halted on the 15th. Mean time, Ascanius was busied in preparing to attack the enemy, in encouraging his troops, and collecting his men, which, however, he had not time to do, and some of the clans did not arrive till it was too late: In short, his army, at this time, did not amount to more than 7000 men, so that it was no extraordinary thing for the Georgians, much superior in number, to defeat them, when animated and inspired by the presence and noble example of so gallant a general as the duke.

The memorable battle of Culloden was fought on the 16th of April 1746. Ascanius had formed a design of surprizing his enemies on the 15th, while they were at Nairn, but was prevented by the vigilance and strict discipline of the duke. The scene of battle was a moor, not far from Inverness, and near lord president Forbes's house, called Culloden-house, and from which the battle took its name. We have had several accounts of this

important action, but the clearest, as well as most authentic, is that dispatched by the duke of Cumberland to the king his father, dated Inverness, April 18th; and to this I think it is best to adhere. Neither Ascanius, nor any one of his party, had an opportunity after the fight, during his stay in Scotland, to draw up an account of it; nor has he, or his friends thought proper to give the world this satisfaction, tho' frequently solicited at the court of Versailles, to give a more succinct account of that day's action.

*Account of the Battle of Culloden,
drawn up by order of his Royal
Highness the Duke of Cumberland.*

We gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the 16th marched, between four and five, in four columns. The three lines of foot (reckoning the reserve for one) were broken into three from the right, which made three columns equal, and each of five battalions. The artillery and baggage followed the first column on the right,

and the cavalry made the fourth column on the left.

After we had marched about eight miles, our, advanced guards composed of about 40 of Kingston's horse, and the Highlanders, led on by the quarter-master-general, observed the rebels at some distance making a motion towards us on the left, upon which we immediately formed; but finding they were still a good way from us and that the whole body did not come forward we put ourselves again upon our march in our former posture, and continued it till within a mile of them, when we formed again in the same order as before. After reconnoitering their situation, we found them posted behind some old walls and huts in a line with Culloden-house.

As we thought our right entirely secure, general Hawley and gen. Bland went to the left with two regiments of dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right flank of the enemy, and Kingston's horse were ordered to the reserve. Ten pieces of cannon were disposed, two in each of the intervals of the first line, and

all our Highlanders (except about 140, which were upon the left with General Hawley, and behaved extremely well) were left to guard the baggage.

When we were advanced within 500 yards of the rebels, we found the morass upon our right was ended, which left our right flank quite uncovered to them. His royal highness thereupon ordered the duke of Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a little squadron, of about 60 of Cobham's horse, that had been patrolling, to cover our flank; and Pulteney's regiment was also ordered from the reserve, to the right of the royals.

We spent about half an hour, after that, in trying which should gain the flank of the other: and in the mean time, his royal highness sent lord Bury (son to the earl of Albemarle) forward, to within 100 yards of the enemy, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared to us like a battery. On lord Bury's approach, the enemy immediately began firing their cannon, which was extremely ill served

and ill pointed. Ours as immediately answered them, and with great success, which began their confusion. They then came running on in their wild manner; and upon the right, where his royal highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest push would be made there, they came down three several times within 100 yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords, but the royals and Pulteney's hardly took their firelocks from their shoulders each time before the enemy retreated, abashed at the havock made among them by the fire-arms of the English; so that, after these faint attempts, they made off, and the little squadron on our right was sent to pursue them.

Mean time, gen. Hawley had, by the help of our Highlanders, beat down two little stone walls, and came in upon the right flank of the enemy's line.

As their whole first line came down to attack all at once, their right somewhat out-flanked Barrel's regiment, which was our left, and the greatest part of the little loss we sustained was there; but

Bligh's and Semple's giving a smart fire upon those who had out-flanked Barrel's, soon repulsed them, and Barrel's regiment and the left of Monroe's, fairly beat them with their bayonets; there was scarce a soldier or officer of Barrel's, or that part of Monroe's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each, with their bayonets and spontoons.

The cavalry, which had charged from the right and left, met in the center, except two squadrons of dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone in pursuit of the runaways. Lord Ancram was ordered to pursue with the horse as far as he could; and he did it with so good effect, that a very considerable number were killed in the pursuit.

As we were on our march to Inverness, and were near arrived there, major gen. Bland sent a small packet to his royal highness, containing the terms of the surrender of the French officers and soldiers whom he found there; which terms were no other than to remain prisoners of war at discretion. Major

gen. Bland had also made great slaughter, and had taken about 50 French officers and soldiers prisoners in the pursuit. By the best calculation that can yet be made, it is thought the rebels lost 2000 men upon the field of battle and in the pursuit.

I have omitted the lists, annexed to the above account, as well for the sake of brevity as because they could not be exact at that time, but were afterwards much enlarged. Among the French prisoners were brigadier Stapleton, and marquis de Giles, (who acted as ambassador from the most christian king to Ascanius) lord Lewis Drummond, and above 40 officers more, who all remained prisoners at large in the town of Inverness, upon their parole of honour.

The loss on the side of the victors was but inconsiderable: The only persons of note killed, were lord Robert Kerr, captain in Barrel's regiment; captain Grosset, of Price's; capt. John Campbel, of the Argyleshire militia; besides these, about 50 private men were killed, and

240 wounded.

The number of prisoners taken by the English in this signal victory, were 230 French, and 440 Scotch, including a very few English of the Adventuring party, who, unhappily for themselves, had continued in the army of Ascanius till this fatal day.

All the artillery, ammunition, and other military stores of the adventurers, together with 12 colours, several standards, and amongst them Ascanius's own, fell into the hands of the victors. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the action; lord Balmerino, who at first was reported to be killed, was taken soon after by the Grants, and delivered up to the English. Four ladies who had been very active in the service of Ascanius, were likewise taken at Inverness, *viz.* lady Kinloch, lady Ogilvie, lady Macintosh, and lady Gordon.

Immediately after the adventurers had quitted the field, Brigadier Mordaunt was detached with 900 of the volunteers into lord Lovat's country, to reduce the

Fraziers, and all others who should be found in arms there; and with the like view other detachments were sent into the estates of most of the Adventuring chiefs, which put it entirely out of Ascanius's power afterwards to get together any considerable number of troops. In short, the adventurers who escaped the battle were now necessitated to separate into small parties, in order to shift the better for themselves.

The earl of Cromarty was not at the battle. This Lord had been ordered by Ascanius into his own country to raise men and money. But this order proved fatal to the earl, who, almost at the very instant when Ascanius was defeated at Culloden, was taken prisoner by a party of lord Rea's men, and a few others, who surprised his lordship, his son, capt.in Macleod, and a great many other officers, with above 150 private men: They were conveyed on board the Hound sloop of war, and carried to Inverness.

That the reader, whether Englishman,

Scotchman, Frenchman, or of any other nation, may know in what light the Georgians, in general, looked upon this important event, I shall quote a reflection from a writer, who, tho' a zealous whig, has honestly and impartially summed up and repeated, only what was about this time remarked in almost all companies, both public and private.

“Thus, (says he) the flame of this rebellion, which, after being smothered for a time in Scotland, broke out at last with such force as to spread itself into England, and, not without reason, alarmed even London itself, that great metropolis was in a short space totally extinguished by him, who gave the first check to its force, and who, perhaps alone, was capable of performing this service to his country, his father, and his king*. It is sufficiently known how great a hazard the person runs of displeasing him who praises his royal highness, but

* Quere Whether this author was aware how great a compliment he, by this expression, directly pays to Ascanius?

the regard we owe to truth, justice, and the public, obliges one on this occasion, to declare, that providence particularly made use of him as its most proper instrument in performing this work. He it was who revived the spirits of the people, by the magnanimity of his own behaviour: He, without severity, restored discipline in the army: He prudently suspended his career at Aberdeen till the troops recovered their fatigue, and the season opened a road to victory: He waited with patience, chose with discretion, and most happily and gloriously. improved that opportunity which blasted the hopes of the rebels, and has secured to us the present possession and future prospect of the wisest and best framed constitution, administered by the gentlest and the most indulgent government Europe can boast.”

The humility, piety, and humanity of the duke of Cumberland, are no less conspicuous and admirable, on this occasion, than his prowess. Humility, when merely constitutional, is a noble

qualification: the humble man is generally esteemed by all, and he alone stands fairest for advancement. But this quality is most excellent, when it proceeds from the fear and love of God; for he that, sensible of his own weakness, walks in a constant dependence upon God for every blessing, is sure of his powerful assistance, and of being exalted above every evil in this world and in that which is to come.

This divine and moral disposition, gives us unspeakable pleasure in those who are eminent in life: So that to hear or read of a great man speaking humbly of himself, when reflecting upon the mercy and love of God, is matter of greater joy to us, than to hear of his conquering kingdoms.

The signal mercy of our God, in delivering us from those who came to destroy or enslave us, has caused an universal joy, some expressing it one way, and some another; but all join in extolling the duke of Cumberland as the principal deliverer of his country under

God Almighty. Amidst all these acclamations, how beautiful a scene must it be, to behold his highness modestly attributing all the glory to God! That this is the case, I think plainly appears from a worthy *ejaculation* of the duke's, a little after the late engagement, which I had from good authority.

The rebellion being now suppressed, the legislature resolved to execute justice upon those who dared to disturb the tranquillity of their country.

We proceed now, to give an account of the punishment of the principal persons who embarked in such a desperate enterprize, the history whereof the reader has heard. Amongst these, lord Balmerino, the earl of Kilmarnock, lord Lovat, and Mr Ratcliff, make the greatest figure. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their Peers in Westminster Hall. The two earls confessed their crime, but Balmerino pleaded not guilty, and moved a point of law in arrest of

judgment: The point was, that his indictment was in the county of Surry, and so he ought to be tried where the act of treason was said to have been committed; however he waved this plea, and submitted to the court.

The speeches made by the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, to their Peers to intercede for them with his Majesty. are extremely elegant, and pathetic. As they are well worth the reader's perusal, we thought proper to insert them.

The Earl of Kilmarnock's Speech.

May it please your Grace, and my Lords,

I HAVE already, from a due sense of my folly, and the heinousness of those crimes with which I stand charged, confessed myself guilty, and obnoxious to those punishments which the laws of the land have wisely provided for offences of so deep a dye; nor would I have your lordships to suspect, that what I am now to offer is intended to extenuate those crimes, or palliate my

offences; No, I mean only to address myself to your lordship's merciful disposition, to excite so much compassion in your lordships breasts, as to prevail on his grace, and this honourable house, to intercede with his majesty for his royal clemency.

Tho' the situation I am now in, and the folly and rashness which has exposed me to this disgrace, cover me with confusion, when I reflect upon the unsullied honour of my ancestors; yet I cannot help mentioning their unshaken fidelity, and steady loyalty to the crown, as a proper subject to excite that compassion which I am now soliciting: My father was an early and steady friend to the revolution, and was very active in promoting every measure that tended to settle and secure the Protestant succession in these kingdoms: He not only, in his public capacity, promoted these events, but in his private supported them; and brought me up and endeavoured to in-still into my early years, those revolution principles which had always been the rule of his actions.

It had been happy for me, my lords, that I had been always influenced by his precepts, and acted up to his example: Yet, I believe upon the strictest enquiry it will appear, that the whole tenor of my life, from my first entering into the world, to the unhappy minute in which I was seduced to join in this rebellion, has been agreeable to my duty and allegiance, and consistent with the strictest loyalty.

For the truth of this, I need only appeal to the manner in which I have educated my children, the eldest of whom has the honour to bear a commission under his majesty, and has always behaved like a gentleman; I brought him up in the true principles of the revolution, and an abhorrence of popery and arbitrary power; his behaviour is known to many of this honourable house, and therefore I take the liberty to appeal to your lordships, if it is possible that my endeavours in his education would have been attended with such success, if I had not myself been sincere in those principles, and an

enemy to those measures which have now involved me and my family in ruin. Had my mind at that time been tainted with disloyalty and disaffection, I could not have dissembled so closely with my own family, but some tincture would have devolved to my children.

I have endeavoured as much as my capacity or interest would admit, to be serviceable to the crown on all occasions; and even at the breaking out of the rebellion, I was so far from approving of their measures, or shewing the least proneness to promote their unnatural scheme, that by my interest in Kilmarnock, and places adjacent, I prevented numbers from joining them, and encouraged the country, as much as possible, to continue firm to their allegiance.

When that unhappy hour arrived, wherein I became a party, which was not till after the battle of Preston-Pans, I was far from being a person of any consequence amongst them. I did not buy up any arms, nor raise a single man in their service. I endeavoured to

moderate their cruelty, and was happily instrumental in saving the lives of many of his majesty's loyal subjects, whom they had taken prisoners: I assisted the sick and wounded, and did all in my power to make their confinement tolerable.

I had not been long with them before I saw my error, and reflected with horror on the guilt of swerving from my allegiance to the best of sovereigns; the dishonour that it reflected upon myself, and the fatal ruin which it necessarily brought upon my family. I then determined to leave them, and submit to his majesty's clemency, as soon as I should have an opportunity: for this I separated from my corps at the battle of Culloden, and stayed to surrender myself a prisoner, though I had frequent opportunities, and might have escaped with great ease; for the truth of which, I appeal to the noble person to whom I surrendered.

But, my Lords, I did not endeavour to

make my escape,* because the consequences in an instant appeared to me more terrible, more shocking, than the most painful or most ignominious death; I chose therefore to surrender, and commit myself into the king's mercy, rather than throw myself into the hands of a foreign power, the natural enemy to my country; with whom, to have merit, I must persist in continued acts of violence to my principles, and of treason and rebellion against my king and country.

It is with the utmost abhorrence and detestation I have seen a letter from the French court, presuming to dictate to a British monarch the manner how he should deal with his rebellious subjects: I am not so much in love with life, nor so void of a sense of honour, as to expect it

* His lordship, afterwards, (that he might not die with an untruth) owned this to be a false state of the fact, with a view to excite compassion: for, thinking that he was advancing towards Fitz James's horse, he intended to get behind a dragoon to facilitate his escape.

upon such an intercession: I depend only on the merciful intercession of this honourable house, and the innate clemency of his sacred majesty.

But, my Lords, if all I have offered is not a sufficient motive to your lordships to induce you to employ your interest with his majesty, for his royal clemency in my behalf, I shall lay down my life with the utmost resignation; and my last moments shall be employed in fervent prayers for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain.

Earl Cromartie's Speech.

My Lords,

I Have now the misfortune to appear before your lordships, guilty of an offence of such a nature, as justly merits the highest indignation of his majesty, your lordships, and the public: And it was from a conviction of my guilt, that I did not presume to trouble your lordships with any defence. As I have committed treason, it is the last thing I would attempt to justify. My only plea

shall be, your lordships' compassion, my only refuge, his majesty's clemency. Under this heavy load of affliction, I have still the satisfaction, my Lords, of hoping that my past conduct, before the breaking out of the rebellion, was irreproachable, also my attachment to the present happy establishment, both in church and state: and, in evidence of my affection to the government, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, I appeal to the then commander in chief of his majesty's forces at Inverness, and to the Lord President of the court of session in Scotland, who, I am sure, will do justice to my conduct on that occasion. But, my Lords, notwithstanding my determined resolution in favour of the government, I was unhappily seduced from that loyalty, in an unguarded moment, by the arts of desperate and designing men. And it is notorious, my Lords, that no sooner did I awake from that delusion, than I felt a remorse for my departure from my duty, but it was then too late.

Nothing, my Lords, remains, but to

throw myself, my life, and my fortune, upon your lordships compassion; but of these, my Lords, as to myself, it is the least part of my sufferings. I have involved an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant, as parties of my guilt, to share its penalties; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy and regard to his parents hurried him down the stream of rebellion; I have involved also eight innocent children, who must needs feel their father's punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my Lords, be pledges to his majesty; let them be pledges to your lordships; let them be pledges to my country, for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears; let the powerful language of innocent nature, supply my want of eloquence and persuasion; let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deserve it; and let me no longer enjoy life than I shall use it to deface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilst I thus intercede to his majesty, through the mediation of your lordships, for mercy, let my remorse for my guilt, as a subject; let the sorrow of my heart,

as a husband, and the anguish of my mind, as a father, speak the rest of my misery. As your lordships are men, feel as men, but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of my anguish.

But if, after all, my Lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the public, and nothing but my blood can atone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my life, my fortune, and my family, is judged indispensibly necessary for stopping the loud demands of public justice and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me “not mine, but thy will, O God, be done.”

The court pronounced sentence of death against the whole three; but the life of Cromartie was spared, and his other two associates were ordered to be beheaded.

There is something in the misfortunes of great men which generally attracts attention: we shall not stay here to investigate the philosophic reason of this; perhaps it arises from the contrast betwixt their grandeur and the miseries

into .which they are plunged, that the generality of mankind are so curious to be informed of every circumstance in their misfortunes. To gratify a curiosity natural to the human mind, we shall give a particular account of the manner of the execution of these unfortunate gentlemen, and some striking circumstances in their behaviour immediately before their death.

The day appointed for the execution of Kilmarnock and Balmerino, was the 18th August 1746. Accordingly, at six o'clock, a troop of life-guards, one of the horse grenadiers, and 1000 of the foot guards, (being fifteen men out of each company,) marched from the parade in St James's Park, through the city to Tower-hill, to attend the execution of the earl of Kilmarnock and lord Balmerino, and being arrived there, were posted in lines from the Tower to the scaffold, and all around it. About eight o'clock, the sheriffs of London, with their under sheriffs and officers, viz. 6 Serjeants at mace, 6 yeomen, and the executioner, met at the Mitre

Tavern, in Fenchurch-street, where they breakfasted, and went from thence to the house, lately the transport office, on Tower-hill, near Catherine Court, hired by them for the reception of the said lords, before they should be conducted to the scaffold, which was erected about 30 yards from the said house. At 10 o'clock, the block was fixed on the stage, covered with black cloth, and several sacks of saw-dust [10] [6] were brought up to strew on it; soon after their coffins were brought covered with black cloth, ornamented with gilt nails, &c. On the earl of Kilmarnock's was a plate with this inscription: *Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18 Augusti, 1746, Aetat. suae 42*, with an earl's coronet over it, and 6 coronets over the six handles; and on lord Balmerino's was a plate with this inscription: *Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino decollatus 18 Augusti, 1746, aetat. suae 58*, with a baron's coronet over it, and six others over the six handles. At a quarter after ten, the sheriffs went in procession to the outward gate of the

Tower, and after knocking at it some time, a warder within asked, *who's there?* the officer without replied, *the sheriffs of London and Middlesex.* The warder then asked, *what do they want?* the officer answered, *the bodies of William earl of Kilmarnock, and Arthur lord Balmerino;* upon which the warder within said, *I will go and inform the lieutenant of the Tower,* and in about ten minutes the lieutenant of the Tower with the earl of Kilmarnock *, and major White, with lord Balmerino, guarded by several of the warders, came to the gate; the prisoners were there delivered to the sheriffs, who gave proper receipts for their bodies to the lieutenant, who, as is usual, said, *God bless KING GEORGE;* to which the earl of Kilmarnock assented by a bow, and the lord Balmerino said, *God bless King J---s.* Soon after, the procession, moving in a slow and

* At the foot of the first stairs, he met and embraced lord Balmerino, who gravely (as Mr Foster observed) said to him, "My lord, I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition."

solemn manner, appeared in the following order: 1. The constable of the Tower-hamlets. 2. The knight marshal's men and tipstaves. 3. The sheriffs officers. 4. The sheriffs, the prisoners, and their chaplains: Mr sheriff Blackford walking with the earl of Kilmarnock, and Mr sheriff Cockayne with lord Balmerino. 5. The Tower-warders. 6. A guard of musqueteers. 7. The two hearses and a mourning coach. When the procession had passed through the lines, into the area of the circle formed by, the guards, the passage was closed, and the troops of horse, who were in the rear of the foot on the lines, wheeled off, and drew up 5 deep behind the foot, on the south side of the hill facing the scaffold.

The lords were conducted into separate apartments in the house, facing the steps of the scaffold; their friends being admitted to see them. The earl of Kilmarnock was attended by the Rev. Mr Foster, a dissenting minister, and the Rev. Mr. Hume, a near relation to the earl of Hume; and the chaplain of the

Tower, and another clergyman of the church of England, accompanied the lord Balmerino; who, on entering the door of the house, hearing several of the spectators ask eagerly, *which is lord Balmerino?* answered, smiling, *I am lord Balmerino, gentlemen, at your service.* The parlour and passage of the house, the rails enclosing the way from thence to the scaffold, and the rails about it, were all hung with black at the sheriffs expence.

The lord Kilmarnock, in the apartment allotted to him, spent about an hour in his devotions with Mr Foster, who assisted him in prayer and exhortation.

After which, lord Balmerino, pursuant to his request, being admitted to confer with the earl, first thanked him for the favour, and then asked, “if his lordship knew of any order signed by the Prince, (meaning the pretender’s son) to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden.” On the earl answering, *No*, the lord Balmerino added, *Nor I neither*, and, “therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murders.” The earl

replied, “he did not think this a fair inference, because he was informed, after he was taken prisoner at Inverness, by several officers, that such an order, signed George Murray, was in the duke’s custody,—George Murray! said lord Balmerino, then they should not charge it on the Prince” Then he took his leave, embracing lord Kilmarnock with the same kind of noble and generous compliments, as he had used before, “my dear lord Kilmarnock, I am only sorry that I cannot pay this reckoning alone; once more farewell for ever!” and returned to his own room.

Then the earl, with the company, kneeled down, joining in a prayer delivered by Mr Foster, after which, having sat a few moments, and taken a second refreshment of a bit of bread and a glass of wine, he expressed a desire that lord Balmerino might go first to the scaffold; but being informed that this could not be, as his lordship was named first in the warrant, he appeared satisfied, saluted his friends, saying he should make no speech on the scaffold,

but desired the ministers to assist him in his last moments: and they, accordingly, with other friends, proceeded with him to the scaffold. On this awful occasion, the multitude, who had been waiting with expectation, on his first appearing on the scaffold, dressed in black, with a countenance and demeanor * testifying great contrition, shewed the deepest signs of commiseration and pity; and his lordship, at the same time, being struck with such a variety of dreadful objects at once, the multitude, the block, his coffin, the executioner, and instrument of death, turned about to Mr Hume, and said, *Hume! this is terrible*; though without changing his voice or countenance.

After putting up a short prayer, concluding with a petition for his majesty King George, and the royal family, in verification of his declaration in his speech, his lordship embraced and took his last leave of his friends. The

* His person was tall and graceful, his countenance mild, and his complexion pale; and more so at he had been indisposed.

executioner, who before had something administered to keep him from fainting, was so affected with his lordship's distress and the awfulness of the scene, that on asking him forgiveness, he burst into tears. My lord bid him take courage, giving him, at the same time, a purse with five guineas, and telling him he would drop his handkerchief as a signal for the stroke. He proceeded, with the help of his gentleman, to make ready for the block, by taking off his coat, and the bag from his hair, which was then tucked up under a napkin cap; but this being made up so wide as not to keep up his long hair, the making it less occasioned a little delay; his neck being laid bare, tucking down the collar of his shirt and waistcoat, he kneeled down on a black cushion at the block, and drew his cap over his eyes, in doing which, as well as in putting up his hair, his hands were observed to shake; but, either to support himself, or as a more convenient posture for devotion, he happened to lay both his hands upon the block, which the executioner observing,

prayed his lordship to let them fall, lest they should be mangled or break the blow. He was then told that the neck of his waistcoat was in the way, upon which he rose, and, with the help of a friend, took it off, and the neck being made bare to the shoulders, he, kneeled down as before,—In the mean time, when all things were ready for the execution, and the black bays which hung over the rails of the scaffold, having by direction of the colonel of the guard, or the sheriffs, been turned up, that the people might see all the circumstances of the execution; in about two minutes (the time he before fixed,) after he kneeled down, his lordship dropping his handkerchief, the executioner at once severed his head from his body, except only a small part of the skin, which was immediately divided by a gentle stroke; the head was received in a piece of red bays, and with the body, immediately put into the coffin. The scaffold was then cleared from the blood, fresh saw dust strewed, and, that no appearance of a former

execution might remain, the executioner changed such of his cloaths as appeared bloody.

