

JACOBITE MEMOIRS
OF
THE REBELLION OF 1745

EDITED.

PROM THE MANUSCRIPTS OF

THE LATE RIGHT REV. ROBERT FORBES, A.M.

BISHOP OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

BY

ROBERT CHAMBERS,

AUTHOR OF "TRADITIONS OF EDINBURGH," &c.

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PREFACE.

The papers composing the present volume, and which form the first body of authentic historical memoirs respecting the Civil War of 1745 ever presented to the public, are selected from a manuscript collection of such documents, formed, within a few years subsequent to the battle of Culloden, by the pious and venerable clergyman whose name is given upon the title-page. The interests of the house of Stewart, it is well known, were identified in Scotland with those of an episcopal church, which had been displaced at the Revolution, and, in 1745, consisted of a few small and scattered congregations, under the superintendence of a reduced number of titular bishops. Previous to the commencement of the insurrection, Mr Forbes was settled as minister of the episcopal congregation at Leith; but, while Prince Charles was on his descent from the Highlands, having given cause for suspicion to the officers of state, he was apprehended at St Ninian's, September 7, 1745, together with other two clergymen, and two gentlemen, and kept prisoner, first in Stirling, and afterwards in Edinburgh Castle, till the restoration of tranquillity in May 1746. This accident perhaps prevented him and his companions from joining the standard of the Prince, and was, no doubt, felt at the time as a grievous disappointment. It not only, however, saved him from the disasters of a falling cause, but brought him into a leisurely acquaintance with a number of the active insurgents, who, being seized at various times, and placed in confinement beside him, became sources of information respecting the events of the campaign, and appear to have been the means of first suggesting to him the idea of the collection, from which the present volume is compiled.

After regaining his liberty, Mr Forbes resumed the usual tenor of his life at Leith, where, for several years, he lived in the house of the dowager Lady Bruce of Kinross,¹ within the walls of Cromwell's Citadel. The salaries of the episcopal clergy were then necessarily, as they are now, perhaps, unjustifiably small; and it is probable, that the support of Mr Forbes by Lady Bruce, was little else than an act of religious benevolence, on her part, towards the small band of Christians with whom she was connected. Here he steadily prosecuted his design of collecting, from the mouths and pens of the survivors of the late enterprise, such narratives, anecdotes, and

¹ Dame Magdalen Scott, relict of Sir William Bruce of Kinross.

memorabilia, as they could give from their own knowledge, or as eye witnesses, respecting that extraordinary historical episode. His papers, whether contributed in writing, or taken down by himself from oral communication, he regularly transcribed upon octavo sheets, which in the end formed volumes; and nothing can exceed the neatness, distinctness, and accuracy, with which the whole task appears to have been performed. He took care, in particular, to see most of the individuals who had been apprehended for their concern in the Prince's escape, and carried prisoners to London; an opportunity being generally afforded by their passing through the Scottish capital, on their way back to the Highlands. The narratives drawn from these individuals are singularly copious and accurate, insomuch as to lead to an hypothesis in the mind of the editor, that the good man, having designed to become the Clarendon of the late revolutionary times, contemplated, above all things, the triumphant pleasure he should have, in laying before a new King Charles, when established in St James's, the affecting history of all his former mishaps.

The collection, which ultimately filled ten volumes, was bound in black, with black-edged leaves, and styled, in allusion to the woe of Scotland for her exiled race of Princes, "THE LYON IN MOURNING." As a subordinate title, the bishop adds, "or a Collection, (as exactly made as the iniquity of the times would permit,) of Speeches, Letters, Journals, &c. relative to the affairs, but more particularly to the dangers and distresses, of * *;" and a scrap of Latin verse is given on each title-page, in allusion to the chief articles embodied in the respective volumes. The first three volumes bear the date 1747, the next three 1748; the seventh is dated 1749, the eighth 1750, the ninth 1761, and the tenth 1775. It thus appears that the bulk of the collection was made immediately after the close of the insurrection, when the recollections of the actors must of course have been most fresh; and this part of the collection is fortunately the most important in historical value. The latter volumes, indeed, are chiefly composed of fugitive *jeux d'esprit* upon the Whig party and the government, of letters giving obscure hints respecting the life of Prince Charles on the Continent, and other matters, which, though in some instances highly illustrative of the spirit of the Jacobites, throw little light on the history of the Rebellion. Perhaps the most curious and characteristic part of the work is a series of *relics*, which are found attached to the inside of the boards of certain volumes: in one I find a small slip of thick blue silk cloth, of a texture like sarcenet, beneath which is written, "The above is a piece of the Prince's garter." Below this is a small square piece of printed linen, (the figures being in lilac

on a white ground,) with the following inscription: “The above is a piece of that identical gown, which the Prince wore for four or five days, when he was obliged to disguise himself in a female dress, under the name of Bettie Burke. A swatch of the said gown was sent from Mrs Macdonald of Kingsburgh.”² Then follows a slip of tape, with the following note of genuine *naïveté*: “The above is a piece of that *identical apron string*, which the Prince wore about him, when in the female dress. The *above bit* I received out of Miss Flora Macdonald’s own hands, upon Thursday, November 5, 1747, when I saw the apron, and *had it about me*. ROBERT FORBES, A. M.”