In the Account, said to be published by the authority of the sheriffs, it is asserted, that the lord Kilmarnock requested his head might not be held up as usual, and declared to be the head of a traitor: and that, for this reason, that part of the ceremony was omitted, as the sentence and law did not require it: but we are assured, in Mr Foster's account, that his lordship made no such request; and further, that, when he was informed that his head would be held up, and such proclamation made, it did not affect him, and he spoke of it as a matter of no moment. All that he wished or desired was, 1. That the executioner might not be, as represented to his lordship, *a good sort of man*, thinking a rough temper would be fitter for the purpose. 2. That his coffin, instead of remaining in the hearse, might be set upon the stage. 3. That four persons might be appointed to receive the head, that it might not roll about the stage, but be

speedily, with his body, put into the coffin.

While this was doing, lord Balmerino, after having solemnly recommended himself to the mercy of the Almighty, conversed cheerfully with his friends, refreshing himself twice with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, and desired the company to drink to him *ain degraeta haiven*, acquainting them that he had prepared a speech, which he should read on the scaffold, and therefore should here say nothing of its contents. The under sheriff coming into his lordship's apartment, to let him know the stage was ready, he prevented him, by immediately asking, if the affair was over with lord Kilmarnock? and being answered, *It is*; he enquired, how the executioner performed his office? and upon receiving the account, said, It was well done; then addressing himself to the company, said, *Gentlemen, I shall detain you no longer*; and, with an easy, unaffected cheerfulness, he saluted his friends, and hastened to the scaffold, which he mounted with so easy an air as

astonished the spectators; his lordship was dressed in his regimentals, a blue coat turned up with red, trimmed with brass buttons, (and a tye wig,) the same which he wore at the battle of Culloden; no circumstance in his whole deportment shewed the least sign of fear or regret, and he frequently, reprov'd his friends for discovering either upon his account. He walked several times round the scaffold, bowed to the people, went to his coffin, read the inscription, and with a nod, said, *It is right*; he then examined the block, which he called his *pillow of rest*. His lordship putting on his spectacles, and taking a paper out of his pocket, read it with an audible voice, which, so far from being filled with passionate invective, mentioned his majesty as a prince of the greatest magnanimity and mercy, at the same time, that thro' erroneous political principles, it denied him a right to the allegiance of his people: Having delivered this paper to the sheriff, he called for the executioner, who appearing, and being about to ask his

lordship's pardon, he said, "Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness, the execution of your duty is commendable," on which his lordship gave him three guineas, saying, "Friend, I never was rich, this is all the money I have now, I wish it were more, and I am sorry I can add nothing to it but my coat and waistcoat," which he then took off, together with his neckcloth, and threw them on his coffin; putting on a flannel waistcoat which had been provided for the purpose, and then taking a plaid cap out of his pocket, he put it on his head, saying, he died a Scotchman; after kneeling down at the block, to adjust his posture, and shew the executioner the signal for the stroke, which was dropping his arms, he once more turned to his friends, took his last farewell, and looking round on the crowd, said, "Perhaps some may think my behaviour too bold, but remember, Sir, (said he to a 'gentleman who stood near him) that I now declare, it is the effect of confidence in God and a good conscience, and I should dissemble if I shewed signs of

fear.”

Observing the axe in the executioner's hand, as he passed him, he took it from him, felt the edge, and returning it, clapped him on the shoulder, to encourage him; tucked down the collar of his shirt and waistcoat, and shewed him where to strike, desiring him to do it resolutely, for in that, says his lordship, will consist your kindness.

He went to the side of the stage, and called up the warder, to whom he gave some money, asked which was the hearse, and ordered the man to drive near.

Immediately, without trembling or changing countenance, he again knelt down at the block, and having, with his arms stretched out, said, “O lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies,—and receive my soul,” he gave the signal by letting them fall: But his uncommon firmness and intrepidity, and the unexpected suddenness of the signal, so surprised the executioner, that though he struck the part directed, the blow was

not given with strength enough to wound him very deep; on which it seemed as if he made an effort to turn his head towards the executioner, and the under jaw fell and returned very quick, like anger and gnashing the teeth; but it could not be otherwise, the part being convulsed. A second blow, immediately succeeding the first, rendered him, however quite insensible, and a third finished the work*.

* If we were to draw his character, abstracted from the consideration of his being an enemy to the present happy government, we should call him a blunt, resolute man; who would, if his principles had not been tainted with Jacobitism, have appeared honest in the eyes of those who love sincerity: but he was not so happy as to be loyal. His person was very plain, his shape clumsy, but his make strong, and had no marks about him of the polite gentleman, tho' his seeming sincerity recompensed all those defects. He was illiterate, considering his birth, but rather from a total want of application to letters than want of ability. Several quaint stories are related concerning him, which seem to be the growth of wanton and fertile imaginations;

His head was received in a piece of red bays, and with his body put into the coffin, which, at his particular request, was placed on that of the late marquis of Tullibardine's in St Peter's church in the Tower, all the three lords lying in one grave.

During the whole course of the solemnity, altho' the hill, scaffoldings, and houses, were crowded full of spectators, all persons behaved, with uncommon decency, and evenness of temper; which evinces how much the people entered into the rectitude of the execution, tho' too humane to rejoice in the catastrophe.

Lord Balmerino had but a small estate, tho'h ground-landlord and lord of the manor of Calton, a long street in the suburbs of Edinburgh, leading to Leith,

which is not at all to be wondered at, in times that afford so much matter for invention.

He left a lady behind him (whom he called his Peggy) to whom, at his request, his majesty allowed 50l. a year; whether he had any children, we are not able to say.

and had also some other small possessions in the shire of Fife. His lady came to London soon after him, and frequently attended him during his confinement in the Tower, having lodgings in East Smithfields. She was at dinner with him when the warrant came for his execution the Monday following, and being very much alarmed, he desired her not to be concerned at it; if the king had given me mercy, said he, I should have been glad of it; but since it is otherwise, I am very easy; for it is what I have expected, and therefore it does not at all surprize me. His lady seemed very disconsolate, and rose immediately from table; on which he started from his chair, and said, *pray, my lady, sit down, for it shall not spoil my dinner;* upon which her ladyship sat down again, but could not eat.

Several more of his sayings were related, as remarkable: among others, that being advised to take care of his person, he replied, "It would be thought very imprudent in a man to repair an old house when the lease of it was so near

expiring.”

In November following, Ratcliff was arraigned on a former sentence passed against him in 1716. He pleaded that he was a subject of the king of France, and had a commission in the service of his most Christian Majesty; meaning, that he was not Charles Ratcliff, but the earl of Derwentwater. But the identity of his person being proved, a rule was ordered to be made for the proper writs of his decapitation on the 8th December 1746. Accordingly, about 8 o'clock, two troop of life-guards, and one troop of horse-guards, marched through the city for little Tower-hill, where they were joined by a battalion of foot-guards, to attend the execution of Charles Ratcliff, Esq; About ten o'clock, the block, with a cushion, both covered with black, were brought up and fixed upon the stage; and soon after Mr Ratcliff's coffin, covered with black velvet, with eight handles, which, with the nails, were gilt with gold: but there was no plate, or any inscription upon it. At near eleven, the sheriffs, Mr Ald. Winterbottom and Mr

Ald. Alsop, with their officers, came to see if the scaffold was finished, (the carpenters, &c. who had very short notice, having worked all day on Sunday and the ensuing night) and if every thing was prepared for Mr Ratcliff's reception: which being to their satisfaction, they went to the Tower and demanded the body of Mr Ratcliff from Gen. Williamson, deputy-governor. Upon being surrendered, he was put into a landau, and carried over the wharf, at the end of which he was put into a mourning coach, and conveyed into a small booth joining to the stairs of the scaffold, lined with black, where he spent about half an hour in devotion, and then preceded by the sheriffs, the divine, and some gentlemen his friends. When he came upon the scaffold, he took leave of his friends with great serenity and calmness of mind, and having spoken a few words to the executioner, gave him a purse of ten guineas, and put on a damask cap; he then knelt down to prayers, which lasted seven minutes, all the spectators on the

scaffold kneeling with him. Prayers being over, he pulled off his cloaths, and put his head to the block, from whence he soon got up, and having spoke a few words he knelt down to it, and fixing his head, in about two minutes gave the signal to the executioner, who at three blows struck it off, which was received in a scarlet cloth held for that purpose. He was dressed in scarlet, faced with black velvet, trimmed with gold, a gold-laced waistcoat, and a white feather in his hat. He behaved with the greatest fortitude and coolness of temper, and was no way shocked at the approach of death. His body was immediately put into his coffin, and carried back in a hearse to the Tower, and the scaffold, booth, and all the boards belonging to them, were cleared away in the afternoon.—He behaved himself very alert until the 4th, when he received a letter from his niece, lady Petre, which engaged him to appear in a more serious manner, agreeable to his unhappy fate. His corpse was, on the 11th, carried in a hearse, attended by two mourning coaches, to St Giles's in the

fields, and there interred with the remains of the late E. Derwentwater, according to his desire, with this inscription on his coffin,

*Carolus Ratcliff, Comes de
Derwentwater,*

Decollatus, Die 8 Decembris 1746.

Aetatis 53.

Requiescat in Pace.

It seems the Derwentwater estate was only confiscated to the crown for the life of Charles Ratcliff, esq. but by a clause in an act of parliament, passed some years since, which says, that the issue of any person attainted of high-treason, born and bred in any foreign dominion, and a Roman Catholic, shall forfeit his reversion of such estate, and the remainder shall for ever be fixed in the crown, his son is absolutely deprived of any title of interest in the affluent fortune of that ancient family, to the amount of better than 200,000l.

This unhappy gentleman was the youngest brother of James earl of

Derwentwater, who was executed in 1716; they were sons of Sir Francis Ratcliff, by the lady Mary Tudor, natural daughter to K. Charles II. by Mrs Mary Davis.

He was, with his brother, taken at Preston, tried, convicted, and condemned, but several times respited, and probably would have been pardoned, had he not, with thirteen others, made his escape out of a room called the Castle, in Newgate, thro' a small door which had been accidentally left open, leading to the master-side debtors, where the turnkey (not knowing them) let them out of prison, supposing they were persons who had come in to see their friends.

He immediately got a passage to France, and from thence followed the Pretender to Rome, subsisting on such a petty pension as his master could allow him.—But, returning some time afterwards to Paris, he married the relict of Livingston, lord Newbourgh, by whom he had a son.

In 1733 he came to England, and resided some time at Mr John's, in Pallmall, without any molestation, tho' it was known to the ministry.—He returned to France, and came back again to England in 1735, and solicited his pardon, but without success, tho' he appeared publicly, and visited several families in Essex.—Returning again to France, he accepted of the French king's commission, to act as an officer in the late rebellion; and embarking with his son and several other Scotch and Irish officers, on board the *Esperence* privateer, for Scotland, was taken by his majesty's ship the *Sheerness*; and when he landed at Deal, was very arrogant to the king's officers, till they told him, they intended to use him like a gentleman, but he was going to put it out of their power.

He died in the principles in which he had lived, and was so zealous a papist, that on the absurdities of some things which are held sacred by the church of Rome being stated to him, he replied, "That for every tenet of that church,

repugnant to reason, in which she requires an implicit belief, he wished there were twenty, that he might thereby have a nobler opportunity of exercising and displaying his faith.”

Lord Lovat was impeached by the Commons. After the articles of impeachment were read to him, he made a long speech at the bar, signifying the esteem he had for his majesty and the royal family; and enumerated divers instances of the great service he did the government in extinguishing the rebellion in 1715. He likewise took notice of his infirmities, particularly, his deafness; and said he had not heard one word of the charge against him. He was convicted on the evidence of his own domestics, and accordingly condemned to be beheaded. He was turned of fourscore, and, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, the recollection of his conscience, (which was supposed not to be quite free of offence) he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, *dulce et decorum pro patria mori*; i. e. *it is pleasant and glorious to die a patriot.*

He surveyed the crowd with attention, examined the axe, jested with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life, one would have concluded that he went on principles, that he was thoroughly persuaded he died a martyr for patriotism, and that he had *a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.*

Besides these, there were several others of less distinction, convicted and executed; 17 officers of the rebel army were hanged at Kensington-common, near London; 9 were put to death in the same manner at Carlisle, 6 at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, and 11 at York; some few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations.

There were some circumstances in the manner of the execution of some of the criminals, on this occasion, which cannot but give offence to a humane and delicate mind; before they were quite dead, they were cut down from the

gallows, their heads dessevered from their bodies, their bowels and heart torn out, and some of them thrown into a fire: Perhaps this was rather cruelty than justice; and yet, if we consider the extraordinary circumstances of their crimes, these things were in some measure necessary; not, indeed, when considered under the notion of justice executed upon the criminals, but to give all a dreadful impression of the heinousness of the crime of rebellion against the state, and thereby deter them from all such treasonable practices.

Pity it is that, in some instances, there should be a clashing betwixt the feelings of humanity and those of self-preservation.—Shocking as the circumstances of the execution were, yet we find, that at that time many of the spectators gave loud shouts of applause: the triumph of ignoble souls, uninspired by sentiment, and insensible to the tender and delicate feelings of humanity! The mind, indeed, must necessarily disapprove the crime, and

condemn the criminal; but, to give shouts of applause at the sufferings of our fellow-creatures, betrays a rude and savage disposition: however, indeed, it was scarce to be expected, that the blind English mob*, who are stupid and insensible to every thing, should possess the finer feelings of the heart.

* The same blind, stupid, and insensible turn of mind seems to run through the rabble of every nation.

A Genuine and true

JOURNAL

Of the most Miraculous

ESCAPE

OF THE

YOUNG CHEVALIER.

BOOK II.

AFTER the Highlanders gave way at the battle of Culloden, the Prince was forced off the field by Major Kennedy and the other officers, while the French forces and a few Scotch kept the Duke's army for some time at bay, to prevent an immediate pursuit.

A great number of gentlemen went to guard the Prince safe off, and crossed the river Nairn, four miles from Inverness; where a council was held, wherein it was agreed that Fitz-James's and the rest of the horse should go to Ruthven in Badenoch. Here it was the

Prince first despaired, and desired the gentlemen to disperse, that their enemies might be baffled by the variety of their routs: and accordingly, the hon. Charles Boyd, 2d son to the earl of Kilmarnock, and some others, kissed the Prince's hand, and went off on their respective routs.

These, then, with some gentlemen, proceeded directly to Torda-rack, nine miles from Inverness; but that place having been abandoned, they were forced 5 miles farther to Aberardar, in M'Intosh's country; thence to Faroline in Lovat's country, 5 miles; and thence 1 mile more to Castle-laige, or Gortulaigu; where they met lord Lovat, and drank two or three glasses of wine.

Here lord Elcho took his leave, and set forwards for Kinlock-moidart, where he arrived a few days after the battle; not a little disgusted, that greater deference had not been hitherto paid him.

Hither the Prince was attended, by sir Thomas Sheridan, sir David Murray, aid de camp, Sullivan, Alexander M'Leod,

another aid de camp, and son of Mr John M'Leod, advocate, John Hay, secretary in Murray's absence, Edward Burke, Alexander M'Leod's man, Mr Hay's man, and Allan M'Donald, a priest employed as a guide.

About 10 o'clock at night, Ascanius, and his few attendants, proceeded on their journey; and about 4 or 5 in the morning, they arrived at Glengary, or Invergary castle, where they found only one man, who said that Glengary and his family were absent, and had left no provisions or furniture in the house; so the Prince was obliged to lie for some time on the floor, without any refreshment.

When day-light appeared, Edward Burke found a net, which he drew, and caught two salmons, on which they dined very well.

Here this company was ordered to disperse, and part took leave and went for Arnaby; the rest, Sullivan, Allan M'Donald, and Edward Burke, the guide, staying to attend the Prince.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the Prince set forward with his 3 companions, having dressed himself in Burke's cloaths, and went to Donald Cameron's at Glen-Bean, in Lochiel's country, where they arrived about 9 in the evening.

On the 18th, the Prince went to Mewboll, in Glen-Ronald's country, where he staid all night; was well entertained, and got some sleep, which he had not had for 5 days and nights; he and his army having been in action, under arms, marching and counter-marching, without sleep or much meat, for 48 hours before the battle.

The next day, being the 19th, the Prince waited some hours in hopes of getting intelligence of some of his friends, but hearing nothing, he was obliged to set out on foot (the horse-road not only being about, but so bad, as to be scarce if at all passable) and, therefore, walked over almost inaccessible mountains to the Glen of Morar, or Kenlock-Morar, and thence to Beisdale, or Boradale, in Arisaig, Glen-

Ronald's country, thro' as bad ways as can be conceived. Hither Mr Eneas M'Donald, the banker, came to the Prince, who had wrote for him, and returned again the said night to his brother's house at Kinlock-Moidart. About two days after that, lord Elcho and O'Neil got to Kinlock-Moidart.

Here the Prince waited several days, 'till captain O'Neil came to him, by sir Thomas Sheridan's directions, and told him that all hopes of drawing his troops together again were now over; on which he resolved at last to go to the western islands, whence, he thought, he could get a vessel for France.

Strong were the debates here, about quitting the continent of Scotland for the isles: The Highlanders were against so dangerous a step; but, at last, Sullivan's advice, whose head had injured his master more than once, prevailed; asserting a greater probability of getting ships about the isles, and the great danger of staying on the continent; but the Prince following this advice, had like to have lost his life many ways, and

many times, as we shall find in the sequel.

In one day three several messengers got to Donald M'Leod, who had been with Mr Eneas M'Donald to the isles, to fetch some money from the isle of Barra, and was returning when the battle was ended: these 3 were sent to order M'Leod to repair to the Prince at Boradale.

Pursuant to this summons, Donald went, and in going through a wood, on the 20th, or 21st of April, met the Prince alone. The Prince, seeing Donald, advanced boldly, and asked, *Who was he? what was he?* which Donald answering daringly, said, *My name is Donald M'Leod: oh! "thou art Donald M'Leod of Gualtergil, in the isle of Sky?"* Yes, said Donald; then said the Prince, "You see the distress I am in, I therefore throw myself into your bosom, and do with me what you like, *I am your Prince.*"

In repeating these words, the poor old man burst into a flood of tears, and said,

“I hope, sir, (to the person he was relating this to) you’ll pardon me, for who can refrain from tears at so doleful a thought; oh! had you seen but the man, and the place, and the distress; oh! it would have moved the Grand Turk.” Donald having wiped his eyes, proceeded, and said, “He told the Prince, that as he (M’Leod) was old, he was afraid he could be of little use, but yet was willing to do what he could.” Then, (says the Prince,) I desire you will go with these letters from me to Sir Alexander M’Donald and the laird of M’Leod: for I still think those gentlemen, notwithstanding what they have done, will have humanity and honour enough, to give their protection to the wretched, whose crime is only bad *luck* and *misfortune*.”

These generous sentiments acting so powerfully in the breast of a Prince, so as to give him a confidence in the honour and humanity of any one, who is a gentleman, had struck Donald with surprise, and he immediately cried out; oh! sir, “I would do any thing for you but

this; your highness knows they have played the rogue already, and you must not trust them again; for, at this very time they are in search for you with their forces, and are within ten or twelve miles of you, if they come by sea, though it is more by land; therefore the sooner you remove from this place the better.”

Upon Donald’s council, as above, the Prince desired, “that as he was a good pilot, he would conduct him thro’ the islands, to some safer place;” which Donald M’Leod readily agreed to; and, accordingly, procured an eight-oared boat, late the property of John M’Donald, son of Eneas or Angus M’Donald of Boradale *.

Donald M’Leod also bought a pot to boil meat in, when they should arrive on shore, and a firloot (*i. e.* four pecks, or a quarter of a boll) of meal, being all the provision to be got there.

On the 26th, they went on board with

* This John was either killed at the battle of Culloden, or murther’d the next day; for he has never been heard of since.

twilight, in the evening, at Locknanua, in Boradale, the self same place where the Prince first landed on the continent of Scotland; and Boradale house, the first he entered. Here were in the boat, the Prince, O'Neil, Sullivan, Allan M'Donald of Clen-Ronald's family, and Donald M'Leod, their pilot, and betwixt whose knees the Prince sat: the boatmen were, Roderick M'Donald, Lauchlin M'Murrish, Roderick M'Askhill, John M'Donald, Murdoch M'Leod, son of the pilot, Duncan Roy, Alexander M'Donald, and Edward Burke, (who had conducted the Prince from the battle of Culloden to this place.) The above Murdoch M'Leod was then only 15 years old, and when he heard of the speedy appearance of a battle, provided for himself a claymour [broad sword] a durk, [a small dagger] and a pistol, and went to the battle of Culloden; whence he escaped, though hurt, and hunting out the Prince all the way, followed him, and here overtook the Prince and his own father very well.

I cannot help remarking here, that the Prince must have been greatly admired

in this country, when this lad could hunt him out, so as to find him, when his enemies could not; so cautious were the people, not to tell where he was, when his life was in danger.

When they were about to go into the boat, Donald M'Leod begged the Prince not to go that night, because it would prove a storm: but the Prince was anxious to quit danger, and being determined, he would go.

They had not gone far before the storm began, and was as great as Donald had ever seen on that coast, with an additional grief, that it rained as if a deluge was approaching; and what was still worse, they had neither pump nor compass; the night was as dark as pitch, and they knew not where they were. This increased their fears, lest they should be driven on the isle of Sky, where the militia were in arms; but the morning light appearing, they found themselves, on the coast of Long-isle, (as that chain of isles is commonly called here) where, about seven o'clock in the morning, with great difficulty, they landed at a point,

called Rushness, in the N. E. part of the isle of Benbicula, and hauled their boat on dry land; having run 32 leagues in 8 hours: a most extraordinary quick passage*.

Thus this storm, which the whole crew thought a great misfortune at first, turned to be one of the most providential things that could happen; but so wanton is the frailty of human nature, that we often find fault with that which Providence sees best for us; for this storm prevented any immediate attempt to pursue the Prince, and all the boats that were out with such views, were forced to put into land: as nothing but the immediate hand of Providence could support this 8 oar'd open boat, against such weather; which looked to the boat-men, as miraculous as the escape of Jonas out of the whale's belly. Very luckily for the Prince, it was thought, that he had sailed for St. Kilda

* This isle lies in 57 degrees 40 min. N. lat. is about 5 miles long from E. to W. and 3 miles broad from N. to S. and lies betwixt N. and S. Uist islands.

in the north; a place so remote, that no suspicion could be readily entertained of his being there *.

It being imagined that the Prince was gone to St Kilda, General Campbel. with a considerable force, was ordered to pursue him there.

On the sight of the fleet of Campbel's, the inhabitants fled to hide themselves in cliffs of rocks, being terrified, having never seen such a fleet, or sight, before.

Some of the forces being landed, inquired of such of the inhabitants as they could find, what was become of the Pretender? they answered, "they had never heard of such a name, or such a man. They said, indeed, they heard a report that their laird (M'Leod) had lately been at war with a great woman, a great way abroad, but that he had got the better of her; and that was all they

* This place belongs to the laird of M'Leod, and the people there pay their rents in feathers of the solon geese, for which that laird's factor goes thither annually.

knew of the affairs of the world *.” So the General made a fruitless expedition.

The Prince here (in Benbicula) got on shore into an uninhabited hut, and helped to make a fire to warm the crew, who were almost perished with cold and wet. This storm continued for 14 hours after they landed.

Here the Prince bought a cow for 30s. and immediately shot her, and had some of her boiled in the pot which Donald M’Leod had bought for them. After which the Prince lay down on the floor, having no other bed than an old sail cloth, and slept very sound; but the crew were obliged to keep a good lookout, by regular watches.

They staid two nights in this place, and on the 28th, in the evening, the weather growing favourable, they set sail about six o’clock, for Stornway, in the isle of

* What a happy state of ignorance this is, if they are instructed in the true revealed religion; especially, if we consider the miseries of this busy world, governed only by ambition, pride, envy, and ill-will.

Lewis, in N. lat. 58 d, 8 m. where Donald M'Leod did not doubt but he should be able to procure a proper vessel to convey the Prince safe to France. They took some of their beef with them, and set sail, but meeting with another storm, they were obliged to put into the isle of Scalpa, or Glass, near the Harris, belonging to the laird of M'Leod, which is about 14 leagues N. of Benbicula*.

Here, they all went on shore about two hours, before day light on the 30th in the morning, and passed for merchants shipwrecked in their voyage to the Orkney's; the Prince and Sullivan going by the name of Sinclair; the latter for the father, and the former for the son; and were well entertained at one Donald Campbel's house, a farmer.

The next day, May 1st, Donald M'Leod, so often mentioned, procuring a boat of their landlord, Campbel, went to Stornway, with instructions to freight a vessel for the Orkneys.

* This island is about one mile long, and half a mile broad.

On the 3d of May, the Prince received a message from M'Leod, that a ship was ready; whereupon, he next day, got another boat with four men, and landed at Loch-Shefort in M'Kennin's country, where Allan M'Leod took his leave, and went for S. Uist.

The Prince then having O'Neil, Sullivan, and his guide with him, set out on foot for Stornway, which is about thirty miles by land, and arrived at the point of Ayrnish, about half a mile S. E. from Stornway, on the 5th, about noon: having travelled 18 hours on the hills, in a wet stormy night, without any kind of refreshment, and were misled by their guide, either thro' ignorance or design, having conducted them 8 miles out of the way, when they might have avoided that trouble, by crossing the Ferry from Scalpa to the Harris, which is about a quarter of a mile over. This, though they then thought it a misfortune, yet proved to be the very providential means of preventing the Prince from being taken, which, had they arrived there sooner, would have been the case; as we shall

see presently.

From this place, the Prince sent his guide to Donald M'Leod at Stornway, desiring he would send some brandy, bread, and cheese, for they were almost starved and famished. The faithful Donald soon brought it himself to the Prince and his two companions on the moor, all wet to the skin, and much wearied with their journey. Wherefore Donald took them to lady Kildun's (M'Kenzie) at Arynish; to wait there till every thing should be ready for setting sail: Being wearied the Prince went to sleep.

This done, Donald M'Leod returned to Stornway, but was greatly surprised to find the men there rising in arms, above 200 having already got up. Donald, not knowing what was the occasion of this rising, went directly into the room, where the gentlemen were, and asked, "What was the matter?" on which they immediately began to curse him, saying, "We hear the Prince is upon the Lewis, and not far from Stornway, coming with 500 men, to burn the town, and take

away our cattle, &c. and to force a vessel from Stornway, to carry him to France.” Donald replied, “I think you are all mad, where the devil could the Prince, in his present condition, get either 500 or 100 men?” they replied, “That Mr John M’Aulay, a presbyterian minister in South Uist, had wrote this to his father in the Harris; and the father had sent the same to Mr Collin M’Kenzie, minister in the Lewis*.—Well then, says Donald, “since you know the Prince is already in the island, I own he is; but he is so far from having any forces, that he has only two companions, and, when I am there, I make a third: And let me tell you farther, gentlemen, if Seaforth himself were here, he durst not, by g—d put a hand to the Prince’s breast.

Upon this, the M’Kenzies declared that they had no intention to do the Prince any, even the least harm; but then desired, he might leave them and go to the continent or any where else: The

* This island belongs to Lord Seaforth, and is inhabited by the M’Kenzies.

wind being fair, Donald M'Leod then desired a pilot: But they refused. Donald then returned to the Prince, and gave him a full and honest account how matters stood; on which they were all at a loss what steps to take. Some proposed to fly to the moor; but the Prince replied, "He would not; I'll stand my ground (said he,) for if we fly, our enemies may be encouraged to pursue."

Now the reader may observe, that had not the Prince been taken eight miles out of the way by the guide, he would have been in the town of Stornway, when Mr M'Auley's letter to Mr. Collin M'Kenzie arrived, and then the people would have risen upon him, and have either killed him in their fury, or taken him prisoner: Both of which he was thus providentially saved.

At this time, the Prince, O'Neil, and Sullivan, had only six shirts amongst them, and were frequently obliged to strip off the wet ones before the others were half dry.

Two of the four boatmen had fled up to

the moor, upon seeing the people rising at Stornway; and the other two went to sea with the boat.

While they were at lady Kildun's, they killed a cow, for which the Prince would have paid, but she at first refused, 'till the Prince insisted upon it. When they left the place, they took some of the cow with them, two pecks of meal, and plenty of brandy and sugar; and at parting, lady Kildun gave Edward Burke a lump of butter*.

They stayed here all night, and about two o'clock in the morning, being the 6th of May, the two boatmen returned with the boat: and as soon as day light appeared they all rowed away, with only two boat-men, the rest not returning from the moor.

The Prince and company resolved to go in Donald Campbel's boat to the

* This man. was generally cook, but the Prince was the best cook, and made them a cake or bread of the brains of the cow, mixed up with meal, and baked it upon a stone before the fire.

Orkney's, but the men would not venture; so they were obliged to steer south along the coast side, hoping to meet with better success: But they soon espied two English ships, which obliged them to put into a desert island, called Euirn or Iffurt, being half a mile long and as much broad; and is twelve miles distant from Stornway, and lies a little north of Scapla, or Glass.

At this place there were some fishermen, who taking the Prince's boat to be a press boat belonging to the men of war, ran away leaving their fish, pots, &c. The fishermen of Lewis dry their fish here upon the rocks: Some of which the Prince and company found, and it was a great feast. The Prince, at first, was for leaving some money when he took the fish, as payment; but considering that would show that some person of note had been there, and it might be attended with bad consequences, he took up the money again.

They stayed on this island 'till the 10th, lying in a low pitiful hut, like a hog sty, belonging to the fishermen; so ill roofed,

that they were obliged to spread the boat's sail over the top of it, and lie upon the bare floor; keeping watch by turns.

About 10 o'clock in the forenoon, on the 10th of May, they embarked for the Harris, taking about two dozen of fish with them, and got to Scalpa or Glass, to their hospitable farmer's again; and in that place offered money for a boat, it being safer and better than the one which they had, but could not get it.

No wind serving, they thence were obliged to row; but about break of day, on the 11th, the wind rising, they hoisted sail; now being short of food, made drammack (stappack) with salt water mixed with meal, of which the Prince ate heartily, and got a bottle of brandy, and helped a dram to each person round.

Soon after this, they were chased by an English ship, commanded by Captain Ferguson; but they made their escape among the rocks, at the point of Roudil, in the Harris in M'Leod's country. The ship followed them three leagues: They then kept close on shore, and sailed to

Lochmaddy, to the south of the Uist; next to Lochniskiway, in Benbicula, and then to an island in that Loch called Loch-Escaby, where they arrived about four in the afternoon.

In this voyage they were within two musket shot of the ship, before they saw her, at Finslay in the Harris: They were to the windward, and the ship was in the mouth of the bay, so they made all the haste they could to the coast of Benbicula.

In this course, they saw another ship in Lochmaddy, in North Uist. They had scarce got on shore when the wind, very remarkably turned quite contrary, and blew and rained very hard, which drove the ships that were pursuing, quite off. At this the Prince said, "I see I must now escape; I now see that providence will not let me be taken alive this time."

It being now low water, one of the boatmen went among the rocks and caught a partan, [a crab-fish] which he held up to show to the Prince in great joy; the Prince then took up a cog [a

wooden pail] in, his hand, went and running to the boatmen, took share of the diversion, and they both soon filled the cog.

There was no house, cottage, or hut, nearer than two miles, and that only a poor hut, whither they resolved to go.

When they set out, the Prince took up the cog full of partans, and marched away with it: But the faithful Donald M'Leod soon ran after him, and desired leave to carry it, but the Prince would not let him, saying, "If I carry this, Donald, then every one of the company will take more or less of our small baggage; and so it will be more equally divided amongst us; therefore I'll not part with this, for I am better able to carry it than you?" and accordingly he carried it.

When they came to the hut, it was so low that they were obliged to creep into it upon their hands and knees: Wherefore, Edward Burke was ordered to work part of the ground away about the door, to make the entrance easier.

At this hut, the laird of Clen-Ronald went to pay his respects to the Prince, and promised his assistance to get him safe out of the kingdom; towards which, his lady afterwards assisted, for she sent the Prince six good shirts, some brandy and wine, and every thing else that was necessary and comfortable, as we shall see in the sequel.

On the 16th, it was thought proper that the Prince should remove from this nasty hut, and go 16 miles farther in the country, as far as the mountain of Durradale or Corradale, in South Uist, and there wait till fortune would be more favourable; having first sent Donald M'Leod in Campbel's boat, to the continent of Scotland, with letters to Lochiel and John Murray, the secretary, to know how affairs stood; and Donald was to carry cash and brandy back with him to the Prince.

Donald met Lochiel and Murray, at the head of Loch-Arkaig: But got no money at all from Murray, who said, "He had none to give, For that he had only sixty louis d'ors for himself."

Donald having received the answers from Lochiel and Murray, with great difficulty he purchased two anchors of brandy, at one guinea each anchor. "At this time (says Donald) the Prince looked upon Murray as one of his honest, firm friends; but, alas! how he was mistaken."

Donald immediately returned, and found the prince at Corradale, where he left him, having been 18 days away upon this expedition; but found him in a better hut, with two cow hides placed upon sticks to prevent the rain from falling upon him, when asleep. During MacLeod's absence, the Prince diverted and supported himself and company, with hunting, shooting, and fishing, for he used often to go down to the foot of the hill upon the shore, and there go on board a small boat, which was rowed a little way, and then with hand lines caught lyths, somewhat like a young cod; and also used to shoot deer, and other game.

It is surprising to think, that the Prince could be kept safe above three weeks in

such a place, when upwards of 100 people knew where he was, and his enemies were daily out upon the scout on all sides. Both Clen-Ronald and his brother Boisdale saw the Prince at Corradale.

The militia, about this time, went to the island of Iraski, lying between the islands of Barra and South Uist, which is about 3 miles long and one broad, and is the very first British ground Ascanius landed at. The militia, I say, being got thither, obliged the Prince and company to think of parting and shifting their quarters.

On the 14th of June, the Prince, O'Neil, Sullivan, Edward Burke, and Donald M'Leod, sailed from the foot of Corradale in Campbel's boat, and landed in Ouia or Fovaya, an island lying between South Uist and Benbicula.

Here they stayed four nights, and on the 18th, the Prince, O'Neil, and a guide, went to Rushness, and Sullivan and M'Leod were left in Ouia. Here the Prince stayed two nights, and then

received information that the militia were coming towards Benbicula; which made it necessary to get back again to the foot of Corradale: But he scarce knew what to do, as the militia boats had been some time between Ouia and Rushness. Donald M'Leod and Sullivan, hearing of this, set sail in the night, and brought the Prince from Rushness to Corradale again; but meeting with a violent storm, and heavy rain, they were forced into Uishness point, two miles and a half N. of Corradale, called Achkirsideallish, a rock upon the shore, in a cleft of which they took up their quarters: This storm lasted a whole day.

At night, finding their enemies within two miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at Celiestiella; from whence they steered towards Loch-Boisdale, till a man on board swore there was a long boat before them in their way; no doubt full of marines, and would go no farther, altho' Donald M'Leod was positive to the contrary, assuring them, that it was nothing but a little rock in the water, which he knew

very well; and which had the appearance of a boat at a distance: But yet the sailors would not believe him; so they returned to Celiestiella, and staid there that night, and next day got to Loch-Boisdale, where they got the disagreeable news of Boisdale's being made a prisoner, &c. When they first set out from Corradale for Loch-Boisdale, they espied three sail within cannon-shot of the shore, by break of day, and therefore were obliged to return back again to Celiestiella, in South Uist.

One day, as the Prince was sailing up and down Loch-Boisdale, Donald M'Leod asked him, "If he once got the Crown, what he would do with sir Alexander M'Donald and the laird of M'Leod? O, Donald, said the Prince, would they not be our own people still, let them now do what they will? what they have done, is not all to be imputed to their fault; but it is altogether owing to the power President Forbes has over their judgments in these matters. Besides, continues he, if ever the kingdom was restored, we should be as

sure of them for friends, as the other people are now; they being always for those in most power.—I blame, indeed, says the Prince, young M’Leod much more than his father, for he was introduced to me in France, and solemnly promised me all the service in his power; which he, as a gentleman, should not have done, when he did not resolve to perform the least title of it, as I now see plainly.”

While they were here, Donald M’Leod espied two sail, which they took for French ships, but they proved to be English men of war; which, however, gave them no trouble.

The Prince, having rested some days, found himself in a most desperate situation, for he had got intelligence that capt. Caroline Scot had landed at Kilbride, within less than two miles of him. This obliged the Prince to part from his constant attendants, Sullivan, faithful Donald M’Leod, and his guide Burke, and all the boat’s crew; keeping only O’Neil: and two shirts was all their baggage.

When he parted with Donald M'Leod, there was an appointment to meet again at a certain place, by different ways. Donald went south about, but all the men left the Prince, except O'Neil; upon which he was obliged to sink the boat, and shift as well as he could for himself; here we must leave the Prince yet for a while.

The others, after parting with the Prince, staid in the field two nights, having only the sails of the boat for a cover. On the 3d night, they went farther into the Loch, and rested thereabouts for other two nights, until they got sight of some of the red-coats; which then forced them to the north side of the Loch.

On the 5th of July, Donald M'Leod was taken prisoner, by Allan M'Donald of Knock, in Slate, in the isle of Sky, a lieutenant, who, at he at the same time took M'Donald of the family of Glenaladale, and Mr Forest, a Romish priest.

They were carried from place to place,

and at last to Applecrossbay, in the isle of Sky; and there put on board the Furnace, capt. Fergusson. Donald M'Leod was immediately carried into the cabin to general Campbel, who examined him very circumstantially.

The general asked him, if he had been along with the young Pretender? "Yees, (said Donald) I, winna denee it.—Do you know, said the general, what money was upon that gentleman's head? no less than 30,000l. sterling, man! which would have made you and your family happy for ever: And wha then, mon?" replied Donald, wha, and thoff ee'd ha gotten it, I wauld not had enjoied it for twa days; an coud ee? concience, mon! concience would ha gotten the better o' ma, and that it wou'd; altoff ee'd ha gotten aa England and Scotland for ma pains, I wou'd not allow a hair of his heed to be toach'd, an ee cou'd heender it, sance he threw his leefe upon ma, mon!" The general could not avoid admiring Donald's honour and generosity, and his contempt of gold, when put in competition with virtue.

Donald was conveyed on board a ship to Tilbury Fort, and thence removed to London, and at last was discharged out. off a messenger's hands, (where he had been a little time,) on the 10th of June, 1747, which he said, he would ever after celebrate as the day of his deliverance.

Burke, after parting from the Prince, went over North Strand, or North Uist, where he skulked in a hill called Eval, for near seven weeks; twenty days of which he had not any meat, except dilse and lammocks [a kind of shell-fish.] About this time a paper had been read in all the kirks, strictly forbidding all persons to give a morsel of meat to any rebel, upon severe religious penalties.— Thus the place appointed to preach the doctrine of Christ, was prostituted to quite contrary purposes, viz. forbidding to feed the hungry, or cloath the naked, &c. “If these are now the kirk tenets, their loyalty is much mended; and their religion grown worse.”

After various distresses, occasioned chiefly by this order, he at last was obliged to hide himself in a cave, in

North Uist, where he was fed by a shoemaker and his wife in the night, and, after various troubles, is now safe in Edinburgh, by vertue of the general act of grace.

Donald M'Leod says, "That the Prince never slept above three or four hours at a time; and in the morning calling for a chopin [a quart] of water, he drank off with a few drops out of a little bottle; which he also put into every thing that he drank."

Thus far, reader, this account was taken from the journals, and from the mouths of both Donald M'Leod and Edward Burke, in Scotland.

The Prince having only O'Neil with him, now retired to the mountains, where he lay that night, June the 18th, and next day he received the information, that general Campbel was at Bernary, an island about two miles long and one broad, lying between North Uist and the Harris, belonging to the M'Leods.

The Prince had military forces now on

both the land sides of him, and the sea on the others without any kind of vessel to venture out with.

In this perplexity, O'Neil thought proper to apply to a young lady, called Flora M'Donald, who was at her brother's at Melton, in South Uist, upon a visit from the isle of Sky: here O'Neil, having some little acquaintance with this young lady, proposed to her to assist the Prince to escape from thence.*

O'Neil desiring this lady to go with him

* Miss Flora M'Donald is daughter of --- M'Donald of Melton, in the island of Uist, descended from Clen-Ronald's family. Her father died, when she was an infant, leaving one son and her. Her mother married again to one Hugh M'Donald of Armadale, in the isle of Sky; and has by him two sons and two daughters. This gentleman is esteemed the strongest man of the name of M'Donald.

Miss Flora was about twenty-four years of age, of a middle stature, well shap'd, and a very pretty, agreeable person, of great sprightliness in her looks, and abounds with good sense, modesty, good nature, and humanity.

to the Prince to concert what was best to be done, she objected to it with specious reasons: but O'Neil convincing her, that the Prince situation would not admit either of his coming to her, or of any long delay; she at last complied, and taking her faithful servant, Neil M'Kechan, with her; she accompanied O'Neil to the Prince, where every thing necessary was concerted, and Miss promised to use her utmost to put their scheme in execution, in case another method failed, which she had laid for them, and then returned to Melton again. O'Neil promised immediately to get about what was proposed, and to let her know the answer, did try; but could not bring it to bear; so he then went to Melton, to acquaint Miss M'Donald thereof, who sent him back to the Prince with a message.

Pursuant to the plan then laid down, Miss Flora set forwards on Saturday, June 21st, for Clen-Ronald's house, to get things necessary for the Prince's disguise, &c. In going to cross one of the fords, she and her man, Neil M'Kechan,

were taken prisoners by a party of militia, because she had no passport. She demanded to see their officer; but being told he would not be there 'till next morning, she asked what his name was; and then finding he was her own step-father, she chose to stay there all night, 'till relieved by her step-father, who arrived in the forenoon, on Sunday, June 22d, and was not a little surprized to see Miss Flora in custody.

Miss M'Donald took him aside, told him what she was about, and desired a passport for herself, her man M'Kechan, and for one Betty Burke, a woman who was a good spinner: and as her mother had a great quantity of lint to spin, she also desired a letter to recommend Betty Burke to her; all of which her father-in-law consented to; and then she proceeded on her journey to Clen-Ronald's house, where she acquainted lady Clen-Ronald with the design, who was ready to give all the assistance in her power.

Here Miss stay'd till Friday the 27th, during which time O'Neil passed and

repassed several times, with messages, betwixt the Prince, lady Clen-Ronald, and Miss Flora.

The time appointed being come, lady Clen-Ronald (another M'Donald,) Miss Flora, and her man M'Kechan, conducted by O'Neil, went to the Prince, eight miles distant, and carried with them a new dress, and some other things, to serve him in his voyage; particularly, part of a bottle of white wine, being all that the military people had left Clen-Ronald. This the Prince took especial care of, and would not taste one drop of it, but preserved it for his female guide.

When they arrived, they found the Prince in a little hut, chearfully roasting and dressing dinner, which was the heart, liver, and kidneys of a sheep, upon a wooden spit.

O'Neil introduced these visitors to the Prince; they were overpowered with compassion and sorrow, until the Prince cheered them with an affable piece of mirth, and with a contempt of his

sufferings, saying, “the wretched to-day may be happy tomorrow;” and growing serious, said, “All great men would be the better to feel a little of what I do:”—here they dined, and at table the Prince placed Miss Flora on the right, and lady Clen-Ronald on his left hand; and all the rest of the company sat by chance, and eat very heartily, and he smoked a pipe with them.

Next morning they heard of general Campbel’s arrival at Benbicula; and soon after, a servant came in great hurry to lady Clen-Ronald, and acquainted her, “That captain Ferguson, with an advanced party of Campbel’s men, was at her house: and that the captain lay in her bed last night.”

This obliged her to return immediately; so, after taking leave of the Prince, she set forwards to her own house, where Ferguson examined her very strictly: “Where have you been, madam?” says he; she answered, “To see a child that had been sick, but is now better again.” The captain asked many more questions, such as, “Where this

child was? how far it was off from thence? &c.”*

lady Clen-Ronald and the other M'Donald. being gone, Miss bid the Prince to prepare, for it was time to go; on which O'Neil begged hard to go with them, but Miss Flora would on no account consent, because there would be too many of them together, and they might, therefore, be the more taken

* lady Clen-ronnald was taken prisoner soon after, and put on board a man of war: her husband was taken and put on board another, and conveyed to the Thames, and there lay some time; they were again carried up to London, and detained there, in custody of a messenger; the first at Mr Money's, and the latter, on the 1st of November, at Mr. William Dick's, along with his brother of Boisdale, captain Malcolm M'Leod, and Roger M'Neal of Barra, esq. In June following, he and his lady were dismissed. At the same time Mr Dick brought in custody, from on board ship, John Gordon, esq. eldest son of the famous Glenbucket, who was most judiciously accused of reviewing his father's troops; altho', by the help of Dr T—r, he had been quite blind for six years before: he also was discharged in June following.

notice of; so the Prince and he took leave of each other, in an affectionate manner.

The company being gone, Miss M'Donald desired the Prince *to put on his new attire*, which being soon done, they, with their crew, removed their quarters near the water side, where their boat was a-float, to be ready, in case of any sudden attack from the shore.

Here they arrived in a very wet condition, and made a fire upon a piece of a rock, to keep themselves warm 'till night. They had not been long here, when they were alarmed by four wherries, full of armed men, approaching towards the shore: At this sight, they extinguished their fire, and concealed themselves in the heather, or ling; but their fears soon vanished, for the wherries sailed quietly by, to the southward, within gun-shot of them.

On the 28th of June, about eight o'clock in the evening, they set out in very clear weather; but had not gone above a league, before the sea became very rough and at last tempestuous. The

Prince finding Miss and the sailors began to be uneasy at their situation, sung them several Highland songs, among others, an old song made for the 29th of May: By this, and some merry stories, the Prince contrived to keep up their spirits.

Next morning, tho' it was clear and calm, the boatmen knew not where they were, the wind having varied several times in the night; however, they made a point of Waternish, in the west corner of Sky, where they soon tried to land, but found the place possessed by a body of forces, who had also three boats or yawls near the shore; and several men of war were in sight: A man on board of one of these boats fired at the Prince and crew to make them bring to; but they rowed off, but would have been taken, had it not been providentially very calm, the ships at some distance: and the militia on shore could not stir for want of their oars, that were hawled up and flung in the ling by the crew, that were scampering up and down; but, however, they sent up to alarm the people in a

little town not far off. Notwithstanding the night storm, Miss M'Donald was so fatigued, that she fell asleep on the bottom of the boat; The Prince observing it, covered her to save her, as much as he could, from the cold, and sat by her lest any thing should hurt her; or, least any of the boatmen, in the dark, should step upon her; but the sea was so rough, she could not sleep long.

They got safe into a creek or cliff in a rock, and there remained to rest the men, who had been all night at work, and also to get some refreshment; however, as soon as they could, they set forewards again, lest the alarm given to the village, should bring down the people upon 'em, which would have been the case had they staid, for they had not gone far, before they observed the people approaching to the place they had so lately quitted.

From this place they went and landed at Kilbride in Troternish in the isle of Sky, about twelve miles north from the above-mentioned point. In this neighbourhood there were also several

militia in search of the Prince, whose commanding officer was at sir Alexander M'Donald's, the very house Miss Flora was going to; but she did not know the officer was there until she saw him.

At the boat here, Miss M'Donald left the Prince, and went with her man to Mogstod, or Mungestod, the seat of sir Alexander M'Donald; but he was not at home, being then with the duke of Cumberland. Miss sent into the room to lady Margaret (sir Alexander's lady) to let her know she was come, having before apprized my lady of her errand, by one Mrs M'Donald who went a little before Miss Flora for that purpose.