We are next introduced to some fragments of tartan, of which the following history is given: “The above are pieces of the outside and inside of that identical waistcoat, which Macdonald of Kingsburgh gave to the Prince, when he laid aside the woman’s clothes. The said waistcoat being too fine for a servant, [in which character Charles then appeared,] the Prince exchanged it with Malcolm Macleod. Malcolm, after parting with the Prince, and finding himself in danger of being seized, did hide the waistcoat in a cleft of a rock, where, upon his returning home in the beginning of September, 1747, he found it all rotten to bits, except only as much as would serve to cover little more than one’s loof, [palm,] and two buttons, all of which he was pleased to send to me. The waistcoat had lain more than a full year in the cleft of the rock; for Malcolm Macleod was made prisoner some time in July, 1746.”

The bishop seems, indeed, to have been devoted to relic gathering, and to have prosecuted his researches with no small assiduity. Within the boards of the fourth volume, two small chips of woods are found, carefully sealed down with wax, and an inscription informs posterity, that they are “pieces of that identical eight-oared boat, on board of which Donald Macleod, &c. set out from Borodale on the continent, with the Prince, after the battle of Culloden, for Benbecula in the Long Isle. The above pieces,” continues the bishop, “were sent to me from Major Macdonald of Glenaladale, to the care of Captain Macdonald in Edinburgh, brother german to Dallely. The said Alexander Macdonald delivered the above pieces to me, on Wednesday evening, December 28, 1748, *he having come under a*

² On the gown being laid aside by the Prince in his wanderings through Skye, it fell into the hands of Mrs Macdonald of Kingsburgh, who sent a specimen of it to Mr Stewart Carmichael at Bonnyhaugh, near Leith, by whom immense quantities of an exactly similar print were made, and circulated all over the country.

promise, on our first acquaintance, to procure me a bit of the eight-oared boat”

As an appropriate conclusion to the series, we have two “*bits of one of the lugs of those identical brogs*, which the Prince wore, when disguised in the female dress, under the name of Bettie Burke, as handmaid to Miss Flora Macdonald.” These relics seem, from circles of ink drawn round them, to have been originally somewhat larger than they now are. Probably the bishop was induced to give away a few minute parings, to his more eminent or valued friends among the Jacobite party, as a peculiarly precious memorial of the object of their political idolatry.

In 1762, the compiler of “The Lyon in Mourning” was chosen by the presbyters of Caithness and Orkney as their bishop; and he was accordingly consecrated at Cupar in Fife, on the 24th of June in that year, by Bishops Falconar, Alexander, and Gerard. For this and other facts, I am indebted to Dr Russell, (*Additions to Keith’s Catalogue*,) who states, that “the distance of his charge seems not to have prevented Bishop Forbes from fulfilling the duties which attached to it; for, upon consulting his register, which is now in my hands,³ I find long lists of young people, whom he had from time to time confirmed, in different parts of his diocese.” I am further informed by Dr Russell, that Bishop Forbes died in 1776, and was the last prelate whose charge was restricted to Caithness and Orkney. The work, which had been the labour of thirty years to this venerable person, remained, for about as long a time, in the hands of his widow, when at length it became the property of Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton. Some time after the publication of Mr Home’s *History of the Rebellion*, Sir Henry had been induced to turn his attention to that subject, and he commenced a work under the title of “An Historical Review of the different attempts made to restore the Stewart Family to the Throne, from the Revolution in 1688 to the suppression of the Rebellion in 1745.” This work he had carried down to the year 1708, when ill health interrupted a pursuit which he has never since found leisure to resume. About the year 1806, while collecting materials for the Historical Review, application was made to him by a friend, in behalf of the widow of the late Bishop Forbes, to learn whether he would purchase the manuscripts left by that learned person, which, it was understood, contained much matter that would be of service to his undertaking. The widow, it appeared, had fallen into poverty, and

³ This learned and elegant writer now ministers to the congregation, which was formerly superintended by Bishop Forbes.