Miss was soon introduced into the room where the company were, amongst whom was the commanding officer of the forces in that neighbourhood: who, after some time, asked Miss, "Whence she came? Which rout she was going? And what news she heard, &c." all which she answered as she thought proper, and very readily, so that he had not the least suspicion, at that time, of what Miss was

about, especially as he saw, when she went away, that she had only one servant with her, who he was certain could not be the Prince.

Miss M'Donald having told lady Margaret where she had left the Prince, and the situation he was in, my lady was at a loss what to do; but as Mr. M'Donald of Kingsborough, sir Alexander's steward or factor, was in the house, she applied to him, and desired he would conduct the Prince to Kingsborough; which he readily complied with, and sent a boy down to the boat, with instructions to shew the Prince to a place about a mile distant from the boat, whither he himself would go, and be there ready to attend him. The boy went off directly, and Kingsborough, taking some wine and other refreshments for the Prince, soon after set out for the place of rendezvous, leaving Miss Flora with lady Margaret.

When Miss Flora thought the Prince and Kingsborough might be got to some distance, she then made a motion to go, and ordered out her horses directly; but

lady Margaret pressed her strongly, before the officer to stay, telling her, at the same time, "That she (Miss Flora) had promised to stay the next time she came, when she was last there;" but Miss begged her ladyship to excuse her this one time; because, says she, "I have been some time away, and my mother is not very well, and entirely alone in these troublesome times:" At last lady Margaret excused her; but only upon renewing her former promise to make amends the next time she went thither; which Miss very willingly complied with.

Every thing being ready, Miss Flora and her man; Mrs. M'Donald aforementioned, and her man and maid, all set forewards. They had not gone far before they overtook the Prince and Kingsborough. Mrs M'Donald was very desirous of seeing the Prince's face; which he as carefully avoided, by turning it to the opposite side; but, however, she had several opportunities of seeing it, as much as he was disguised.

Mrs. M'Donald's maid could not keep

her eyes off the Prince, and said to Miss Flora, “ma think ay neer saaw such an ampudent looken woman, as Kingsborough is a walken with; ay dare say, she is an Eirish woman, or a mon in womon’s claathes.” Miss M’Donald replied, “She was an Irish woman, for she knew her, and had seen her before.” “Bless me, (quoth the maid,) what long straides the jaide takes, and how awkwardly she warks her petticoats, &c. I belive those Eirish women could faight as well as the men.”

Miss M’Donald not liking the maid’s observations, and knowing they were near the place where the Prince and Kingsborough were to turn out of the common road; and that it was not proper to let Mrs M’Donald’s man and maid-servant see which rout they and Kingsborough would take; she therefore called out to Mrs M’Donald to ride faster, for, says she, we shall be late out: this was complied with, and they soon lost sight of the two on foot, who presently after, turned out of the common road, to avoid the militia, and went over

the hills S. S. E. till they arrived at Kingsborough house, which was about eleven o'clock at night, on Sunday, June the 29th, in a very wet condition, having had much rain, and having walked seven long miles. Miss M'Donald arrived about the same time, along the highway, having parted with Mrs. M'Donald, and her man and maid servant.

O'Neil, after parting from the Prince and Miss M'Donald, went and met Sullivan, who was yet upon the island. About two days after the Prince and O'Neil had parted, a French cutter, having 120 men on board, went to the isle of South Uist; intending to carry off the Prince, who, they were informed, was there. Sullivan went immediately on board, while O'Neil went back for the Prince, hoping to overtake him (the Prince) before he and Miss M'Donald should leave the island; but O'Neil finding the Prince had left the island two days before, returned to the place where he had left the cutter. But unhappy for him, the vessel was gone about three hours before, for the timorous Sullivan,

having a fair wind, had not courage to stay for the Prince and O'Neil, but set sail directly, to save one *precious* life, and left the Prince and O'Neil to their good master, *providence*. There were two small wherries, just within sight, which might, indeed, in some measure, excuse the hen-hearted Sullivan, both the wherries being filled with armed men, and were sent out by an English officer after this cutter, but could not get to her.

O'Neil was soon after taken prisoner, but being a foreign officer, was only a prisoner of war; he was put on board a man of war, where, in a little time after, he saw Miss M'Donald a prisoner also, for doing what he had been the instrument of bringing about. He was afterwards conveyed to Berwick upon Tweed, and, after some time, sent home, according to the cartel. But to return -----

When the Prince got to Kingsborough's house Mrs. M'Donald, not expecting her husband home at that time of the night, was undrest and just

going to bed, when one of her maid-servants went up and told her, "That Kingsborough was returned, and had brought some company, with him. What company, says Mrs. M'Donald? Melton's daughter, I believe, says the maid, and some company with her. Melton's daughter replied M'Donald is very welcome here with any company she pleases to bring; but make my compliments to her, and tell her to be free with any thing in the house; for I am sleepy and undrest, so I cannot see her to-night."---

In a short time, Kingsborough's daughter went up in as great hurry as surprize, crying out, "mamma, mamma, my father has brought heether a very odd, muckle, ill shaken up waife, as eever ay saa; nay, and has taaken her unto the hall too."

She had scarce said this, before Kingsborough himself went into the room, and desired his wife to dress again, as fast as she could, and get such meat as they had ready for supper,---"Who have you with you, says

Mrs. M'Donald? You shall know that, replied he, in good time, only make haste."

Mrs. M'Donald then desired her daughter to go and fetch the keys, which she had left in the hall. The girl went and soon ran back again in a great hurry, and said. "mamma, mamma, I canna gang een for the kaeys; because the muckle woman is a walken up and doon the hall, and am afraid of her (meaning the Prince,") Mrs. M'Donald then went herself, but was so frightened, as she said, "At seeing such a muckle trolloop of a carling make sike lang streedes through the hall, that she did not leek her appearance;" but then she desired her husband to fetch them; but he would not; so she was obliged at last to go herself.

When she went into the room, the Prince was sitting, but got up immediately, and saluted her; Mrs. M'Donald then began to tremble, having found a rough beard; imagining it was some distressed nobleman, or gentleman in disguise, but never

dreamed it was the Prince. She therefore, went directly out of the room, with the keys in her hand, to her husband, without saying one word to the Prince, and greatly importuned Kingsborough to tell her who it was; and if he (meaning the person in disguise) could tell any thing of what was become of the Prince. Kingsborough smiled at her naming the beard, and told her, "My dear, it is the Prince." The Prince, (cried she) then we are a' ruined, we will a' be hanged now."---Hute, (cried he) we will die but once, and if we are hanged for this, we die *in a good cause*, doing only an act of humanity and charity. But go make haste with supper, bring us eggs, butter, cheese, and whatever else is ready."---"Eggs, butter, and cheese, (quoth she)---What a supper is that for a Prince?"---Oh wife! (replied he) you little know how this good Prince has lived of late; this will be a feast to him: Besides, to make a formal supper, would make the servants suspect something; the less ceremony, therefore, the better; make haste and come to supper your-

self." I come to supper, (says she) I know not how to behave before majesty."----You must come, (replied Kingsborough) for the Prince will not eat one bit without you; and you'll find it no difficult matter to behave before him; so obliging and easy is he in his conversation."

I hope the reader will excuse me, for giving this dialogue in their own words; not being able to give a better idea of the figure the Prince must have made, and of the distress he was in, than in their own way of expression their meaning.

At supper the Prince placed Miss Flora at his right hand, (always paying her the greatest respect wherever she was, and always rising up whenever she entered the room) and Mrs. M'Donald at his left. He made a plentiful supper, eating four eggs, some collops, bread and butter, drank two bottles of small beer at supper, and then calling for a bumper of brandy, he drank "Health and prosperity to his landlord and landlady, and better times to us all:" and after supper, smoaked a pipe. He smoaked for society,

and kept the same pipe till it was as black as ink, and worn, or broken to the very stump. After drinking a few glasses of wine and finishing their pipes, the Prince went to bed.

When the Prince and Kingsborough were going from Mongstod to Kingsborough, the Prince said, he proposed going to the laird of M'Leod's, as being a place the government people would not suspect; but Kingsborough would not agree to that, and gave some of his reasons to support his opinion: "What, (says the Prince) do you think that M'Leod, to his former doings, would add that of thirsting after my blood? I am not certain of that, replied Kingsborough, but I have received a letter from the laird of M'Leod, wherein he desires me to deliver you up, if you should fall into my way; and said, I should thereby do a service to my country." The Prince thereupon dropt that project, and said, "I hope M'Leod will live to see his mistake." Some time after this, the laird of M'Leod asked for the letter again; but Kingsborough

absolutely refused to give it to him, and farther said, "He would keep that to shew what part M'Leod acted from under M'Leod's own hand."

Kingsborough, amongst other things, asked the Prince, "If he looked upon lord George Murray to have acted a treacherous part," the Prince said, "He hoped not."

Kingsborough also said to the Prince, I cannot remember or conceive, what it was that brought me that day to Mongstod, (sir Alexander's house) for I had no manner of business there, nor owed any visit. I'll tell you, said the Prince, "You could not avoid going, for I have been the particular care of *Providence*, and *that* sent you hither to save me; there being no other person else decreed to do it."

After the Prince was gone to bed, Mrs MacDonald desired Miss Flora to relate the Prince's adventures, as far as she knew of 'em; which she did, and when she had concluded her story; Mrs M'Donald asked her, "What was become

of the boatmen who brought ‘em to that island?” Miss replied, “They went back again directly for South Uist;” That was wrong, says Mrs M’Donald, for you should have kept them on this side for some time, at least, till the Prince could have got farther from his pursuers.”

As Mrs M’Donald conjectured, so it proved, for the boatmen were immediately seized on their return and being threatened with torture or death, both which are absolutely against our law, but is always to be expected, when people are ruled by those they pay. By these threats of torture, I say, the men revealed all they knew, and gave a description of the gown, being a linen or cotton gown, with purple sprigs thickly stamp’d, and a white apron. This thought of Mrs. M’Donald’s determin’d Miss Flora to desire the Prince to change his dress; being himself not willing to march any farther in that dress, having found it too troublesome the day before.

This great feast which the Prince had got, being the most material refreshment he had met with for a long

time, agreed so well with him, that he slept nine or ten hours without interruption, whereas, in a general way, he seldom required above three or four to rest.

Morning being come and far advanced, Miss M'Donald began to be afraid, lest the Prince lying too long, should give his enemies time to overtake him; and therefore desired Kingsborough to go into his room, and call him up; who, with much persuasion, went; but finding the Prince in so sound a sleep, would not waken him, and so retired quietly out of the room again: But every thing being soon after ready for his journey, Miss M'Donald insisted that Kingsborough should again call him up, with which he complied; and having awakened the Prince, asked him, "How he had rested?" the Prince answered, "Never better; for I thought I never lay on so good a bed; and to tell the truth, I had almost forgot what a bed was."

Although the Prince was to change his dress, it was thought necessary to leave the house in the same habit he arrived,

that, in case of a pursuit, it would prevent any one from describing the dress he travelled in.

When the Prince was up, the ladies went into his chamber to dress him; put on his apron and cap. Before Miss put on the cap, Mrs M'Donald desired her, in erse *, to ask the Prince for a lock of his hair; which she refused to do, saying, "Can't you ask him yourself." The Prince, finding they were disputing about something, desired to know it, and then Mrs. M'Donald told him her request, which he immediately granted, and laying his head on Miss Flora's lap, bade her cut a lock off, which she did, and give Mrs. M'Donald one half, and kept the other herself.

The Prince being dressed, cried, "A lusty wench this is;" got his breakfast, and taking leave of his landlady. Then he and Kingsborough, with a bundle of highland clothes under his arm, went to a wood not far from Kingsborough house, and there changed his dress. This

* The language of the island.

being done, he took Kingsborough in his arms, "And bade him a long and happy adieu, and in a most affectionate manner thanked him for his services, and assured him he would never forget them, and said, who knows, Kingsborough, but you and I may drink a pot of porter together at a certain place after all this:" But then they both wept, and a few drops of blood fell from the Prince's nose: Kingsborough then sent a guide with the Prince to Portree or Partree, that is in erse, port Ree, Kingsport, thro' all the by-ways, while miss Flora went on horseback by another road, thereby the better to gain intelligence, and to prevent a discovery: This place is seven long miles from Kingsborough's house. The gown the Prince had on, was a linen and cotton, having a white ground, with purple coloured flowers *.

* Mr. Stewart Carmichael, near Leith, had a stamp made exactly after this pattern, and has sold great numbers, so exactly done as not to be distinguished from the original, even by miss M'Donald herself.

Kingsborough had sent a person before, to procure a boat, and every thing else necessary towards the Prince escape. The Prince being arrived safe here, again met his female guide, this being the last time they saw each other. The Prince and Miss M'Donald were both very wet, and staid no longer there than to dry their cloathes, and to get such little refreshment as the place afforded, which took up about two hours time; then the Prince took leave of Miss Flora M'Donald, returning her his sincere thanks for her kind assistance, and greatly lamented, That he had not a M'Donald to go on with him to the end, and said, "Well, Miss Flora, I hope we yet shall be in a good coach and six before we die, though we be now a foot."

According to my method hitherto, I shall give the reader the remaining history of Kingsborough and Miss M'Donald, before I go any further with the Prince.

About six or eight days after the Prince left Sky, captain Ferguson followed him hot foot; and from the boatmen, who

were taken at, or in their return to South Uist, having got an exact description of the gown and dress the Prince had on, pursued him to sir Alexander M'Donald's house, and there searched very strictly, and hearing only of Miss Flora M'Donald, went to Kingsborough, and there examined Mr. and Mrs. M'Donald, and Mrs. Anne M'Alaster, their daughter.

The captain first found Kingsborough, and asked him several questions, some of which he answered, and others he either could or would not, but told the captain he had better ask Mrs. M'Donald, who could give proper answers: Kingsborough, accordingly, called Mrs. M'Donald, and said, "That captain Ferguson was come to ask her some questions about her late guests." "If Ferguson (says she) is to be my judge, then God have mercy on my soul." Ferguson asked her, "Why she said so?" She replied, "Because the whole world say you are a very cruel hard hearted man, and indeed I don't like to go through such hands."

Ferguson then asked Kingsborough, "Where Miss M'Donald and the person in women's cloathes who was with her, lay?" Kingsborough answered, "He knew where Miss Flora lay, but as for servants, he never asked any questions about them."

The Captain then asked Mrs M'Donald, "Whether she laid the young pretender and Miss Flora in the same bed?" She answered, "Sir, whom you mean by the young pretender, I do not pretend to guess; but I can assure you, it is not the fashion in Sky, to lay the mistress and maid in the same bed together." The captain then desired to see the rooms wherein each lay? which were shewn; and then he remarked, that the room wherein the supposed maid-servant lay, was better than that wherein the mistress lay.

Kingsborough was taken prisoner, and carried to Fort Augustus; and was there plundered of his shoebuckles, garters, watch, and money; and, in a few hours after, thrown into a dungeon, heavily loaded with irons. While he was

prisoner, one of the captains of the English forces went to him, and asked him, "If he could tell the Prince's head, if he saw it:" Kingsborough trembling at the thought of the Prince being murdered, said, "He could not engage for that, unless it was joined to the body." Kingsborough was removed hence to Edinburgh castle, under a strong guard of Kingston's light horse, who entered the city with sound of trumpet and beat of kettle drums; a thing not very common in such a case. He was at first put into the same room with major M'Donald, Mr George Moer, laird of Leckle, Mr Thomas Ogilvie, and others; but was soon after removed into a room by himself, under a very close confinement; none was permitted to see him, except the officer upon guard, the serjeant, and keeper, which last was appointed to attend him, as servant. He was here kept until the act of grace, and was discharged on the 4th of July, 1747, having been confined a year, for that one night's lodging.

Kingsborough was once discharged,

whilst at Fort Augustus, by mistaking him for another of the same name; but lord Albemarle, finding out the mistake, soon sent a party after him, who found him at sir Alexander M'Donald's, just going to bed: By this means he had an opportunity of hearing from sir Alexander's own mouth, what a rage a certain Great Officer was in, when he found Kingsborough a prisoner at Fort Augustus; throwing out horrid and shocking oaths and imprecations, against Kingsborough, for not securing the Prince: and swore "HE would have him hanged at any rate."

Miss M'Donald, having taken leave of the Prince, left Portree immediately, and went to her mother's at Slait; crossed the country, and had a very fatiguing journey; but she neither told her mother nor any other person, what she had been about.

One M'Leod of Taliskar, an officer in one of the independent companies, desired one of the M'Donalds, who lives four miles from Slait, to send for Miss Flora, in order to examine her about

what had happened. Accordingly, about eight or nine days after Miss Flora got home, she received a message came from this M'Donald, to go to his house as soon as she could.

Miss Flora being not a little suspicious of the design, thought proper to communicate to her friends what she had done, and consult them as to what she should do; upon which they advised her not to go; however, not to go 'till next day; which she did accordingly,

She had not gone far on the road, before she met her father-in-law returning home; to whom she told every thing that had happened, from her leaving him in her way to Clen-Ronald's house, to that time; as also what she was then about, and what she intended to say upon examination.

She had not gone far, after parting from her father-in-law, when she was taken prisoner by an officer and a party of soldiers, who were going to her mother's to search for her. They carried her immediately on board a ship,

without suffering her, either to go for her cloaths and linen, or to take leave of her friends.

She was carried on board the *Furnace*, captain Ferguson, which put her under terrible apprehensions, on account of that captain's great reputed inhumanity and cruelty, which was spread thro' the whole country: But, very lucky for her, general Campbel was on board, who gave strict orders, that Miss should be used with the utmost civility and respect; that she should have a maid servant, and one of the lieutenants cabins to themselves, forbidding every person to go into it, without her leave or consent: This generosity I have heard Miss Flora acknowledge many times.

About three weeks after she was thus a prisoner, the ship being very near her mother's, general Campbel permitted her to go on shore, to take leave of her friends; but yet in custody of two officers and a party of soldiers: however, she was not to speak any thing in erse, nor any thing except what the officers heard; so she staid about two hours, and then

returned again to the ship.

When she was taken prisoner, she, upon her examination, told, "That she had seen a great lusty woman, who came to the water-side as she (Miss Flora) was going into the boat, and told her, That she (the supposed lusty woman) was a soldier's wife, and was left on the island without friends, meat, or money; and desired she (Miss Flora) would give her a place in the boat that she might get to the continent of Scotland, to her husband; that she (Miss Flora) granted the request; and that when they landed in Sky, she (Miss Flora) went directly to sir Alexander M'Donald's, and the lusty woman went on her own way, thanking her (Miss Flora) for the favour." This story Miss Flora told; but when she got to general Campbel she was more candid, and therefore acknowledged and told the whole truth to him.

Miss Flora was removed on board commodore (now admiral) Smith's ship, where she was exceeding well treated, and he was very polite to her; for which, when she was in London, she consented

to sit for her picture, at his request.

The ship, on which she was a board, was some time in Leith road, and after being conveyed from place to place, she was at last, on November 28th, 1746, put on board the Royal Sovereign, lying at the Nore, whence, on the 6th of December following, she was removed to London in custody of William Dick, a messenger, having been five months on ship-board. In this messenger's custody, she remained until July 1747, when she was discharged, and returned to Edinburgh.

This relation is taken from the remainder of O'Neil's journal, and from the mouth of Kingsborough, his lady, and Miss Flora M'Donald.

Having concluded the history of Kingsborough and Miss M'Donald, I must now return to the Prince again.

Kingsborough having sent to the laird of Raaza for his assistance, captain Malcolm M'Leod, (an officer under the Prince at the battle of Falkirk and Culloden) and Murdock M'Leod, third

son of Raaza, (wounded in the shoulder at Culloden, by a musket shot) met the Prince at Portree in the isle of Sky; where Miss M'Donald left him *.

They staid but a little time after their arrival, and then they attended the Prince to the small boat, wherein John M'Leod, the young laird of Raaza, waited very impatient to see what sort of a man the Prince was. They set out immediately, there being in the boat, the Prince, captain Malcolm M'Leod, his guide; the young laird of Raaza; his brother Murdock; the two boatmen, viz. John M'Kenzie, and Donald M'Frier, who had both been out in the Prince service, the one a serjeant, the other a private man. Early in the morning, on July 1st, they arrived safe at Glam, in Raaza, being six miles[†]. They staid there two days and a half, in a mean low hut;

* This was on Monday night, of June the 30th, when it was very dark, having come in a small boat, that would only contain six or seven men.

† All the miles mentioned in this work are Scots miles.

Young Raaza brought a lamb and a kid in the corner of his plaid. They were obliged to lie on the bare ground, having only a little heath or ling for a pillow.

A man came into this island to sell a roll of tobacco; but after he had sold the tobacco, he continued strolling up and down the island, in an idle way. for twelve or fourteen days, without having any apparent business; which made the people of the island suspect he was a spy.

When the Prince and Malcolm were in the hut, the captain saw this very man approaching towards them; on which Malcolm determined to shoot him. “No, Malcolm, (says the Prince, taking hold of him) God forbid, that any innocent man should suffer by us; if we can but keep ourselves safe, let us not take that from any person which we can’t restore to him again; let us not dread more than we need; and, pray, let not *fear* make us do mischief;” and he would not allow the captain to stir. Malcolm had the more reason to suspect this man to be a spy, because this hut was not near any road;

but, however, luckily for the poor man, he passed by without offering once to look into it, which if he had attempted, Malcolm determined to have shot him, for their own preservation.

On July the 3d, the Prince proposed going to Troternish in Sky, altho' it blew very hard, and had no other than the small boat above mentioned; and, accordingly, set forward about seven o'clock in the evening, the same company attending him.

They had not gone far, before the wind blew harder, and the crew begged to return; but the Prince encouraged them; told them, "*Coesarem vehis*: Providence, my boys! that carried me thro' so many dangers, will no doubt preserve me for a nobler end than this;" and then sang them a merry Highland song. The waves washed very frequently into the boat, and Malcolm and the Prince took their turns in lading the water out again.

About eleven o'clock at night, they landed at a place in the island of Sky,

called Nicholson's Great Rock, near Scorebreck in Troternish, about ten miles from Glam in Raaza, or Raarsa: It was a bad landing, and the Prince was the third man who jumped into the water, and helped to hawl the boat up to dry land.

The Prince had on a great riding coat, which being wet through, and the rock they were going up, being very steep, Malcolm desired the Prince to let him carry it; but he would by no means consent, saying, "I am younger than you, captain." They travelled thus to a byre, [cowhouse] belonging to one Nicholson, about two miles from Scorebreck.

Here the Prince and company took up their quarters; and Malcolm would have had the Prince to put on a drier shirt, and take some sleep. He would not change his shirt, but sleep at last seized him, as he sat. He often started in his sleep, and sighing deep, would say, "Ah, poor people! poor people!"

The Prince after some little time awaked, and finding Malcolm upon the

watch, earnestly desired him to take some rest, who at that time would not; but the Prince renewing his intreaty again, the captain thought that, perhaps, he might want to say something to the rest of the company in private; and therefore the captain went out for a little time.

The two brothers (young Raaza and Murdock) and the boatmen here left the Prince, and returned; the Prince promising to meet the younger at Camistinawag, another place in the same island.

The Prince and Malcolm staid here twenty hours in all, without any kind of refreshment, not even so much as a fire to dry their cloaths with.

On the 4th, about seven o'clock in the evening, they left the byre, the captain passing for the master, and the Prince for the man, who always carried the little baggage whenever they saw any person, or came near any village; and at those times whenever he spoke to the captain, or the captain to him, he always

pulled off his bonnet.

They marched all night through the worst ways in Europe, going over hills, wild moors, and glens, without, halting, 'till they arrived at Ellagol, or rather Ellighill, near to Cilmaree, or Kilvory in Strath, and near to a place in some maps called Ord, in the laird of M'Kinnen's country, and not far from where that laird lived, having walked twenty four miles.

In their travelling, the brandy bottle was near out, having only one dram in it, which the Prince would force Malcolm to drink, declaring, "He wanted none himself," which Malcolm complied with, and afterwards hid the bottle.

On the road, the Prince said, "suppose Malcolm, we two should meet any body who would attempt to kill or take us, what shall we do?" That depends upon their numbers, (replied Malcolm) if there be no more than four of them, I will engage to manage two:" Then let me go if I do not manage the other two," said the Prince.

The Prince observing to Malcolm, that his own (the Prince) waste coat was rather too good for a servant, being a scarlet Tartan, with a gold twist button, proposed to change with him, which was accordingly done.

As they were approaching near Strath, (M’Kinnen’s country) the captain suggested to the Prince, “That he was now coming to a country, where he would be known, and therefore might be discovered in every corner of it, as M’Kinnen’s men had been out in his service, and therefore he must be more disguised;” to do which, the Prince tied on a napkin, under his bonnet, putting his wig into his pocket: “But nothing (says Malcolm) could disguise his majestic mien and deportment.”

They no sooner arrived in Strath, than they met two of M’Kinnen’s men, who had been out in the expedition: They stared at the Prince, and soon knew him, and with lifted hands, they burst into tears on seeing him in such distress. The captain hushed them; and bid them compose themselves, for, otherwise they

would discover all, by their concern; which they complied with, as well as they could; and then Malcolm injoining them to secrecy, dismissed them, and they proved faithful.

Being come near the place resolved upon, Malcolm told the Prince that he had a sister married to one John M'Kinnen, a captain in the Prince army; and then he advised the Prince to sit down at a little distance from the house, while he (Malcolm) went in to learn, if any of their enemies were in that neighbourhood in quest of him, and likewise to know whether he (Malcolm) could be safe there with her: the Prince was still to pass as his servant, Lewis Caw.

Malcolm found his sister at home, but not her husband. After usual compliments at meeting, he told her, "that he was come to stay some little time there, provided there was no party of the military people about them, and that he could be safe;" she said he might. Then he told her, "he had no person along with him, except one Lewis Caw, a

son of Mr Caw, surgeon in Crief, who had been out in the last affair, consequently, in the same situation with himself; and that he was to pass as his servant." She very readily agreed to take him, and Lewis was called into the house.

When Lewis entered the house, with the baggage on his back, and the napkin on his head, he took off his bonnet, made a low bow, and sat at a distance from his master; but the captain's sister could not help looking at Lewis, observing something very uncommon about him.

The captain desired his sister to give them some provisions, for he was almost famished with hunger: The meat was soon set down, and the captain called to *poor sick Lewis* to draw near and eat with him, as there was no company in the house; Lewis seeming very backward, alledging, "He knew better manners;" but his master ordering him again, he obeyed, and drew nearer, but still kept off his bonnet.

After having got some refreshment, the captain desired the maid-servant to wash his feet; which being done, he desired her to wash his man's; but she replied, "That though she had washed his, (the captain's) yet she would not wash that loon his servant's;" but the captain told her, "His servant was not well, and therefore he would have her to do it." She then complied, but rubbed his feet so hard, that she hurt him very much; on which the Prince spoke to the captain in English, to desire her not to rub so hard, nor go so far up with her hand, he having only a philibeg on.

After this refreshment, both the Prince and the captain went to sleep; during which time, the captain's sister went to the top of a hill to keep watch, lest they should be surprized.

The Prince did not sleep above two hours; the captain being weary, slept much longer; but when he awaked he saw the Prince dandling a child and singing to it, and seemed as alert as if he had been in bed all night: "Who knows (says the Prince) but this boy may

hereafter be a captain in my service?" "Or you, rather, (said the maid) an old serjeant in his company."

The captain being thoroughly awake; and hearing his brother-in-law was coming; went out to meet him. After usual ceremonies, Malcolm. asked him, "If he saw those ships of war (pointing at them) that were at a distance hovering about the coast?" "Yes," said M'Kinnen, "What (says Malcolm) if the Prince be on board one of them?" "God forbid!" replied M'Kinnen.--- "What (said Malcolm) if he was here; John, do you think he would be safe enough?" I wish we had him here, (replied John,) for he would be safe enough; for nothing would hurt him here:---Well, then, (replied Malcolm) he is now in your house; but when you go in, you must not take any notice of him, lest the servants or others observe you; for he passes for one Lewis Caw, my servant."---John promised very fair, but he no sooner saw the Prince in that condition, than he burst out into a flood of tears; which Malcolm observing, obliged John to retire immediately.

When the Prince and Malcolm were alone, the captain desired he would tell him the perils he had already escaped; which being told, Malcolm seemed amazed; upon which the Prince said, "Captain, I could give my own person, for life, more ease, by staying where I was; but I could give others more ease by being a King; I pity a good King, for if he does his duty, I see he must be the greatest slave in his dominions, as he can't say, that an hour of his time is justly his own; this is nothing to what I am destined to undergo; but providence will guard me thro' the whole, as well as it has hitherto done. What I have undergone is a lesson I wish every Prince underwent before he came to govern; for he would then know what is *misery* and *distress*, which would give him a true light of the situation of his subjects, and be thereby a means to make him cautious and frugal; and not wantonly throw away their wealth, if he means to make them and himself happy."

After much of this sort of conversation,

they began to consult how the Prince was to get to the continent of Scotland, and both agreed not to let the laird of M’Kinnen know of their being there, on account of his being so old. They then called in John M’Kinnen, and desired him to go and hire a boat, as if for Malcolm only; and made John promise not to communicate any thing, of what he had heard or seen about them, to the laird, if he and John should chance to meet.

John having his instructions set forwards; but soon meeting with his old chieftain, he could not refrain letting him into the secret.

The good old man, getting this intelligence, ordered John to give himself no trouble about the boat; for that he (the laird) would provide a good one; and would soon be with the Prince.

John returned, and told the Prince what had happened, and that the laird would soon be with him. Malcolm then said to the Prince, “As the case now stands, it will be best to leave all the

management to the old gentleman, who will be firm to his trust." The Prince, notwithstanding this, was uneasy at the thought of parting with his faithful captain: But Malcolm represented to the Prince, that as he (the captain) had been sometime absent, the military people might pursue him upon suspicion; and if so, he might be the cause of the Prince being taken also; "But if I return, and should be taken prisoner, (said Malcolm) which may very likely be the case, it will yet enable me to prevent so quick a pursuit after you; because, as I am alone, I can tell my own tale without being confronted, and can send them upon a wrong scent: For myself, (continued Malcolm) I care not, but for you, I am much afraid; and as I can do you more service by quitting, than staying with you, I desire you will follow the laird of M'Kinnen's directions." The Prince at last consented, and just at that time, the old gentleman got to them, and told them, he had got the boat ready; upon which they set out for it directly, being accompanied by John M'Kinnen

also, who even went with his laird to the continent of Scotland, and saw the Prince safe landed there.

As they were on their way towards the boat, they spied two ships of war coming towards them, in full sail before the wind; and thereupon he entreated the Prince not to attempt to go on board at that time; but to wait 'till the men of war had steered another course: "For just now (continues Malcolm,) the wind is fair for them, but against you." Never fear, (replied the Prince) I have not had so many escapes, to be sillily caught here: I'll go on board, and the wind will change, and those very ships shall steer another course: Providence shews me, that I am in its care, and it therefore cannot be in the power of my enemies, to come near me, at this juncture."

By this time they were got to the sea-side, and the Prince being about to step into the boat, (8 o'clock at night) turned suddenly to Malcolm, and said, "Don't you remember I promised to meet Murdock M'Leod at such a place," naming it. "No matter, (said the captain)

I'll make your apology; for as necessity drives you another road, he'll excuse you." That's not enough between gentlemen, (replied the Prince) have you pen, ink, and paper about you, Malcolm? I'll write him a line or two; I am obliged, in good manners, to do this." Accordingly he wrote the following words:

SIR,

I Thank God I am in good health, and have got off as designed: Remember me to all friends, and thank them for the trouble they have been at.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

James Thomson.

The Prince then gave the letter to the captain, and desired him to deliver it, tho' open, for he had neither wax nor wafer.

The Prince then said "Malcolm, let us smoke one pipe together, before we part." Accordingly the captain fired a piece of tow with his gun for this

purpose.

At parting, the Prince presented Malcolm with a silver stock-buckle, embraced and saluted him twice, and thanking him for what he had done, put ten guineas into his hand, which the captain refusing, the Prince forced them upon him. Here the Prince having got a better pipe, had no farther occasion for the short one (called cutty,) which was black with use; this Malcolm took, and some time after, sent it to a friend in England.

Malcolm having departed, the Prince, the old laird of M’Kinnen, John M’Kinnen, Malcolm’s brother-in-law, and the boatmen, all went on board in the evening, on the 5th of July.

What the Prince had said to Malcolm, about the wind soon changing fair, and being spoken with such confidence, made so great an impression upon Malcolm, that he was determined to sit down upon a hill side, and see the event. He waited, and declares, “That they had not rowed half a mile, and that towards the men of war too, when the wind

chopped about, and not only blew fair for the Prince, but blew so brisk a gale, that it soon drove the men of war out of sight." The truth of this, both captain Malcolm, and those in the boat, attested upon oath.

As the captain had seen the Prince in the height of prosperity, and in the greatest adversity, a certain worthy clergyman asked him his opinion of that young gentleman; his answer was, "That the Prince was the most cautious man in the world, not to be a coward; and the bravest, not to be rash."

I must observe here, that it is no difficult matter, in many cases, to foretel a speedy change of the wind; for almost any sailor can do that; but what is the most providential for the Prince is, that it should be about to change at the very identical time he was obliged to go on board, and when he required such a change.

Captain Malcolm returned home again, but was not many days there, before he was taken prisoner, and was

detained on board a ship, and was conveyed into the Thames, and on the 1st of November, 1746, was removed to London, and there kept in the hands of Mr. William Dick, a messenger, 'till July 1747, and then was discharged. He had cleared himself of taking arms in behalf of the Prince, by surrendering with his men, according to the duke of Cumberland's proclamation. He and Miss M'Donald returned to Scotland together. All this account was literally taken from captain Malcolm M'Leod himself.

I observed that the Prince left the island for the continent of Scotland, the 5th of July, under the care of the old laird of M'Kinnen. The night proved tempestuous, and the coast was very dangerous; they also met a boat, in which were some armed militia, with whom they spoke, and, as the militia did not much exceed their own number, the Prince and crew resolved to make all the head they could, and prepared to fight, in case they had been attacked. But in spite of all these dangers, they landed

safe at Moidart, about 30 miles from the place they set out from; and went again to Angus M'Donald's house at Boradale, where he changed his dress, and sent for M'Donald of Glenaladale, of Clanronald's family.

Many of those who read this account, will scarce think it possible, that the Prince could have escaped being drowned in so many storms, when in the open seas in such small vessels, the largest of which was heavily laden with men; and some of them could scarcely hold six people; did not something like this appear in the octavio edition of Anson's voyages, *p.* 375. "The cutter of a sixty gun ship (being only an open boat of about 22 feet in length) was six weeks on the ocean, exposed to storms and tempests, and yet weathered it the whole time."

After having landed the Prince, the laird of M'Kinnen took his leave, and set forwards in the same boat, on his return home; but was taken prisoner in Morar, in his passage back, and was conveyed into the Thames by sea, and there, partly

on board and partly at Tilbury fort, was kept a close prisoner until he was removed to the new goal in Southwark, where he was put into irons, and in 1747 was removed into the hands of the messenger.

Glenaladale, as I observed, being sent for, came and then informed the Prince about Lochiel, Keppoc, and others; and that the loss at Culloden, and after the battle, was not near so great as Sullivan and O'Neil had reported.

The Prince then proposed to go to Lochabar, where he believed his beloved Lochiel was; but as all the passes were so closely guarded, it was deemed, at that time, impracticable. For one line was formed from Inverness to Fort Augustus, and from thence to Fort William, to prevent either the Prince or any other from escaping; And another line was formed from the head of Locharkaig, to prevent any passing in or out of Lochaber.

The Prince continued some days in that country (Glen-Brasdale), about ten

miles from Moidart, and staid until he heard of the arrival of general Campbel, with 400 men on the one side of him, and captain Caroline Scot with 500 more on the other; they, having received intelligence whereabouts the Prince was, were forming a circle round him; and were not two miles distant from him.

The Prince then, having an account of this, was advised to go to the Braes of Glenmorrison, and there, and in Lord Lovat's country to continue, until the passes should be opened. In this situation, he sent for Mr Donald Cameron of Glenpane, to be their guide to the Braes of Locharkaig; he came, and in the night, conducted the Prince very safe through the guards, who were in the pass, and went so close to their tents as to hear them speak, being obliged to creep upon their hands and knees. At the same time there went with the Prince, Glenaladale, his brother, and two young boys, sons of Angus M'Donald of Boradale.

After this, the Prince continued his journey for Glenmoriston's country; and

as he was travelling one day, having only Glenaladale with him, the latter lost his purse, with forty guineas in it, in going about three miles; he lamented this misfortune the more, because it was all the money they had, the Prince having none left. This gentleman proposed to go back and seek for it, saying, "He was certain he could go the very same road, and should find it:" The Prince opposed it; but he, shewing how much it may be wanting, went back, desiring the Prince to wait, and rest himself behind the hill adjoining, 'till he should return.

The gentleman being gone, and the Prince at his post, meditating upon the goodness of providence to himself hitherto, tho' often in the midst of the greatest dangers; when, at some distance, he 'spied a party of soldiers advancing, upon which he hid himself; but yet in such a manner as to see the soldiers, who went near by, and went the very rout where the Prince and the other gentleman would have gone, had not the purse been lost, or had it not been their whole stock: and so they both must have

been taken or killed. Thus, what they were regretting as their greatest misfortune, was the means of their preservation. Something like this we find in the voyages aforementioned, page 412. "Thus were we forced upon Tinian, the most desireable and salutary measures, by accident, which at first we considered as the greatest of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by contrary winds and currents, to the northward of our course, (a circumstance which, at that time, gave us the most terrible apprehensions) we should in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful island; and consequently, we should have missed of that place, where, alone, all our wants could be most amply supplied." The Prince watched the soldiers as far as he could: Soon after his friend returned with the purse, to whom the Prince told what he had seen; and after both of them joining in thanksgiving, the Prince said, "Glenaladale, my hour, I see, is not come; for, I believe, I should not be taken tho' I had a mind to it."

They got to Glenmorriston very safe, but were almost famishing with hunger, when the Prince saw a little hut at a distance, and some smoke going out at a hole in the roof; "Thither (says he) will I go, let the consequence be what it will; for I had better be killed like a man, than be starved like a fool;" he was now forty eight hours without meat. His friend did all in his power to dissuade him from it, but he would go.

When they got to the hut, Ascanius went boldly in, without shewing any manner of concern, and there found six stout lusty fellows at dinner, upon a large piece of boiled beef: A sight he had been long a stranger to.

The men were six notorious thieves, who had made this hut in that place, for privacy and safety, and were not a little amazed, at seeing a strange face entering there. One of them knew the Prince, and also knew he was skulking; but he, not thinking it safe to tell the rest of the company, who their guest was, had the presence of mind, upon seeing the Prince, to cry out, "Ha! Dougal

M'Cullony, I am glad to see thee!" The Prince, by this expression, found he was known, and, with equal steadiness of countenance, thanked him chearfully; sat down with them, eat very heartily, and was very merry.

The Prince, his friend, and the man who knew the Prince, walked out after dinner, and consulted what farther was to be done; and being informed of the state of the country about, and of the military people, found it absolutely necessary to wait here for some time, and that the other five men should be entrusted with the secret; which being done, they rejoiced that they had in their power to serve the Prince; and proved of great service, and were very faithful *. With these trusty Falstaffs, and Glenaladale, did the Prince continue betwixt the braes of Glenmoriston and Glen-Strath-Ferrar, until the guards were removed, and the passes opened.

About this time, (the middle of July)

* Here was honour and humanity found among thieves.

one Roderick M'Kenzie, a merchant of Edinburgh, who had been out with the Prince, was skulking among the hills, about Glenmoriston, when some of the soldiers met with him; and as he was about the Prince size and age, and not much unlike him in the face, was a genteel man and well dressed, they took him for the Prince: M'Kenzie tried to escape them, but could not, and being determined not to be taken and hanged, (which he knew, if taken, would be his fate) he bravely resolved to die sword in hand; and, in that death, to serve the Prince more than he could do by living. The bravery and steadiness of M'Kenzie confirmed the soldiers in their belief *that he was the Prince*, whereupon one of them shot him; who, as he fell, cried out to them, "You have killed your prince, you have killed your Prince," and expired immediately. The soldiers overjoyed with their supposed good fortune, in meeting with so great a prize, immediately cut off the brave young man's head, and made all the haste they could to Fort Augustus, to tell the news

of their great heroical fate, and to lay claim to the 30,000l., producing the head, which severals said they knew to be the Prince's head. This great news, with the head, was soon carried to the duke, who, believing the *great work* was done, set forwards for London, from Fort Augustus, on the 18th of July. It was about this head that Kingsborough was asked the question aforementioned, by one of the captains of the English forces.

The soldiers and militia, sent out to take the Prince and his adherents, now imagining that he was killed, and his head sent to London, began to be less strict, and not to keep so good a look-out as before; by which means the Prince escaped from place to place, with less danger.

I observed before, that the Prince continued betwixt the Braes of Glenmoriston and Glen-Strath-Ferrar, 'till the guards were removed and all the passes opened. About the beginning of August, he went with his retinue, as above, to Lochabar, and to Achnacarie,

the seat of Lochiel.

The Prince and company had brought no provisions with them, expecting to be supplied in that country, where there used to be greater plenty, than whence they had come; but they were greatly disappointed, finding all the whole country plundered and burnt, and no cattle, or any other sort of provisions to be got. In this distress they remained some time, when at last, one of the Glenmorrison men 'spied a hart, and shot her; on which they lived, without bread or salt.

The next day the Prince was informed, That M'Donald of Lochargie, Cameron of Cluns, and Cameron of Lochnasual, were in the neighbouring mountains, sent after them, and at the same time, sent a messenger to Lochiel, who was then about twenty miles off, to let him know where he (the Prince) was. Before the Prince sent to him, he (Lochiel) had heard also, that it was supposed the Prince was in the country, and sent his brother doctor Archibald Cameron, and the rev. Mr John Cameron, by different

roads, to get intelligence of the Prince.

The person sent by the Prince to Lochiel met Dr. Cameron, within a few miles of the place where Lochiel was, who was obliged to return to Lochiel with two French officers, whom he had met with, and who were in quest of the Prince also *.

This faithful person, sent by the Prince, would not own to the doctor, or

* These French officers came from Dunkirk, in a small vessel, with sixty other gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a company of volunteers, under the command of the said two officers. They got to Polliver in Seaforth's country, where four of them landed to deliver their dispatches; two of whom were taken prisoners, viz. one Fitzgerald, a Spanish officer, whom they hanged at Fort-William, pretending he had been a spy in Flanders: the other was called Mons. de Berard, a French officer, and was after some time exchanged upon the cartel. The other two wandered in Seaforth's country, till Lochgarie, hearing they had letters for the Prince, sent capt. M'Raw and his own servant for them, that they might be sent to Lochiel, since the Prince could not be found; this was about the middle of July.

to the two French officers, that he knew any thing about the Prince, his orders being only to tell it to Lochiel himself, which he punctually observed; and, as he said he had business of the utmost consequence, the doctor conducted him, with the two officers, to Lochiel.

Next day, Lochiel sent Dr. Cameron, with four servants, to the Prince; and sent the officers at the same time, to be under the care of one of his friends, 'till farther orders.

Mr Cameron the minister, whom his brother Lochiel had sent out to get intelligence of the Prince, after travelling and searching several days, went to Achnacary, where he met with his brother the Dr. going to the Prince, with the four servants, who, as the river was not fordable, raised a boat, which capt. Munro of Culcairn had sunk, after searching the isle of Locharkaig.

When Culcairn was plundering in this island he saw some new-raised earth, and imagining there was either money or arms concealed, had it dug up, but

only found a man's corps, with a good Holland shirt on, which made him believe it to be Lochiel: He thereupon sent an express to the duke of Cumberland, to tell him that Lochiel was dead of his wounds: But it really was the corps of ----- Cameron, brother of Allan Cameron of Callart, which last was taken at Culloden and carried to London *.

Dr. Cameron and the minister, observing some men by the water-side in arms, sent some of Cluns's children, to see who they were; they, soon finding them to belong to Cluns, sent the boat for them, and then sent the four servants back again to Lochiel, pretending they were going to skulk in the wood for some days, and that keeping such a number together might be dangerous.

They crossed the river, and went to the hut where the Prince was, which was built on purpose, in a wood betwixt Achnasual and the end of Locharkaig. The Prince, and Cameron of Achnasual,

* Rather than have no plunder, they took the shirt, and left the corps lying on the ground.

upon seeing the doctor and his brother at a distance, and not knowing who they were, had left the hut and went a little from it; but being soon informed who they were, immediately returned to a joyful meeting: And when they told the Prince that Lochiel was well, and recovered of his wounds, he returned God thanks thrice for it, and expressed an uncommon joy at it.

The Prince was at this time bare-footed, had on an old black kilt coat, a plaid, and a philibeg; a gun in his hand, and a pistol and durk by his side; he was very cheerful, and in good health. They had killed a cow the day before, and the servants were roasting part of it. At dinner the Prince eat heartily, and there was some bread which they had got from Fort Augustus; no man could sleep sounder: He now began to speak some little erse.

The Prince proposed going immediately to Lochiel, but a friend telling him, that he saw in a newspaper, (which they got at the time they got their bread) that it was said the Prince had

passed Coriarrick, with Lochiel, and thirty men, which probably might occasion a strict search in those parts; he therefore, resolved to stay some days longer where he was. However, two or three days after this, the Prince sent Lochgary and doctor Cameron to Lochiel: And then dismissed Glenaladale and the Glenmoriston men, to return home again. The Prince continued in the hut with Cluns's children, captain M'Raw of Glengary's regiment, one or two servants, and the rev. Mr. John Cameron.

When the French officers, already mentioned, came to Lochiel, some person told him these officers had left their letters with Alexander M'Leod, one of the Prince's aid de camps. Though this proved true, yet as they themselves had not told it to Lochiel, it made him suspect them to be the government's spies.

The Prince was very desirous to see these officers, but the rev. Mr. John Cameron told him what both Lochiel, the doctor, and he himself were afraid

of; upon which the Prince resolved to act in this affair with great caution, and said “He could not help observing, that it probably might be as they conjectured, because if they were not spies, it was surprizing, that two men without one word of erse, and quite strangers in the country, could escape the troops, who were always in motion, in quest of himself [the Prince] and his followers.”

However, as these officers had told Lochiel, “That they had never seen the Prince,” he (the Prince) laid a scheme to see them safely; and therefore, he wrote a letter himself to them, to this purpose, viz. “That, to avoid falling into his enemies hands, he was under a necessity to retire to a remote country, where he had no person with him, except one capt. Drummond, and a servant; and as he could not remove from where he was, without danger to himself and them, he had sent capt. Drummond with this letter; and as he could repose entire confidence in him, he desired they would tell whatever message they had to the bearer capt. Drummond, and take

his advice, as to their conduct." This letter the Prince resolved to deliver himself, as capt. Drummond. Accordingly, the officers were sent for, and were introduced to the Prince under this borrowed name.

The Prince then delivered the letter to them, with which they seemed very well pleased, and told him every thing they had to say; which he afterwards said was of no great consequence, as his affairs now stood. They continued there two days, and asked capt. Drummond many questions about the Prince's health, his manner of living, &c.

The Prince thinking the packet left with Mr. Alexander M'Leod might be of use, sent for it; but as it was in cypher, and directed to the French ambassador, he could make nothing then of them. Lochiel still took care of these officers till the Prince was ready to go away, when they were conducted to the ship, and when they saw that they had before conversed with the Prince in so free a manner, taking him for capt. Drummond, they asked his pardon and

were dashed, which the Prince soon removed.