was now, in the decline of life, obliged to sell, for what it would bring, a work which had occupied the attention of her husband for the better part of his life, and was appreciated by him above all earthly possessions. Having, on inspection, ascertained the nature of the bishop's collections, Sir Henry made offer of what he conceived to be a fitting price, and, without further negotiation, became proprietor of this mine of historical wealth. It was then the intention of the purchaser to employ "The Lyon in Mourning," simply as materials for his Historical Review. That work, however, having been abandoned in the manner above stated, the bishop's collection was condemned to another long period of obscurity, its very existence being unknown to the principal historical antiquaries of Scotland. It was not till the autumn of 1832, when I happened to be paying a visit at Allanton House, that the Lyon was once more brought to the light of day. It was then resolved, in consideration of the encouragement now given to the publication of historical documents, especially of the class of Memoirs, that a selection of the more important articles should be submitted to the world in their original state, leaving it to some more fortunate individual to compose, from that and other sources, what is still so obviously wanting to our literature, a regular history of the Rebellion of 1745.

It is only to be added, that the editor is prepared to find a surprise, approaching to incredulity, manifested respecting several of the subjects illustrated in this volume. The humanity displayed, and the regular and honourable payments made on all occasions by the Chevalier, in contrast with the licence and barbarity, now for the first time fully brought home to the royal army, will hardly fail to disturb some of the prepossessions of the English reader. The extraordinary outrages, the common theft—for it can be called no less—attributed to the Duke of Cumberland, as well as his singularly brutal inhumanity, as detailed so strikingly in some of the following pages, will rise so far beyond all preconceived notions even of one who was, in his own time, thought worthy of being styled "the Butcher," that I can hardly hope to see that part of the work received without controversy. I am entitled, however, to say, that, as far as the character of the collector can fortify this point, it may be held above cavil. Bishop Forbes appears in many parts of his manuscript as equally ready to defend the government party, where they are unjustly accused, and to withdraw unfavourable statements, afterwards discovered to be false, as he was to exhibit their authenticated misdeeds. The modern reader, moreover, must not judge of the military officers of George II, as he would judge of those of his successors. It was in this reign that Swift, in his letter to the

Chevalier Wogan, speaks of the British army as a fraternity, “Where the least pretension to learning, to piety, or to common morals, would endanger the owner to be cashiered.”

Edinburgh,
February 5, 1834.

JACOBITE MEMOIRS.

THE PRINCE'S VOYAGE TO SCOTLAND, AND SUBSEQUENT MOVEMENTS.

FROM THE NARRATIVES OF ÆNEAS MACDONALD, AND DUNCAN
CAMERON.⁴

[M.] AFTER the Prince had settled every thing for his subsequent undertaking, the gentlemen who were to accompany him in his voyage took different routes to Nantz, the place appointed to meet at, thereby the better to conceal their design. During their residence there, they lodged in different parts of the town, and if they accidentally met in the street, or elsewhere, they took not the least notice of each other, nor seemed to be any way acquainted, if there was any person near enough to observe them. During this time, and whilst every thing was preparing to set sail, the Prince went to a seat of the Duke of Bouillon, and took some days' diversion in hunting, fishing, and shooting; amusements he always delighted in, being at first obliged to it on account of his health. By this means he became inured to toil and labour, which enabled him to undergo the great fatigues and hardships he was afterwards exposed unto.

From this place he went to a seat of the Duke of Fitz-James, seemingly upon the same errand, and thence, at a proper time, went in disguise directly on board the ship, lying in the Loire, being the

⁴ The Forbes Papers contain two narratives of the voyage to Scotland, and some subsequent transactions: the first by Æneas Macdonald, Esq. banker in Paris, who was one of the seven gentlemen that accompanied the Prince on his voyage; and the second by Duncan Cameron, ("some time servant to old Lochiel, at Boulogne,") who was hired to go with the expedition, in order, as he himself informs us, that he might "descry the Long Isle for them," *i.e.* the part of the Hebrides to which they were bound. The first narrative was taken down from the mouth of Mr Macdonald, when confined in the house of a messenger in London, by his fellow prisoner, Dr Burton of York, who was one of Bishop Forbes's principal correspondents: the second was taken by the Bishop, from the mouth of Duncan Cameron. It is thought proper here, to form one chapter out of the best parts of both, the initial of the author being prefixed to the respective parts selected from his narrative.—Ed.

river which goes immediately from Nantz to the sea. Here he found⁵ eight gentlemen, above hinted at, ready to accompany and assist him in this expedition. They were, the Marquis of Tullibardine, alias Duke of Athol, Sir John Macdonald, (a French officer,) Mr Æneas Macdonald, (a banker in Paris,) Mr Strickland, Mr Buchanan, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr O'Sullivan, and Mr Kelly. To these I may add a ninth, viz. Mr Anthony Welch, the owner of the ship which carried the Prince. He staid on the coast of Scotland about three weeks, and did the Prince considerable service.⁶

⁵ The Prince, in his manifesto from the Abbey of Holyrood-house, calls them *seven only*. Perhaps Mr Buchanan (as I have heard suggested by several persons,) was reckoned amongst the Prince's domestics. — R. F.