The Prince and company continued in this wood, and in that over against Achnacary, (having three huts in different places, to which they removed by turns) until about the 10th of August; on which day Cluns's sons, and Mr. Cameron the minister, went to the Strath of Cluns, to get intelligence.

They were not half an hour in the hut, which Cluns had built for his family, (after his house was burnt) when a child about six years old went out, and returning hastily, said, she saw a body of soldiers: This they could not believe, as Lochgary had promised Lochiel to have a guard between Fort Augustus and Cluns, to give intelligence.

They went out, however, and found all true as the girl had told. Cluns skulked to observe the motions of that party; One of his sons, and the Mr. John Cameron the minister, went to inform the Prince, who was that day, in one of his huts on the other side of the water

Kiaig, a short mile from Cluns; and in crossing the water at the ford, under cover of the wood, and going within pistol-shot of the hut, the Mr. Cameron observed the party advancing.

The Prince was asleep (about 8 o'clock in the morning) Mr Cameron, however, awoke him, told him, that a body of their enemies was in sight: He then arose very composedly, called for his gun, sent for capt. M'Raw and Alexander, Cluns's son.

As they had not received intelligence of this party's marching out of Fort Augustus, they concluded that there was some treachery in the case, and that they were surrounded on all sides. However, they determined, though but eight in number, and rather than yield their throats to be butchered, to sell their lives as dear as they could, and to die like men of honour; and the Prince said, "Lads! let us live for a better day if we can."

The Prince examined all their guns, which were in pretty good order, and said he hoped they should do some

execution before they were killed: For his part, he said, he had been bred a shooter, and could charge quick; was a tolerable marksman; and would be sure of his mark.”

They then left the hut, and marched to a small hill above the wood, from whence they could see a great way up Glenkengie. They got there unobserved, under the cover of the wood: The Prince then sent Cluns, and the minister, to take a narrow view of the party, and resolved that night to go to the top of Mullantagart, a high mountain in the Braes of Glenkengie, and sent one to Cluns and the minister, to know what they discovered, or were informed of.

When Cluns and the minister had got to the Strath of Cluns, the women told them, that the party was about 200 of Lord Loudon's regiment, under capt. Grant of Knockardo in Strathspey; that they had carried away ten milk cows, which Cluns had bought, after he was plundered before; and that they had found out the hut the Prince had in the wood of Tervalt, and said they were gone

to fetch Barrisdale's cattle to the camp.

In the evening, Cluns's son went to his father from the Prince, and then they all returned, and carried some whisky, bread, and cheese, and got to the Prince about twelve o'clock at night, who was on the side of the mountain, without fire or any covering; they persuaded him to take a dram, and made a fire, which, however, they durst not keep above half an hour, before they extinguished it.

By day-light they went up to the top of the mountain, where they staid 'till eight o'clock in the evening. The Prince slept all the forenoon in his plaid, and wet stockings, tho' it hailed; from hence they went that night to the Strath of Glenkengie, where they killed a cow, and lived merrily for some days.

From this place they went to the Braes of Achnacary, and waded through the water of Arkey, which reached up to the mid-thigh; in which wet condition the Prince lay all night and next day, in the open air, yet caught no cold.

In a day or two, Lochgary and Dr.

Cameron returned from Lochiel, (to whom they had been sent) and told it, as Lochiel's opinion, that the Prince would be safer where Lochiel was skulking, which pleased the Prince very much.

The next night, the Prince set out with Lochgary, Dr. Cameron, Alexander (Cluns's son) the rev. Mr. John Cameron, and three servants: They travelled in the night and slept all the day, 'till they got to Lochiel, who was then among the hills, between the Braes of Badenoch and Athol. The Dr. and his brother went by another road, on a message to Badenoch. The minister returned about the 13th of September, and the next day was sent south by Lochiel, to hire a ship to carry them off from the north coast.

The ship was provided, and one sent to inform the Prince, Lochiel, and others, of it. But before this messenger got to the Prince and Lochiel, two of his friends, who had orders to watch on the west coast, had been to tell them, that two French ships were arrived at Moidart.

Upon this, the Prince set out the night following; and, at the same time, sent to inform all others, who were skulking in different places. Some arrived, at the place appointed, in time; but severals, by some accident or other, had not that good fortune.

The Prince reached Moidart, on September the 19th, 1746, and on the 20th, embarked on board the *Bellona* of St Maloes, a Nantz privateer of 32 carriage, and 12 swivel guns, and 340 men, brought hither by colonel Warren, of Dillon's regiment, who went on purpose for a vessel. The Prince seeing his friends put first on board both the ships, then embarked himself, and set sail immediately for France, where he landed safely at Roscort, near three leagues west of Morlaix, on the 29th of the same month, having had a pleasant voyage.

R E M A R K S.

From the foregoing account, we find, That the Prince was twice in danger of being shot; five times in danger of being drowned, having been in great storms in little open boats; nine times pursued, and in sight of the men of war, and armed vessels.

Many times in danger of being taken, often seeing his pursuers, and sometimes being within hearing of them.

Six times miraculously escaped being taken.

He was often almost famished for want of meat and drink; must often inevitably have starved, were it not for some favourable acts of providence that exceeded all human aid or hopes.

He was mostly obliged to lie in miserable huts, having no other bed than the bare ground or heath; often lay on wild mountains, without any other covering than the canopy of heaven, with heavy dews and rains. Add to all these, that he had frequent returns of

the bloody flux.

Thus, reader, you have a faithful account of the whole escape, taken from the authorities already mentioned. This account, since the Prince's return to the continent of Scotland, is chiefly taken from the journal of the rev. Mr. John Cameron, presbyterian minister, and chaplain to Fort William, who, you'll find hath been much with the Prince. I shall, therefore, conclude with his own words, *viz.*

“I have told you, what I was witness to, or informed of by such as I could absolutely depend upon. I shall only add, That the Prince submitted with patience to his adverse fortunes; was chearful, frequently desiring those about him to be so. He was cautious and circumspect in the greatest danger; never at a loss, in resolving, with coolness what to do; uncommon resolution and fortitude in all extremities: He regreted more the distress of those, who suffered on his account, than his own hardships and dangers.—To conclude, he possesses all

the virtues that form the character of *A True Hero, and a Philosopher.*

Now to proceed; The Prince after landing at Roscort, proceeded on his journey to Paris, where they Chatiau St. Antoine was fitted up for his reception; he was scarce well arrived here, when he went to Versailles; and was there received by the king and queen of France, with all the marks of the most tender affections, and seeming demonstrations of joy at his escape. At different times he related to them the chief of his sufferings, and they seemed to be greatly affected with the melancholy story, and endeavoured to comfort him with fair hopes and promises *; but the memory of his disappointment was yet too recent, and the news, which was continually arriving of the commitments, trials, and executions, of some of his most faithful followers, filled him with an anxiety not easily to be removed, and left but little room for pleasurable ideas.

* French promises.

This was only a private visit; therefore it was thought necessary for him to make his compliments to the king and his court in form, in the character which he had borne by commission from his father. This he did in about ten days time, in the following manner:

In the first coach went the lords Ogilvie and Elcho, old Glenbucket, and Mr Kelly, the secretary, who escaped out of the tower; in the second, went the Prince, lord Lewis Gordon, and the eldest Lochiel, who was master of the horse; pages lolled on the boot, and ten footmen, in the Prince of Wales's livery, walked on each side; in the third went capt. Stafford, (who was a long time in Newgate) and three gentlemen of the bed-chamber; younger Lochiel, and several gentlemen, followed on horseback; who all made a grand appearance; met with a most gracious reception, and the Prince supped with the king, queen, and royal family; and all, who attended him, were magnificently entertained at the several tables appointed for them, according to

the rank they bore under the Prince.

The French soon raised some new regiments, wholly composed of English, Scotch, and Irish; and the command of one of them was given to lord Ogilvy, (who, with his corps, fought so desperately at the battle of Val) and another to young Lochiel. This, and several other methods the French took to sooth the Prince, and to make him, subservient to their purpose; but though he saw through their whole designs, he could no way help himself, as affairs then stood, therefore he put on a mask as well as the French ministry; he looked upon all their promises to be made with no intention to perform any; and said, "He was sure the French wished him well any where, but in England."

In France, the Prince amused himself with plays, operas, paying and receiving visits, &c. after being there some time, he made a tour to Madrid, incog. What his business was there, and what success he met with, remained a secret; however, 'tis well known, he was greatly caressed there. His stay at Madrid was

about five or six days, and then, after making a tour of near four months, he returned to Paris.

Whatever disappointments the Prince met with, nothing chagrined him more, than his brother's acceptance of a cardinal's hat, which happened about this time. His discontent at this was so great, that he forbade all who were about him, ever to mention his brother in his presence, and he always omitted drinking his health at meals as heretofore he had done.

In this situation, all things seemed to go on, 'till the negotiation for a peace was advancing, when the Prince had a fair opportunity of throwing off the mask, which he had so long wore, and then hired a fine hotel on the Kay de Theatin, opposite to the Lovre, on the banks of the Seyne, for himself and the chief of his retinue, on purpose, as he said, to be near the opera and play house, and other diversions of Paris, to some of which he generally went every evening.

During this time, he neither went so frequently, nor staid so long at Versailles, as he had been accustomed to do, and rather avoided, than sought, any private conferences with the king. The first public indication he gave of his disgust, was, to cause a great number of medals, both of silver and copper, to be cast with his head and this inscription:

CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCES.

And, on the reverse, BRITANNIA and shipping, with this motto:

AMOR ET SPES
BRITANNIÆ.

Every body was surprized at the device, as France was reduced to the condition of making peace, entirely by the bravery and successes of the British fleet: The device gave great offence to the French ministry, and several of the nobility and others.

Soon after, the French plenipotentiaries were set out to meet those of other powers at Aix la Chapelle, in order to open the congress; the Prince entered his protest there against all that

should be concerted, or agreed upon, in that, or any other, congress, in prejudice to his title and pretensions.

After signing the preliminaries, the Prince went no more to court; but appeared far from being disconcerted at this event, and was not the least shocked, but seemed determined to contemn his fate, instead of complaining on the severity of it, and kept his resolution to the end, even in the midst of the most shocking and unexpected trials.

As by one of the articles of peace, the Prince was obliged to leave France, the King wrote to the state of Friburg, desiring they would receive him in a manner becoming his birth, and as a Prince who was very dear to him.

Neither the one nor the other, had any effect on the deportment of the young hero; he continued to live as a person wholly disinterested, and regardless of what was doing, 'till the king, who, doubtless, expecting he would have gone of his own accord, but finding he did

not, ordered cardinal Tencin to acquaint him with the necessity there was for his departure.

This the Cardinal did in the most tender manner; but received such evasive answers from the Prince, that he could not give the king any positive account, whether he would go or not.

The king, however, waited about fourteen days, and being informed that the Prince made not the least preparation for his departure, sent the duke de Gesvres with a message of the same nature as before; the Prince only replied, "That he had so little expected such a step had been taken, that he had not yet had sufficient time to consider how to behave in it."

This answer produced a delay of another fortnight, when the duke de Gesvres was sent a second time, and on his expatiating, "That the king was under the necessity of executing this article of the treaty," the Prince replied with some warmth, "That there was a prior treaty between him and the king,

from which he could not depart with honour."----It was in vain, the duke to urged him to be more explicit; the other only bid him deliver what he had said, to the king, who would know his meaning.

Notwithstanding these messages were no secret, the Prince shewed so little intention to leave Paris, that his people bought several pieces of new furniture for his house. Among other persons, he sent for the king's goldsmith, who had been employed by himself before, and ordered him to make a service of plate, to the value of an hundred thousand crowns, to be ready against a particular day, which the goldsmith promised not to fail in; but it so happened, that immediately after, he received orders to prepare such a large quantity for the king's use, against the same time, that he found it impossible to comply with both, on which he waited on the Prince, and intreated he would allow him some few days longer, telling him the occasion; but he would not admit of the excuse, insisting, "In being first served, as he had given the first orders."

The goldsmith was in a very great dilemma on this occasion, but thought the most prudent way to extricate himself from it, would be to acquaint the king, who no sooner heard the story, than he commanded that the Prince should be first served, and that the value of the plate should be paid by the comptroller of his household, without any charge to the other.

It is supposed, the king imagined the hurry the Prince shewed for having this plate got ready, by such a time, was occasioned by his designing to leave Paris, on that day; for no more messages were sent to him, 'till about a week after the plate was sent in.

But it is plain, the Prince was so far from any such intention, that he resolved to push things to the last extremity.----This fine service of plate, was on the score of a grand entertainment he made for the Princess of Talmaut, a near relation to the queen, the marchioness de Sprimont, madame de Maiseuse, the duke de Bouillon, and above thirty others of the nobility of

both sexes, and several foreigners of great distinction.

About this time, the two hostages from Great Britain arrived at Paris, on which the Prince expressed great marks of dissatisfaction, saying publicly, "That the tables were sadly turned upon poor old England, since her word could not be relied upon, without such pledges as are scarce ever granted but by a conquered nation; while French faith passed current for all that was to be done on her part;" and said "He could not now take it ill of the French, not to wish success to his interest, *while they are permitted to rule as they please.*"

The French court, having received complaints from the English ministry, because the Prince was not removed, thought proper to remind him once more what was expected from him: Accordingly, the duke de Gesvres waited on the Prince a third time, and acquainted him also, that the states of Friburgh had returned a most obliging answer to the king's letter, on his account, and were ready to receive the

honour of his going to reside in their canton, with all the demonstrations of respect due to his birth and virtues, and in their power to give. To this the Prince replied, only, "That he hoped to find a time to return the good will of the states;" without giving the duke any satisfaction, whether he accepted their offer or not.

The king, at this, dispatched a courier to Rome, with an account of all that had passed: The Prince sent also to his father, and the court being willing to wait the result of this, occasioned it a farther delay.

As no part of these proceedings were a secret, there was scarce any thing else talked of at Paris; and amongst the generality of all degrees, the Prince's conduct was applauded.

Two of the distinguished characteristics of the French nation, being, the envy they are apt to conceive of the excellence of any person not born amongst them, and their implicit love and reverence, even to idolizing their

sovereign; we must be obliged to confess, that the merit they vouchsafed to acknowledge in a foreigner, must be extraordinary indeed; and that he who is capable of rivalling their king's conduct in their esteem, must have something of a distinguishing dignity about him.

The ministry could not brook this, and were resolved to get rid of the Prince at any rate; and therefore, without waiting for the return of the courier from Rome, prevailed upon the king to send the duke de Gesvres a fourth time to him, and insist on his immediate removal.

The Prince now expressed some impatience, and told the duke, "That though he should always treat any one who came to him from the king with respect, yet he was sorry to find he had the trouble of repeating so often a business to which he could not give ear, without hearing it from the king himself." The king being acquainted with this, and being impatient to get rid of him at any rate, yet loath to proceed to extremities, vouchsafed to write a letter to him, and sent, with it, a blank order,

to be filled up by himself, for whatever yearly sum he pleased; both which the duke de Gesvres was obliged to deliver.

The Prince read the letter twice over, and having paused a little, threw the order from him with disdain, saying, "The thing required from me is not consistent with honour."

This ambiguous proceeding both perplexed and exasperated the king; a council was called, and therein it was resolved, to send monsieur le count de Maurepas to expostulate with the Prince on his late conduct, and not to leave him, 'till he had obliged him to declare in express terms what his intention was; and withal to intimate to him, that if he did not conform to the present necessity of affairs, by leaving the kingdom with a good grace, the ministry would be obliged to compel him to it.—*The ministers! the ministers!* cried the Prince, with the greatest disdain; "If you will oblige me, monsieur le count, tell the king, That I am born to break all the schemes of his ministers; and, tell him, *"I know how it cou'd be done, but the*

time is not yet come to compleat that good work."

It is supposed the Prince had a double view in acting in the manner he did: First, to convince Europe, that the most solemn engagements had been entered into between him and the court of France, and were all broken, on their part; and, secondly, to shew the court that he was not to be any farther imposed upon, and that he could resent, as he ought, the artifices they had practised upon him.

The courier being at length arrived, brought a letter from the Prince's father to him, enclosed in one to the king, open, as it is said, for the king's perusal: It is said the letter contained a command to the Prince to leave the French dominions, but without mentioning the time when; and for that reason the Prince thought himself at liberty to stay where he was, 'till he had fixed a proper place for his future residence, as he had some reluctance to go to Friburg.

The ministry, not knowing the Prince's real motives for staying, prevailed upon the king to give orders for his being arrested, and when the order was carried to be signed, the king said, "Poor Prince! how difficult it is for a king to be a true friend!" This seems to shew, the king did not foresee the unworthy treatment the Prince was to receive, from the hands of those commissioned to arrest him. This order, signed at three o'clock, was blazed over all Paris before night.

Twelve hundred guards were drawn out, and placed in the court of the palace royal; a great number of serjeants and grenadiers, armed cap-a-pee, filled the passages of the opera house; the guet (i.e. the street guards) were placed in the streets leading to it; yet, notwithstanding all this, the duke de Biron, who was colonel of the guards, and had the charge of executing this commission, would not appear, but kept at a distance, disguised, and left it to the care of major Vandreville, a man of mean extraction, and of more mean

merit, who had been raised by him to the post. The manner of this whole transaction, is fully and minutely related in the following extract of a letter from Paris, dated December 21st, 1748, to a person at London.

“I would not acquaint you of this odd scene, ‘till the confusion was a little settled; and until I could inform you of the circumstances with more certainty.

“As the Prince was determined not to leave France, ‘till forced to do it by violence, he was, consequently, in daily expectations of being arrested; and, accordingly, had secured all his papers, plate, and such things as he thought not proper to trust to French mercy.

Some hours before the Prince was taken, several streets of Paris were beset with companies of the guards, and such precautions were taken as if there was real danger of some sudden rising for his defence. This precaution seemed necessary, in some measure, because, on Saturday the 7th, the Prince being at the opera, was universally clapt at his

entrance, and applauded, by every body, for his brave answers to the king's orders to him to quit the French dominions, into which he had been invited from Italy, &c. &c. This general applause of the people, it is believed, hastened his being seized. The Prince, being informed by a friend of their motions, and placing the guards only calmly replied, *Well, then, if it be so, we will not let them wait for us;* and so immediately they went to the opera, being on Tuesday the 10th.

“He was arrested in entering the opera-house, by six lusty fellows, who had cuirasses under their coats; they seized his sword, and small pocket pistols, which he always carried for his own security. They tied his arms, thighs, and legs, with cords, and lifting him off the ground put him into a coach, attended by the major, aid major, and another officer of the blue guards, and four serjeants behind the coach. In this equipage he was carried to the castle of Vincennes, the whole road being crowded with guards. He behaved on the

road to Vincennes, with all the composure imaginable, and finding the aid major had been in Italy, talked to him about several places in that country.

“At his arrival at the castle, seeing his intimate friend and old acquaintance, the tovernor, approaching him, he cried out, *Mon ami Chatelet, venez doncim’ embrasser, puisque je ne puis pas vous embrasser*, that is, *My friend, Chatelet, come then to embrace me when I can’t embrace you*, (alluding to his cords wherewith he was tied.) The governor then, in the most tender and respectful manner, unbound him, and conducted him to a small room, about ten feet square, with a small light which descends from the top. Upon the sight of this apartment, he only said, *He had seen a worse in Scotland*.

“Three captains of the guards were always with him night and day; they, by their tears, testified their concern, and shewed him all the respect due to his rank.

“The first night he did not eat, saying,

he had dined well, nor did he sleep, 'till next morning, (Wednesday the 11th) when he flung himself in his cloaths upon the bed, and got a good nap; the same day he did not dine, but at five o'clock in the evening, the governor brought him some broth with three bits of bread, which he pressed him to take, and the Prince complied, and ordered his supper to be ready at eight o'clock; he eat very heartily, tho' it disagreed with him afterwards, having overfasted himself.

“On Thursday (the 12th) he dined very well, continuing his meals regularly, and was in good health 'till he was released.

“On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the governor went to the king's levee, but carried back no orders for amending his prisoner's condition.

“On Friday morning (the 13th) the Prince wrote to the king, and in the evening received his answer. On Saturday he got another letter, and in the afternoon he had liberty to walk in the gardens, &c. where he staid, some

hours, and then returned to his dungeon, to pass his last night there. The contents of these letters were not known. On Sunday the 15th at seven o'clock in the morning, he departed from Vincennes for Fountainbleau in a coach, with the commandant of the musquetairs, accompanied by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Stafford in two post-chaises.

“On Monday, the 16th, the Prince wrote again to the King, and received an immediate answer.

“On Tuesday morning, at four o'clock, having eaten three eggs, he set out from thence with the aforesaid company, to hasten out of France; but where he will stop and take up his residence is yet a mystery.

“Sixty musquetairs were appointed to guard him on the road, but as he assured the king there was no necessity for them, they staid behind.

“During his captivity, he never shewed the least impatience, in looks, words, or actions; but bore up with that

magnanimity of spirit which gained him the admiration of all those about him; who said this Prince must be a hero in every scene of life. He was affable in the most gracious manner, to the governor and three captains of the guards; and when he saw them in any concern on his account, he even revived them with gaiety, and always forced them to sit at table, and eat with him.

“The castle of Vincennes, all the time of the Prince’s residence, was strongly guarded by the grenadiers and blue guards; and the draw-bridges were drawn up both day and night.

“So much for the Prince, who was no sooner arrested, than the lieutenant de Police, with 150 guards, were ordered to his house; but finding the doors shut, were preparing ladders, when some of them finding a back-door, broke it open, entered triumphantly, and seized every person there, even to the scullion, and eat the supper which was preparing for the Prince.

“At the same time, sir David Murray,

sir James Harrington, Mr. Gorin, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Sheridan, and others, both English, Scotch, and Irish, of the Prince's adherents, (about forty) were arrested in different parts of the town, and were conducted, in the night, to the Bastile: but were treated very well in all other respects, except their confinement.

“The Prince's French servants were set at liberty the next day; and, before he left Vincennes, he ordered them to be all paid off, and dismissed.

“On Friday the 13th, at night, Messrs. Stafford and Sheridan were released, to prepare for their attendance on the Prince against Sunday morning.

“The rest of the gentlemen were all dismissed on the 19th, at eight o'clock at night, when sir James Harrington, and Mr. Gorin, received orders to quit Paris immediately; but gained leave afterwards to stay 'till the 24th, when, as was supposed, they'll follow the Prince. The others were left at their own liberty, to do as they pleased. This short

confinement, added to that of sir David Murray's in England, just completed two years.

“At present, there only remains at the Prince's house, proper people to pay off all bills, and to pack up such things as he did not, before, think necessary to be removed.”

The Prince, from Fountainbleau, proceeded on his journey to Avignon, where he staid some weeks, and left it incog, taking along with him col. Gorin, and three other domestics; and he returned again to Versailles, where he remained four days incog. during which time, the Prince was frequently with the king and queen, and then proceeded on his journey for Poland, to marry the Princess of Radzvil, who is said to be a Protestant, and one of the first Princesses of Poland, with an immense fortune. She is related to the queen of France, and to the countess of Talmont, who brought about this match.

I shall now endeavour to give a little account of what became of some of those

who helped to compose the Prince's army.

Lochiel, being wounded in both legs, was carried off the field by four of his men, and put into a barn; and, as these men were taking off his own cloathes, and putting on others, to disguise him, a party of dragoons surrounded the barn, but they were ordered away just as they were going into it.

The dragoons were no sooner gone, than his men set him on horseback, and carried him that night to Cluny's house in Badenoch, where he continued 'till next morning, and then went to Lochabar: When he left the barn, he dismissed two of the men, but kept the other two to hold him on horseback.

On Friday, after the battle of Culloden, the duke of Perth, lord John Drummond, the marquis of Tullibardine, lord George Murray, lord Ogilvie, colonel Stewart of Ardshiel, colonel John Roy Stewart, lord Nairn, several of the Drummonds, and capt. James Hay, were at Ruthven in

Badenoch, lord George Murray proposed then, to get meal into that country, and to collect their troops again, and hold out, in order to obtain terms; but no person would pay any regard to what he said, being before so greatly disgusted at many things, as also at his haughty behaviour in general, and at his conduct at the battle of Culloden in particular: He said many things in his own justification, and told them he would clear up his character, in black and white, which was, some time after handed about. Lord George declared at this place, "That he was against fighting that day, and was for crossing the Nairn, but Sullivan opposed it; and that Sullivan used to carry all things in councils of war, against him."