⁶ Here it will not be amiss to give some short account of the above mentioned attendants:

The Duke of Athol was made prisoner in Scotland, having surrendered himself (as was given out by our lying newspapers) to Mr Buchanan of Drumakill, a justice of peace; but the real matter of fact is, that Drumakill, in his own house, basely betrayed the Duke, when he thought himself safe under the protection of Drumakill's roof, having got assurances to that purpose. To confirm the truth of this, Drumakill is so much despised for this breach of all the laws of hospitality and honour, that the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and in all places of Scotland where Drumakill is known, will not be Men in his company, nor will they converse with him. From Drumakill's house, the Duke of Athol was carried to the Castle of Dumbarton, the latter end of April, 1746, whence he was removed to Edinburgh, where he remained till the 13th of May, and then was put on board the Eltham man-of-war, in Leith Roads, and conveyed to the Tower of London, June 21st, where he died on the 9th of July, and was there buried, July the 11th, 1746.

Sir John Macdonald, a French officer, surrendered himself prisoner of war at Inverness, upon the day of Culloden battle. He was suffered to go out, upon his parole, amongst other French officers, at Penrith. He is a man of no extraordinary head as a counsellor.

Mr Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris, surrendered himself to General Campbell, upon terms which, however, were not performed. He was committed to Dumbarton Castle, whence he was conducted to Edinburgh Castle, under a strong guard, the latter end of August, 1746, and the week after, in the same manner, was conveyed to the Duke of Newcastle's office at Whitehall, London, and immediately

committed into the custody of a messenger. One day, when he was concerting a jaunt to Windsor with Miss Flora Macdonald, he was, by order, taken out of the messenger's hands and committed to Newgate, and thence to New Prison in Southwark. All the time the Prince was in Paris, he lodged at Mr Æneas Mardonald's house.

Mr Strickland died at Carlisle, when it was possessed by the Prince's army.

Mr Buchanan, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr O'Sullivan, and Mr Kelly, made their escape into France.

The first of these, Mr Buchanan, upon the intended invasion at Dunkirk in 1743, was sent into England, and, upon his return, in attempting to get to Calais or Dunkirk, was taken prisoner. He made a plausible story, and, going by a feigned name, pretending great loyalty, &c. he artfully imposed upon one Captain Aires, who was then going into Flanders with some orders from the government, a person, who has signalized himself very much upon a late occasion, though not in his profession as a soldier, yet as an evidence at St Margaret's Hill in Southwark, &c. &c. This very man, perceiving Mr Buchanan understood French, and knew several of the French officers, proposed making use of him as a spy in Flanders, which Mr Buchanan readily embraced, as it gave him a safe conveyance out of the British dominions. Accordingly, he was conducted to Ostend, by Captain Aires, who was greatly surprised, and no less chagrined, to find his fellow-traveller so well known there, and to be the very man he had particular orders to find out, if possible, and to secure him at the time, when Mr Buchanan had the address to deceive him. After this discovery, Aires never offered to make any farther use of Mr Buchanan, neither could he detain him there. Mr Buchanan was many years assistant to Mr. Æneas Macdonald, at Paris.

The second of these, Sir Thomas Sheridan, was tutor to the young hero, whom he attended through most of his travels. His master had a real, and I may say filial, affection for him, which indeed was mutual, no man having his pupil's interest more at heart than Sir Thomas. He got safe to France. From that he went to Rome, where he waited upon his pupil's father, who reprimanded him for persuading his son to undertake such an expedition without better grounds. This reproof so far affected Sir Thomas, that he fell ill, and died of grief.

The third of these, Mr O'Sullivan, an Irishman, is a remarkable man, of whom the world has been greatly deceived, whether we look upon him as a soldier, a counsellor, or for honesty and integrity.