Some of these gentlemen began to disperse that night, and the rest next day. The duke of Perth, and lord John Drummond, went directly for Moidart, where they soon after embarked for France with lord Elcho, capt. James Maxwell, and several others. They all got safe thither, except the duke of Perth,

who died two days after he went on board; lord John also died soon after, and his regiment was given to lord Lewis Drummond.

The marquis of Tullibardine was soon after betrayed, and carried to the Tower of London, where he died, and was buried in St. Peter's church. He was not in the battle of Culloden, being then very ill.

Lord George Murray was concealed in Scotland, 'till December after the battle of Culloden; and then, after being a little time in Edinburgh, went on board a vessel at Anstruther, and got to France, and never was in England after that battle; tho' some have strongly asserted it.

Lord Ogilvie, lord Nairn, colonel Stewart of Ardshiel, colonel John Roy Stewart, and the Drummonds, all got to France; since which, colonel Roy Stewart died. Captain Hay surrendering as a French Officer, to justice Clerk at Edinburgh, was thence removed to Carlisle, where he was tried and

condemned for high treason; but being an officer in French service, was soon discharged and released upon the cartel.

On the 15th of May, at Murtleg, or rather Murlagan, in the isle of Morar, near the head of Locharkaig, lord Lovat, Lochiel, major Kennedy, Glenbucket, Lochgary, Alexander M'Leod, doctor Cameron, John Roy Stewart, Barrisdale's son, secretary Murray, and others, about thirteen, assembled; and it was then proposed and agreed, That they should make a rendezvous at Glenmallie, and cross Lochy, where Cluny and Keppoch's men should join them. Lord Lovat's opinion was, to raise about 3500 men, to defend the country, families, and cattle as well as themselves; and the particular number, that each was to provide, was agreed upon; lord Lovat was to send 400 men, and that lord's servants had ten days pay for these men given him.

The meeting being over, Lochiel and Murray crossed the lake again; and, about four or five days after this, Murray crossed the lake again to Glensherrie, on

the opposite side of the water, to lord Lovat, and was with that lord and hour or two.

The general rendezvous was to be near Keppoch's house. Lochiel's, Barrisdale's, and Clanronald's people, were to meet at the lake, about two miles from Lochiel's house.

About ten days after this, Lochiel got a body of 3 or 400 men; Barrisdale and Lochgary went with about 150 men each; but as soon as Lochgary got pay for his men, he went away, promising to return in a few days, and to observe lord Loudon's motions: But he performed neither, for that earl, about two days after the men were got together, marched thro' Glengary, and had certainly taken Lochiel, but for some of his scouts; Barrisdale, before Loudon went away to Achnecary, (Lochiel's house) told Lochiel he would go and bring more men to them, and left his son with a few.

Early in the morning, a body of men appeared marching over a hill, whom

Lochiel believed to be Barrisdale's men; but some of his scouts went and told him they were Loudon's people, for they had red crosses in their bonnets. Upon this, Lochiel dispersed his men, and crossed the loch in a boat, which he had kept to prevent his being surprized; so that he ow'd his escape more to the crosses than to the *care* of Lochgary, or to the *honesty* of Barrisdale.

Lord Lovat, and some others, took different routs; secretary Murray, and some others, stayed with Lochiel 'till they got to Lochleven, near Glencoe; and after being there some time, sir David Murray, secretary Murray, doctor Cameron, and the rev. Mr. John Cameron, went from thence to Glenlyon, and continued there twelve or fourteen days. From that place they went to Glenochie, where secretary Murray was taken very ill, and desired they should return; so sir David Murray went south, and capt. M'Nab went with him to the Braes of Balquhiddar, and provided him a horse and cloathes, and the rest returned again to Lochiel.

Sir David went as far as Whitby in Yorkshire, where he was taken prisoner, in trying to get off, and was sent to York; there he was tried and condemned, but was afterwards reprieved; and discharged on the 7th of August 1748, upon condition that he should quit these realms for life.

After staying a little time with Lochiel, secretary Murray went southwards, and was at Mr. Hunter's of Polmood, his brother-in-law, on the 28th of June after the battle of Culloden, being about four miles off his own house at Broughton, in the great road to England, by Carlisle. The evening of the night that he was taken, a boy went from his brother's to Broughton, where a party of soldiers were, and told them, to go and take him, which in the night they did, and next day set forwards with him for Edinburgh, where, when he arrived, he was so drunk that he could not speak to justice Clerk, 'till after a few hours sleep; and then he was committed to the castle, where he remained 'till sent up to London under a strong guard; and was immediately close

confined, 'till he had given evidence against lord Lovat; and then was removed into the custody of a messenger, and about Christmas 1747 was discharged.

When they were going to remove him from Edinburgh, his mother wrote to a certain countess, to desire her assistance to raise a party in Yorkshire, to attempt to rescue her dear son; but the lady was so provoked at it, that she burnt the letter immediately, in great wrath.

The rest of the history of Lochiel, doctor Cameron, and his brother the minister, I have given in the Prince's escape. The other gentlemen all got safe aboard. Lochiel got safe to France, and was there made a colonel of 1000 men, which he enjoyed. to his death, in September, 1748, when it was given to sir Hector M'Lean, who, as aforementioned, was so long confined in Newgate. Doctor Cameron was wounded at Culloden by a musket bullet, which entered near the elbow, (having his arm up) and went along the arm, and then out at the opposite shoulder.

O R I G I N A L
P I E C E S

Relating to the foregoing

H I S T O R Y .

NUMBER I.

A Copy of a Letter from the young Adventurer to his Brother.

My dear Brother,

AS I doubt not you are long since acquainted with the unfortunate turn of our affairs, since my last dated at Inverness so in this I shall not much trouble you with advice concerning what is past, especially as you had the most important particulars of the action near Inverness, and its consequences, in Murray's letter, which went from hence in the beginning of May. Therefore I shall confine myself, chiefly, to what more immediately regards your preser-

vation and safety, which are, I again repeat to you of more value to me than my own.

The few friends and adherents I have left in this kingdom, I mean the few who dare openly appear and act as such, are in daily expectation of your arrival in some part of Scotland, or in England, with a force sufficient to retrieve our affairs, at least retard our fate. Indeed the last advice I had from you, as well as those from the duke de Bouillion, once gave me reason to expect that such a step would be taken by that court which. I will never trust again; yet now, believe me, (tho' I dare not speak my mind here, for obvious reasons) I neither look for nor desire it. However, as his most christian majesty may be induced to make another attempt, meerly by the hopes of distressing England, exclusive of any regard to our interest; and as he may employ you in it, with a view of securing our friends in that kingdom, I think it incumbent on me to warn you not to be drawn into the snare, into the

same gulph of ruin into which I am plunged.

As I am almost certain that a fresh invasion cannot succeed, so, doubtless, you cannot expect to gain either honour or profit by being concerned in it. And as the danger, with respect to your own person, must undoubtedly be imminent, why should you plunge yourself into it? Let those who may have some prospect of advantage by it, or who are forced to obey the voice of authority, embark in such desperate schemes, let such alone undergo, the danger. You may be killed, taken, or wounded. Grant this, and you must confess you venture a large stake. And what do you lay against? Nothing but a commander's pay, and that I hope you do not absolutely stand in need of. If you are actuated by a desire of contributing all in your power towards extricating me out of my present distresses, I must insist on your abandoning all thoughts of that nature.

One of my chief inducements for remaining here after being deserted by the

principal of my followers, was to wait the ultimate issue of things, and to lay hold of any, even the smallest opportunity, for retrieving our affairs; but such I have never met with, nor do I now expect. The Scots, on whom I have hitherto chiefly depended, are far from being generally so well affected to us as they have been represented. Their dread of the catholic religion is, I find, the greatest obstacle to a hearty reconciliation with our family. How much reason they have for this I need not observe to you. The majority of their clergy, greatly altered from what they were in my grandfather's days, fired with apprehensions for their kirk, and having an abhorance of the church of Rome, instilled into them in their infancy, and this increasing as they grew in years, have exerted themselves, and made it their main business to depreciate our religion, and represent his holiness of Rome as the greatest monster on the face of the earth. They are no less industrious in decrying the principles upon which our father claims the crown of his ancestors:

His right of succession, they tell us, Hath no existence, but in the mistaken notions, imbibed by some people in a wrong education; hereditary indefeasible right is ridiculed, laughed out of doors, and confounded with absolute power: And so reasonable do their arguments appear, that 'tis no wonder the people are influenced by them, since (For I think I ought truly to speak my mind to you) I myself have been in some measure sensible of their force.

In England our affairs are still in a worse situation. There the pulpit hath incessantly thundered, and the press hath taken arms against us. Both clergy and laity are united in the same cause, which they stile the cause of God and their country, the cause of liberty, the defence of property; for all seem persuaded, that the most abject slavery would infallibly be their lot, if a Stuart should reign over them.

'Tis true, we had, and still have, many friends in both Kingdoms, but those in Scotland have not ability to make their

services equal to their zeal, and those in England are not to be depended on. Instead of being received as the son of their lawful king, the Britains looked on me as the invader, the mortal enemy of their country, as one come to destroy their civil and religious liberties; the laity of all ranks are more than ever prepossessed against us, and I fear it is impossible for them ever to be reclaimed.***

The foregoing letter broke off abruptly, which doubtless was with design, as it appears to be only a copy from the original, which probably went to France.

NUMBER II.

My lord,

I have his royal highness's orders to send you some account of his present disagreeable situation here, tho' God knows whether he is yet alive, or whether a prisoner or at liberty, if it be proper to call such a state of life as he hath lately passed thro' a state of liberty; for I

have not seen him nor heard a word of him these three days, but I hope to see him in two more. Mean time, as I am but too much at leisure, (being obliged to keep close in an obscure room, in a lonely cottage for fear of a discovery) I shall be the more diffuse in this letter; tho' after all I am in no small fear of its never reaching Italy, it being extremely difficult to procure any one to carry so dangerous a charge in to England, and here I now begin to despair of seeing any friendly ship: Alas! France is no longer to be trusted, and Scotland is a broken reed:----- But of this, doubtless, you are already too well apprised.

His royal highness would have you acquaint the king his father, that he wrote to his brother in France, on the 11th instant, but does not look for an answer; I have orders to send a copy of this letter, which you are to communicate to his majesty.

Happy had it been for his royal highness had he never set his foot in Scotland; for it will be almost a miracle if he

escape safe out of it. Few are the remains of his friends here, and numerous his enemies. The government, indeed, seems not over-solicitous to secure his person, but whatever the court reason may be, some (unluckily, ignorant thereof, tho' not ignorant of the great price set on his head) may think of doing themselves and the state a considerable service by finding out our retreats, which, if very carefully sought would, I doubt not, be at length discovered.

Hitherto, God be praised, we have happily escaped, tho' surrounded by enemies, some of whom have more than once enter'd the very houses in which we have been conceal'd, and that within a few hours after we have left them; nay, his royal highness hath several times beheld his pursuers, and yet providentially got clear of them. Various have been the disguises we have had recourse to for safety, and which, under God, have been the immediate means of effecting it. And on these occasions his royal highness hath discovered a great-

ness of soul far superior to the most pungent adversity. Instead of being drove to despair, or in the least cast down, when on the brink of the pit he had the greatest reason to dread falling into, he hath preserved a composure of mind, a chearfulness of heart, a gaiety of temper, at every new instance of which I could not help being filled with admiration, tho' a continual, a daily witness of his heroic behaviour in the most distressful circumstances. When traversing the wild and lonely desart, climbing the craggy rock, or exploring the dark recesses of the subterraneous cavern, instead of bewailing his unkind fortune, he hath often made himself merry with our disguises; while himself personated by turns the various ranks and characters of the Highlanders of both sexes. He is at present, I believe, in quarters of refreshment, in the house of a zealous and constant friend in the isle of ----- where he is to wait for me, who dare not as yet quit my present recess. And great need he hath of such a relaxation, having lately endured such fatigues as are hard to

be imagined, and cannot be rightly conceived by one who hath never been in this dismal country, and in the same forlorn circumstances. He now repents of his stay here, after the principal of his followers deserted him, and went over to the continent. He had the same opportunities, the same vessels might have conveyed him hence, but he generously resolved not to abandon the poor faithful Highlanders, while the least ray of hope that his affairs could possibly be retrieved was left. He knew that these unfortunate people, who for his sake had involved themselves in their present unhappy circumstances, could no longer hope for a turn of Fortune's wheel in their favour, than while he remained among 'em, ready to catch the first opportunity for repairing past misfortunes.

And such an opportunity, alas! was too long expected here, thro' the fruitless promises of those whose interest it surely was to have performed them. A few men of War, and only 6000 land forces, might have recovered all, especially in

case of a division in the south. But even those (tho' more were promised, if the exigency of affairs required them) are now no longer looked for, nor so much as a twelfth part of them.

I cannot account for the folly and baseness of a certain court; but may heaven shower down its severest vengeance on those who wantonly sport with the distressed, and unconcernedly plunge an illustrious suffering family into new and still greater misfortunes, and this under the fallacious pretence of retrieving the past. The business is now done, his majesty hath played away his last stake, and can never hope for such another opportunity of asserting his claim to the British crown: The two nations are now so absolutely, so invincibly prejudiced against the catholic religion, and so adverse to being governed by a catholic Prince, that if our attempt should be renewed, we must only expect a still greater and more general opposition; and hence appears the sad consequence of so ill supporting our late un-

dertaking. It should have been vigorously carried on by those who set it on foot, or it ought never to have been begun; for that mortification consequent upon our ill success, is still the more aggravated, as we are not in so good a situation as before the fatal project was brought to execution. The manner in which his majesty hath now attempted to recover his right, hath, I fear, destroyed every future opportunity which fortune might have in store for him. By his connexions with the old and most inveterate enemies of England, and who are now at open war with her, and she perfectly satisfied of the justice of her cause, he hath only extended the distance betwixt himself and the affections of not only the kingdom of England, but those in Scotland and Ireland also. And as this attempt hath been unsuccessful, tho' made in the most favourable conjecture that could have been wished, or at least (in reason) hoped for, it will be in vain to repeat the trial.

The above are not only my sentiments but those of his royal highness also; who hath but too late experience of the little interest his family hath, or can hope to raise in the kingdoms.

The people in general are well satisfied with the Hanover family; the clergy, even of the established church, not less so than the laity. The catholics, tho' pretty numerous, are not at all forward to put themselves to the expence, and run the hazard of ruining themselves, by a new trial for the re-establishment of their religion in the British dominions, especially under a Prince of the unfortunate house of Stuart; for such an one, suppose him in possession of the throne, and acting with all imaginable art and address, would ever be distrusted by his subjects, whose experience must induce them to be always on their guard: And hence it appears, that it would be impossible for such a Prince to accomplish this great end by any others means than downright open force; and of the success of the desperate method there is little

probability, for these nations never will submit to be guided by authority in matters of religion. This (I am sorry that I can so truly say it) is the effects of the ill advised conduct of his majesty's royal progenitors; especially his late majesty king James II. who appears to have had more piety than precaution: to have been but too little acquainted with the genius and temper of his people, and to have made use of all means but the right for securing the succession to his posterity, and for reconciling his Protestant subjects to the catholic church. And tho' by means of the doctrines of passive obedience to, and non resistance of, the Prince's absolute will and unbounded prerogative, king James I. and his successors maintained a loyal party, which continued firmly attached to them under all circumstances, yet this party was ever not much, and is now become no better than a faction against the rest of their countrymen, who are by far the majority of the British subjects, of whom the former are not, I dare say, a fifth part.

This brings me to the question, whether such a minority hath naturally a right to disturb or break the tranquility of the majority, and force them to live under a government they have abolished, and the restoration of which would inevitably prove incompatible with the convenience, and destructive to the well being of the majority? I could with pleasure express my sentiments on this head, but shall defer it till, heaven permit, I have the happiness of seeing your lordship.

To conclude, the best that his royal Highness can now hope for, is to escape hence with life, and to content himself for the future with whatever situation it shall please God to place him in. But I refer you to his royal highness's own letter for his sentiments on this head. I shall only further observe (tho' it may be unnecessary to give your lordship the hint, that ***. I am, with the highest esteem and respect for your lordship,

Your lordship's most
devoted servant.

The Copy of a Letter from lord President to lord Lovat, Oct. 28th, 1745.

My lord,

AS I have the honour of being charged with the public affairs in this part of the kingdom, I can no longer remain a spectator to your lordship's conduct, and see the double game you have play'd for some time past, without betraying the trust reposed in me, and at once risquing my reputation, and the fidelity I owe to his majesty as a good subject. Your lordship's actions now discover evidently your inclinations, and leave us no further in the dark about what side you are to choose in the present unhappy insurrection: you have now so far pull'd off the mask, that we can see the mark you aim at, tho', on former occasions, you have had the skill and address to disguise your intentions in matters of far less importance. And, indeed, methinks a little more of your lordship's wonted artifice would not have been amiss, whatever had been your private sentiments with respect to

this unnatural rebellion. You shou'd, my lord, have duly considered and estimated the advantages that would arise to your lordship from its success, and balanced them with the risques you run if it should happen to miscarry; and, above all things, you ought to have consulted your own safety, and allow'd *that* the chief place in your system of politics; which, I persuade myself, would have induc'd your lordship to have play'd the game after quite a different manner, and with a much greater degree of caution and policy. But so far has your lordship been from acting with your ordinary *finesse* and circumspection on this occasion, that you sent away your son and the best part of your clan to join the pretender, with as little concern as if no danger had attended such a step: I say, sent them away; for we are not to imagine they went of themselves, or would have ventured to take arms without your lordship's concurrence and approbation: this, however; you are pretty sure can't be easily prov'd, which, I believe indeed, may be true. But I can't think it will be a

difficult matter to make it appear, that the whole strain of your lordship's conversation in every company where you have appeared, since the pretender's arrival, has tended to pervert the minds of his majesty's subjects, and seduce them from their allegiance: and give me leave to tell you, my lord, even this falls under the construction of treason, and is no less liable to punishment than open rebellion, as I am afraid, your lordship will find when once this insurrection is crush'd, and the government at leisure to examine into the affair. And I am sorry to tell you, my lord, that I could sooner undertake to plead the cause of any one of these unhappy gentlemen, who are just now actually in arms against his majesty, and I could say more in defence of their conduct, than I could in defence of your lordship's. The duke of Perth and lord Ogilvie never qualify'd, nor did they ever receive the smallest favour from the present government: but, on the contrary, were both stripp'd of their titles and honours, and from men of the first quality reduced to the state of pri-

vate gentlemen, since the revolution, and may both be supposed to act from a principle of resentment, and only took up arms to recover what they thought themselves unjustly depriv'd of. lord George Murray never had any place or pension from the public, and was, no doubt, drawn in by the influence of the marquis of Tullibardine, perhaps, touch'd with pity and commiseration for his eldest brother, who has spent the best part of his life in exile, and undoubtedly upon an allowance much inferior to his dignity. These, and such like apologies, may be offer'd in defence of most of the leading men in the present rebellion; bur, what shall I say in favour of you, my lord? You, who have flourish'd under the present happy establishment? You, who, in the beginning of your days, forfeited both your life and fortune, and yet, by the benignity of the government, was not only indulg'd the liberty of living at home, but even restor'd to all you could lay claim to: nay, his majesty's goodness went so far as to employ your lordship in his service, and

was pleased to honour you with the command of one of the independent companies that were raised some years ago in the Highlands, which you enjoy'd for a very long rime: so that both duty and gratitude ought to have influenced your lordship's conduct, at this critical juncture, and disposed you to have acted a part quite different from what you have done. But there are some men whom no duty can bind, nor no favour can oblige, and, I'm afraid, if a timely repentance don't prevent it, your lordship will, not unjustly, be rank'd among that number. You now see, my lord, how unanimous the people of England are against the pretender, and what forces they are mustering up to oppose him. The king has ordered home his troops; several noblemen have raised regiments at their own expence; and every county and corporation throughout the kingdom are entering into associations in defence of the present establishment: so that these few unhappy gentlemen who are engaged in this rebellion, will have armies after armies to encounter, and if

your lordship entertains any hopes of their success, you'll find your mistake, when 'tis too late to amend it. What I would, therefore, propose to your lordship, as the only expedient left to rescue you from the hazard of a rigorous prosecution, is, to recal your son and his men immediately. This step, I'm persuaded, would produce several good consequences for, on the one hand, it would prevent numbers from joining the rebels, who now hang in suspence, and, on the other, occasion a great many of those already engaged to desert and retire to their respective habitations; and, perhaps, may be the means of crushing the rebellion without further bloodshed. Which would do your lordship a great deal of honour, and such a remarkable piece of service would be amply rewarded by the government. If you shall judge proper, my lord, to follow this advice, it will give me a great deal of pleasure, as it will contribute to stop the progress of an unhappy civil war, that threatens us with endless calamities; but if your lordship continues obstinate, and will not order

your men to disband and return home, I shall be obliged to take you into custody, be the event what it will: and then your lordship will run the risque of having your family extirpate as well as other of the Highland chiefs, when the rebellion is once quelled. Now, my lord, I have told your lordship my sentiments pretty freely, and no less out of friendship to your lordship than duty to the public. I might have advanc'd many other arguments, to induce your lordship to follow my advice, but, methinks, what I have already said, is sufficient; and so I shall only further add, that I am,

My lord,

Inverness, Oct. 28,

1745.

Yours, &c.

A Copy of lord Lovat's Letter, in Answer to lord President's Letter, October 29th, 1745.

My dear lord,

I received the honour of your lordships letter late last night, of yesterday's date; and I own I never receiv'd one like

it since I was born; and I give your lordship ten thousand thanks for the kind freedom you use with me in it: for I see by it, that for my misfortune, in having an obstinate stubborn son, and an ungrateful kindred, my family must go to destruction, and I must lose my life in my old age. Such usage looks rather like a Turkish or Persian government, than like a British. Am I, my lord, the first father that has had an undutiful and unnatural son? Or am I the first man that has made a good estate, and saw it destroyed in his own time, by the mad foolish actions of an unnatural son, who prefers his own extravagant fancies to the solid advice of an affectionate old father? I have seen instances of this in my own time, but never heard tell till now, that the foolishness of a son would take away the life and liberty of a father that liv'd peaceably, and was an honest man, and well-inclined to the rest of mankind. But I find, the longer a man lives, the more wonders and extraordinary things he sees. Now, my dear lord, I beg leave to tell you my mind freely in my turn. I

thank God I was born with very little fear in the greatest difficulties and dangers by sea and land, and, by God's assistance, I often sav'd my life by the firmness and steadiness of my resolutions; and though I have now but a little remains of a life that is clogged with infirmities and pain, yet by God's help I am resolved to preserve it as long as I can. And though my son should give way with the young people of his clan, yet I will have six hundred brave *Frasers* at home, many of them about my own age, that will lose the last drop of their blood to preserve my person; and I do assure your lordship, if I am attack'd, that I will sell my life as dear as I can. For since I am as peaceable a subject as any in the kingdom, and as ready to pay the king's taxes, and to do every thing else that a faithful subject ought to do, I know no law or reason that my person should not be in safety, I did use, and will use, the strongest arguments that my reason can suggest to me by my cousin *Gort-l-ge*, that he may repeat them to my son; and if they should not prevail, is it any ways

just or equitable that I should be punished for the faults of my son? Now, my dear lord, as to the unhappy civil war that occasions my misfortunes, and in which almost the whole kingdom is involv'd, on one side or the other, I humbly think, that men should be moderate on both sides, since it is morally impossible to know the event; for thousands, ten-thousands, on both sides, are positive that their own party will carry. And suppose that this venturous prince should be utterly defeat, and that the government should carry all in triumph, no man can think that any king upon the throne would destroy so many ancient good families, for engaging in a cause that was always their principle, and what they thought their duty to support. King William was as great a king, as to his knowledge of government and politics, as sat for many hundred years upon the throne of England; and when his general, who was one of the best in Europe, was defeat, and forced to run to save his life, and all his army routed at *

* In 1689, between K. William's forces commanded by

Killicranky by a handful of Highlanders, not full two thousand in number, king William was so far from desiring to extirpate them, that he sent the earl of Breadalbane with twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and sought no other conditions from them, than that they should live peaceably at home. So, my lord, we cannot imagine, that though the Highlanders should be defeated this time, and most of them killed, and the government full master of the kingdom, that any administration would be so cruel, as to endeavour to extirpate the whole remains of the Highlanders. Besides, it would be a dangerous enterprise, which we nor our children would see at an end.

I pray God we may never see such a scene in our country, as subjects killing and destroying their fellow-subjects. For my part, my lord, I am resolved to leave

Gen. Mackay, and those of the late K. James, who remained masters of the field, tho' with the loss of their general, viscount Dundee, a brave soldier, which prov'd fatal to their party, that dwindled away for want of a good leader.

a peaceable subject in my own house, and do nothing against the king or government. And if I am attack'd by the king's guards, and his captain general at their head, I will defend myself as long as I have breath is me: and if I am kill'd here, 'tis not far to my burial-place; and I will have, after I am dead, what I always wish'd, the Coronoch of all the women in my country, to convey my body to my grave; and that was my ambition, when I was in my happiest situation in the world.

B- rofort,
Oct. 30, 1745.

I am,
My lord,
Your lordship's, &c.

An exact Copy of the Letter wrote by lord Lovat to his Royal Highness the duke of Cumberland, dated at Fort-William, June 12, 1746.

SIR,

THIS letter is most humbly address'd to your royal highness, by the very unfortunate Simon lord Frazier of Lovat.

I durst not presume to solicit or petition your royal highness for any favour, if it was not very well known to the best people in this country, attach'd to the government, such as the lord President, and by those that frequented the court at that time, that I did more essential service to your royal family in the great rebellion in the year 1715, with the hazard of my life, and the loss of my only brother, than any of my rank in Scotland; for which I had three letters of thanks from my royal master, by the hands of earl Stanhope, then secretary of state; in which his majesty strongly promis'd to give me such marks of his favour as should oblige all the country to be faithful to him; therefore the gracious king was as good as his word to me, for as soon as I arrived at court, and was introduc'd to the king by the late duke of Argyle, I became, by degrees, to be as great a favourite as any Scotchman about the court; and I often carried your royal highness in my arms, in the parks of Kensington and Hampton Court, to hold you up to your royal grandfather,

that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you and the young princesses. Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my present circumstances, is, that your royal highness will be pleased to extend your goodness towards me, in a generous and compassionate manner, in my deplorable situation; and, if I have the honour to kiss your royal highness' hand, I would easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more service to the king and government, than the destroying an hundred such old, and very infirm men, like me, pass'd 80 (without the least use of my hands, legs, or knees) can be of advantage in any shape to the government.

Your royal father, our present sovereign, was very kind to me in the year 1715. I presented on my knees to his majesty a petition in favour of the laird of M'Intosh, to obtain a protection for him, which he granted me, and gave it to Charles Cathcart, then groom of his bed-chamber; and order'd him to deliver in into my hands, that I might give it to the

laird of M'Intosh. This was but one testimony of several marks of goodness his majesty was pleased to bestow on me while the king was at Hanover; so I hope I shall feel, that the same compassionate blood runs in your royal highness's veins.

Major General Campbel told me, that he had the honour to acquaint your royal highness, that he was sending me to Fort William, and that he begg'd of your royal highness to order a litter to be made for me to carry me to Fort Augustus; as I am in such a condition, that I am not able to stand, walk, or ride. I am, with the utmost submission, and most profound respect,

SIR,

Your royal highness's obedient,
and most faithful humble servant.

Signed,

LOVAT.

The duke of Perth's Speech, at a Council of War held at Brampton near Carlisle, in presence of Ascanius, after his first Appearance before that City, and

retreat from it, on the Garrison's refusing to capitulate.

May it please your royal highness!

I cannot help expressing the concern I am in, to see so little unanimity, and so much heat and animosity prevail in this honourable assembly; but my concern wants words sufficient to express it, when I reflect, that there are so many reasons to complain of our present situation; that there are so many circumstances daily occurring to perplex us in our projects, to weaken our strength, and discourage us in our undertaking.

Our disappointments are so many, that we can number them only by the days that have elapsed since our first insurrection; and their greatness is to be measured only by the danger into which we are now plunged.

Our hopes, before your highness's arrival in Scotland, were raised to the highest pitch; and could only be equalled by the zeal which subjects of all

ranks in that kingdom expressed for his majesty. We flatter'd ourselves, that your highness would have appeared back'd by a numerous army, well supplied with arms, money, and ammunition; their number, we were made to believe would not be less than 16,000 men, and those of the best troops of France. These were solemnly promised us by Mr. Kelly, when with us last spring; we were told they were ready in the ports of France, with transports, and a fleet sufficient to protect their landing. But when the time came, how were we disappointed! Your royal highness landed in the west, with a retinue scarce sufficient for a private gentleman; however, this did not discourage your faithful clans from joining you; being still flattered that the promised succours were at hand, and would certainly arrive before there was any occasion of coming to an action.

The numbers of the faithful Highlanders still increased, till they were strong enough to venture for the east. When I had the honour of joining your highness

at Perth, I was then assured that the French were actually embarked, and waited only for a fair wind; and that a considerable insurrection would presently appear in the north, and several other parts of England. The places of the several risings were particularly mention'd, and we were made acquainted with the names of many considerable men in England, who had undertaken to appear openly in his majesty's interest.

We were assured, that his most christian majesty would certainly detain the English forces in Flanders; and would hinder the Dutch from sending any troops to Great Britian, by openly declaring your royal father his ally. But how have we been disappointed in every article of these promises! The long promised succours are not to this day embarked; the Brest squadron, which we were made to believe was to conduct the transports, has long since sailed; but whither, no man knows; only we are certain, they could not be designed for this kingdom, for they have had both time,

and frequent fair winds, to have brought them long before now.

His most christian majesty has been so far from declaring himself openly in favour of his majesty, that his minister at the Hague peremptorily asserted to the States, that his master had no hand in the *Don Quixote* expedition, as he was pleased to term your highness's undertaking in Scotland. The Dutch were allowed, without molestation, to send over 6000 of those very forces which were made prisoners by the French king's arms; troops, which could be of no use to the Dutch in their own country, by the capitulation with France; troops, which his majesty of France could hinder being made use of against us, by a simple declaration, that your royal father was his ally; yet this was thought risking too much in favour of a people who had ventur'd their all upon the assurances, promises, and faith of the French king. And what makes this disappointment sit the heavier upon us is, that we are sure, is the Dutch had not sent these very

identical troops, they would have been much embarrassed to have spared others to perform their engagements with the elector of Hanover.

But the promise of detaining the English forces was as ill performed as the other, tho' that solely depended upon his most christian majesty's general. They had it in their power to have hindered every man of them from returning to England; and either I am very ill informed, or they might have made most of them prisoners, had the French general been as sanguine .at the latter end of the campaign, as at the beginning of it. But they were allowed to embark at Williamstadt, without interruption; and are now almost all landed in England, without the loss of a transport; tho' the possession of Ostend enabled his most christian majesty, had he been so inclined, to have annoyed them much.

As to our hopes from England, they have been as delusive as French promises. When we arrived at Edinburgh, and had the fortune to defeat Sir John Cope,

our assurances of a speedy insurrection in England were renewed, and the days fixed; but these, and many others, have passed by, and not the least appearance of any such design; tho' on the faith of them, we continued unactive at Edinburgh. We might have proceeded southward, while the panic of Cope's defeat was fresh upon peoples minds, and before the elector's forces could possibly be got together; but that opportunity was lost, in hopes, Sir, that your English friends would declare for you, and supersede the necessity of your loyal clans going out of their own country. But instead of any such, numbers declaring for you, we were entertained with nothing but associations in all parts of England, in defence of the elector's right; and not a man from that kingdom either joined us in Scotland, or made any interest to promote an insurrection in your favour, in their own country.

At last, Sir, the scene was shifted, and new conditions annexed to old promises. We were now told, that the French em-

barkation was delayed until all the English forces were drawn northward; and that then an invasion would be made on some part of the south, now supposed to be left destitute of troops to defend them; and that the English in the north are now intimidated from rising, by the vicinity of the enemy's troops; but promise faithfully to join us, so soon as our army sets foot on English ground. The general disposition of the people is represented to us, as strongly in our interest; and we are assur'd, that the gates of all towns will almost open of themselves to receive us; and that the people ardently wish to join us.

Notwithstanding the numerous disappointments we met with from the first beginning of this affair, yet we were again persuaded to listen to delusive promises. We march from Edinburgh, enter England; but instead of that disposition to join us, which we were flatter'd with, we find those who cannot oppose us, fly us; and those who have the least

shelter from our resentment, despise us, and treat us with the utmost contempt.

We were assured by a gentleman, upon whose veracity I always thought I might depend, and who now hears me, that the city of Carlisle we have just now passed, would open its gates to us at our first appearance; nay, that your highness would have received the keys of the city some miles from the place. But how we were disappointed, you all know, and with how much contempt your highness's summons was treated.

The value of the place I know to be insignificant; nor do I believe the possession of it would be of any real service to the main cause; yet the repulse we have met with from that poultry town, has this influence upon me, to convince me, and I am afraid too late, that we are all made the tools of France; a nation, whose faith, like that of Carthage, is become a proverb; and there is as little dependence on the promises of English male-contents, whose zeal for your royal house, these 50 years past, has mani-

fested itself as nothing else but womanish rattling, vain boasting, and noisy gasconades; their affection for you is their cups; and their sense of loyalty only conspicuous in the absence of their reason: warm'd with wine and a tavern-fire, they are champions in your cause; but when cool, their courage and zeal evaporate with the fumes of the wine.

Thus, Sir, I conclude then we have no dependence on English assistance; to what purpose proceed we any farther then? The elector's forces are by far superior to ours in number, daily supplied with money, arms, carriages and ammunition; while we were destitute of all these. Your loyal Highlanders will fight for you with as much zeal and courage as men can boast of; but shall we lead these brave men to certain destruction? Were the enemy's number but equal to us, or but exceeded us in a small proportion, I doubt not, but from the justness of our cause, and the courage of our; men, we might hope for success; but where they are three to one, and that we must ex-

pect to diminish, rather than increase, I should think myself guilty of the grossest barbarity, should I give my voice to proceed any farther into, England, until such of this nation as have promised to declare for the cause actually join us.

I entered, Sir, into this affair, with as much chearfulness as any man here; I have contributed as much to support it as any; and I think, I may say without offence, that I have as much to lose by the event as most men, and as little to hope. I shall venture my life with pleasure to promote his majesty's interest; yet I think I owe something to the safety of these people, who have followed my fortune: I think I am bound in duty to prevent their ruin, as much as in my power, which I think inevitable if they proceed farther; therefore I purpose that we return to Carlisle, and attempt to possess that city; the taking of it may give some reputation to our arms, and encourage the English to join us, if they have any such intention; if they have not, we must then make the best retreat

back to the Highlands while we can, there disperse our unhappy followers, and shift for ourselves in some foreign country, where there is more faith there in either France or England.

The duke of Perth's Speech, at a general Council of War held at Derby, Dec. 5, 1745.

YOU may easily imagine the pleasure which arises in my mind, on seeing the smiles which sit on every countenance of this honourable assembly, from the success which has hitherto uninterruptedly attended, and abundantly demonstrated the justice of our cause. Not to say any thing of the loyal kingdom of Scotland,—altogether loyal so far as it dar'd,—we have, in the space of little more than a month since we left it, taken, without the loss of a man, the strong city and castle of Carlisle, which us'd to be the fortress of England's barrier to the West, as Berwick is to the East; we have rais'd contributions, and proclaim'd his majesty in all his market towns of Cumberland, Westmoreland,

Lancashire, Staffordshire, and this principal town of Derbyshire, for more than an 100 miles on English ground without opposition; and are now got about half way towards his capital of London.

The satisfaction, with which I have mention'd all this success, may incline you to imagine that I think our work already near finish'd.—We might have been this day in possession of St. James's had we immediately proceeded on our victory, but I rather think it further off, if not quite frustrated, for this time, by our delay to move forward from Gladsmuir: Our troops would not then have suffered so much by their fatiguing marches in bad weather, and bad roads, by which hardships, the high spirits which that easy, day had given them evaporated. Besides, not a man of the elector's forces would have dar'd to have look'd our troops in the face, for a month after, so intimidated were they by Sir J. Cope's fears and representations of us: Neither were the 6000 perjurd Dutch forces then landed; nor above

2000 of the English arriv'd from Flanders: Our friends at London were in the highest spirits, and our enemies were in the utmost consternation. That the — itself shook was manifest, by the uncommon run upon the bank, and the doubling all their guards.

But this fatal oversight, never to be retriev'd, I shall forbear to aggravate; they who advis'd this delay, had their reasons for it; such as the danger of leaving at our backs the castle of Edinburgh in the enemies hands; the difficulty of persuading our troops to enter upon English ground; and the uncertainty of our being join'd by any numbers in this kingdom.

These reasons were urg'd, and they prevailsh'd for our stay five weeks in and about Edinburgh: Yet when every one of these reasons were grown stronger by time, we pass'd the northern borders the latter end of October, depending on the repeated assurance we receiv'd from all parts, that there was a strong party that

would declare for us as soon as we came forward.

All our friends told us, that the numbers of the catholics are increased three to one within these twenty years; and it appears from the lists we have of all the public places where mass is constantly said, that there is not a city in the whole kingdom where there are not two or three of them, and all well fill'd.

Thus encouraged and persuaded we took the western road by Carlisle for Lancashire, as we were invited to do: That city and castle fell an easy purchase to us, the attack of which I had the honour to advise at Brampton.

But to come to the point of our present deliberation, whether it is more adviseable to march forward and venture a battle, or secure a timely retreat. I shall not scruple to give my opinion for the latter, without fearing the imputation of cowardice upon myself, and without meaning to impute it upon any officer in this assembly, or any individual listed under

us. But by our last musters it is certain we have lost as many of our countrymen by desertion and long marches, as we have gain'd of English by recruits; and though we have been in England above a month, not one person of figure or fortune has join'd us. The elector's forces, under a warm and eager, and well esteem'd general, are now come up even with us, and can be no longer evaded; they are too, if our spies be not misinform'd, much superior in number to us. We are, indeed, as well arm'd and provided with artillery and ammunition, thanks to the English cowardice at Edinburgh, Gladsmuir, and Carlisle; but notwithstanding all this, what is most material, a single defeat to us in the heart of the enemies country would be our entire ruin. For though we should be able to rally again, 'twould be impossible to retreat with safety at so great distance from home.

You all know very well that it was the hopes of plunder and free quarters which tempted our clans to leave Scot-

land; and though our orders to them were to preserve strict discipline, and pay for all they took; yet we have been forc'd to wink at little disorders to prevent their murmuring and discontents; and as they, are now loaded with the spoil of our enemies, 'twere better to march homeward with them, while we may, rather than hazard a battle, which if it should prove unsuccessful, could not but be decisive with regard to us.

I would not hereby insinuate, as if I thought, either that our enemies were formidable, for their valour, or skill; our own experience has shewn the contrary: Or that our followers wanted courage or conduct in the field: For we have found them faithful, and our enemies have found them invincible.

By virtue of this terror in our enemies, we may return back safely with our spoils, lie warm and snug on their northern borders the remainder of the winter, and come fresh again with victory on our wings in the summer, to finish

the glorious work of restoration with more ease and less hazard.

A Letter from Keppoch and Lochiel to Mr. Stuart of Invernakeil, dated Glenturs, March 20, 1746.

SIR.

Yesternight we received a letter from Clunie, giving an account of the success of the party sent by his royal highness, under the command of lord George Murray, to Athol; a copy of which letter we thought proper to send you inclosed; and as you happen, for the present, to lie contiguous to the Campbels, 'tis our special desire, that you instantly communicate to Airds the sheriff, and other leading men among them, our sentiments, (which, God willing, we are determined to execute) transmitting this our letter, and the inclosed copy, to any the nearest to you.

It is our opinion, that of all men in Scotland, the Campbels had the least reason of any to engage in the present

war against his royal highness's interest, considering they have always appeared in opposition to the royal family, since the reign of James VI. and have been guilty of so many acts of rebellion and barbarity during that time, that no injured Prince but would endeavour to resent it, when God was once pleased to put the power in his hands. Yet his present majesty, and his royal highness the Prince regent, were graciously pleased, by their respective declarations, to forgive all past miscarriages to the most virulent and inveterate enemy, and even bury them in oblivion, provided they returned to their allegiance; and, tho' they should not appear personally in arms in support of the royal cause, yet their standing neuter would entitle them to the good graces of their injured sovereign. But, in spite of all the lenity and clemency, that a Prince could shew or promise, the Campbels have openly appeared, with their wonted zeal for rebellion and usurpation, in a most officious manner. Nor could we ever form a thought to ourselves, that any men, en-

dow'd with reason or common sense, would use their fellow-creatures with such inhumanity and barbarity as they do; and of which we've daily proofs by their burning houses, stripping of women and children, and exposing them to the open fields and severity of the weather, burning of corn, houghing [*ham-stringing*] of cattle, and killing of horses: to enumerate the whole would be too tedious at this time. They must naturally reflect, that we cannot but look upon such cruelties with horror and detestation, and, with hearts full, of revenge, will certainly endeavour to make reprisals; and we are determin'd to apply to his royal highness, for leave and an order to enter their country, with full power to act at discretion, and, if we are lucky enough to obtain it, we shall shew that we are not to make war against women, and the brute creation, but against men, and as God was pleas'd to put so many of them in our hands, we hope to prevail with his royal highness to hang a Campbel for every house that shall hereafter be burnt by them.

Notwithstanding The many scandalous and malicious aspersions, industriously contrived by our enemies, they could never, since the commencement of the war, impeach us with any acts of hostilities, that had the least tendency to such cruelty, tho' we had it in our power, if barbarous enough to execute it.

When courage fails against men, it betrays cowardice to a great degree, to vent the spleen against brutes, houses, women, and children, that cannot resist; We are not ignorant of their villainous intentions, by the intercepted letter from the Sheriff Airds, &c. which plainly discovers, that it was by their application, that their general Cumberland granted orders for burning, which he could not be answerable for to the British parliament, being most certain that such barbarity could never be countenanced by any christian senate. (Sign'd),

DONALD CAMERON, of Lochiel.
ALEX. M'DONNELL, of Keppoch.

I cannot omit taking notice, that my people have been the first that have seen the cowardly barbarity of my pretended Campbel friends; I shall only desire to live to have an opportunity of thanking them for it in the open field.

(Sign'd), DONALD CAMERON.

Order of the Rt. Hon. the lord Lewie Gordon, lord Lieutenant of the Counties, and Governor of the Towns of Aberdeen and Bamff.

Whereas I desired and ordered J. Moir of Stonywood, to intimate to all gentlemen and their doers, within the said counties of Aberdeen and Bamff, to send into the town of Aberdeen, a well-bodied man for each 100*l. Scots*, their valued rent, sufficiently cloathed, and in consequence of my order he wrote circular letters to all the heritors, and the above counties, desiring them to send in a man sufficiently cloathed, &c. for each 100*l. Scots* of their valued rent; which desire they have not complied with: Therefore I order and command you, to

take a sufficient party of my men, and go to all the lands within the above counties, and require from the heritors, factors, or tenants, as you shall think most proper, an able-bodied man for his majesty King James's service, with sufficient Highland cloaths, plaid and arms, for each 100*l.* of their valued rent, or the sum of 5*l.* sterl. money for each of the above men, to be paid to J. Moir of Stonywood, or his order of Aberdeen; and in case of refusal of the men or money, you are forthwith to burn all the houses, corn, and planting upon the foresaid estates: and to begin with the heritor or factor residing on the lands; and not to leave the said lands until the above execution be done, unless they produce Stonywood's lines shewing they have delivered him the men or the money. Given at Aberdeen this 12th of December, 1745.

Subscrib'd

LEWIS GORDON.

A copy of the rebels orders before the battle of Culloden; found in the pocket of one of the prisoners.

Parole.

Roy Jacques.

IT is his royal highness's positive orders, that every person attach himself to some corps of the army, and remain with the corps night and day, until the battle and pursuit be finally over, and to give no quarter to the elector's troops, on no account whatsoever. This regards the foot as well as horse. The order of battle is to be given to every general officer and every commander of a regiment or squadron.

It is requir'd and expected of each individual in the army, as well officer as soldier, that he keep the post he shall be allotted; and if any man turn his back to run away, the next behind such man is to shoot .him.

No body, upon the pain of death, is to strip the slain, or plunder, until the battle is over. The Highlanders to be in

kilts, and no body to throw away their
guns.

Sign'd,

GEORGE MURRAY, Lt-Gen.

Twelve
Highland Articles
OF
I M P E A C H M E N T
Against
lord *George Murray*.

I. **T**HAT he (the lord George Murray) was suspected, and accused, of mal practices by the public, and, particularly, by John Murray, secretary; and that it was destructive to the Prince's interest, that he (lord George Murray) shou'd under such accusations, and after the interception of the letters at Derby, solicit and retain command, to the great discontent of the Prince's friends and forces, especially, after he (lord George) had lost the confidence of the people.

II. That he did not pay proper deference to wise councils; and that he acted presumptuously and arrogantly, without calling councils of war.

III. That he wantonly urged the battle of Culloden, tho' he well knew, that a considerable number of as good men, as any the Prince had, were absent.

IV. That, in the night expedition, he acted contrary to the plan set down, in filing off in the dark, without giving advice to the second line, by which the Prince's scheme was disconcerted, and the lives of his men endanger'd.

V. That the Prince's army was, by his (lord George's) means, kept under arms, marching and counter-marching without rest, and half starved for want of meat or drink, for 48 hours, before the battle; and therefore could not exert their wanted strength; on which, with their usual way of fighting, much depended.

VI. That, just before the battle, the lord Elcho ask'd him (lord George) what he thought of the event? To which he

answer'd, *We are now putting an end to a bad affair.*

VII. That in forming the order of battle he suddenly alter'd the plan, by which they were drawn up the day before, commanding the M'Donalds to the left, the Camerons to the right; well knowing, that the M'Donalds, who, time immemorial, held the right, would not fight under such an indignity.

VIII. That he, wilfully, march'd the front line out or an advantagious situation, and refused to level some huts and walls, which apparently wou'd prove an obstruction to the second line, in supporting the first; or ruinous, in case of a necessity for a retreat; altho' he (lord George) was solicited to remove those evils.

IX. That, by his neglect, the artillery was ill served, and ill executed.

X. That, when the right of the Highlanders had broke the left of the crown army, he (lord George) neglected his duty, in not having them duly supported, whereby they were attack'd in flank by the crown horse.

XI. That he had industriously put himself in the advance posts, upon the night-expedition, and on the day of battle; and had, without any necessity, put himself in posts of danger, and therewith prevented the execution of all designs.

XII. That is evident that the duke of Cumberland, who commanded the crown army, would never draw off his horse from his right, and weaken that wing, where the Highland force was most powerful against him, if he had not had intelligence, that such an alteration wou'd be suddenly made in the Highland army as wou'd create such disgust, as wou'd render their left wing quite inactive, and useless; which intelligence cou'd not be given by any, but by him, the lord George Murray, as he (lord George) had made said sudden alterations, without the approbation of a council of war, and without the previous knowledge, consent or advice of the Prince or of any of the Prince's faithful friends and general officers.

All which actings and doings manifestly demonstrate, that the said lord George Murray hath not faithfully discharged the trust and confidence reposed in him; and that he has been an enemy to the Prince and to the good people of the British dominions, by swerving from his duty and allegiance.

F I N I S.

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