The fourth, and last of these, is the same Mr Kelly, who was so many

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

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

Next morning, being the 5th of July, both ships set sail with a fair wind, which continued so till the 7th, when it blew a brisk gale, but the next day was a dead calm. On the 9th, being in the latitude of 47 deg. 57 min. north, and west from the meridian of the Lizard thirty-nine leagues, they descried a sail to windward, which proved to be a British man-of-war, of fifty-eight guns, called the Lion, Captain Brett commander, which immediately bore down upon them, [c.] She came within a mile or so of them, when the captain of the Elizabeth, a Frenchman, came on board the frigate, and told Mr Welch, if he could assist him by keeping one side of the Lion in play at a distance, he would immediately put all things in order for the attack. Mr Welch, well knowing the trust he had on board, answered him civilly, and told him, it was what he could not think of doing, and withal remarked to him, it was his humble opinion, that he should not think of fighting, unless he should happen to be attacked, because his business was to be convoy to the frigate in the voyage. However, he said, as he pretended not to any command over him, he might do as he thought proper.

The French captain to all this replied, that, from the Lion's appearing and disappearing so often, it seemed as if she were looking out for another ship to assist her, and, if she should happen to be joined by any other, they no doubt would instantly fall upon the

years confined in the Tower, upon a suspicion of having had a hand in the famous plot of Dr Atterbury, bishop of Rochester. Mr Kelly's chief employment was to go betwixt his young master in Scotland, and the French ministry, with some of whom he was very intimate.

Elizabeth and the frigate, and devour them both; and therefore he behoved to think it the wisest course to fight the Lion, when single, because the Elizabeth, in that case, was fit enough for the engagement, and would bid fair enough to give a good account of the Lion. Upon this, the French captain drew his sword, took leave of Mr Welch and his company, went on board the Elizabeth, with his sword still drawn in his hand, and gave the necessary orders for the attack.

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

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

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

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

After the fight was all over, Mr Welch sailed round the Elizabeth, and inquired particularly how matters stood with the captain and the crew. A lieutenant came upon deck from the captain, who was wounded and in his cabin, and told Mr Welch, that between thirty and forty officers and gentlemen, besides common men, were killed and wounded, and that, if Mr Welch could supply him with a mainmast and some rigging, he would still make out the voyage with him. Mr Welch replied, that he could not furnish him with either main-mast or rigging; and that although he should have happened to be capable to serve him in these things, yet he would not have made it his choice to lose so much time as it would require to put the Elizabeth in some better order. He desired to tell the captain, it was

his opinion that he should, without loss of time, return to France, and that he himself would do his best to make out the intended voyage. The Elizabeth accordingly returned to France, and the frigate continued her voyage to the coast of Scotland.

[M.] Before she set sail, all her lights were put out, except that for the compass, which still was so close confined, that not the least ray could emit. This caution was observed every night, through the whole voyage, till their landing in Erisca. On July 11th, she was chased, and made a clear ship to engage; but, trusting more to their speed than to their military power, they made all the sail they could, and escaped all pursuers. The 15th and 16th, they had a rough sea and tempestuous weather; then they had fine weather till about midnight on the 20th, which was very stormy. The 21st, being very mild, they sounded, and found ground at one hundred and eight fathom. On the 22d, they made a small island, called Bernera, being the southernmost of the Western Isles of Scotland, near the latitude of 57. On the 23d, they arrived at the island of Erisca, belonging to Clanranald, which lies betwixt the isles of Barra and South Uist, or Ouist, having been eighteen days at sea.

[C.] Two or three hours before landing, an eagle came hovering over the frigate, and continued so to do till they were all safe on shore. Before dinner, the Duke of Athol⁷ had spied the eagle; but (as he told several friends in Scotland) he did not choose then to take any notice of it, lest they should have called it a Highland freit in him. When he came upon deck after dinner, he saw the eagle still hovering about in the same manner, and following the frigate in her course, and then he could not help remarking it to the Prince and his small retinue, which they looked upon with pleasure. His Grace, turning to the Prince, said, "Sir, I hope this is an excellent omen, and promises good things to us. The king of birds is come to welcome your Royal Highness upon your arrival in Scotland."

When they were near the shore of the Long Isle, Duncan Cameron was sent out in the long boat, to fetch them a proper pilot. When he landed, he accidentally met with Barra's piper, who was his old acquaintance, and brought him on board. The piper piloted them safely into Erisca.

"At this time," said Duncan Cameron, "there was a *devil of a*

⁷ The Marquis of Tullibardine was so styled by his Jacobite friends, being the eldest son of the preceding Duke, though, on account of his own attainder in 1716, the title and estates were enjoyed by his next brother.—ED.

minister, that happened to be in the island of Barra, who did us a' the mischief that lay in his power; for, when he had got any inkling about us, he despatched away expresses with informations against us; but (as the good luck was) he was not well believed, or else we would have been a' tane by the neck." When Duncan spoke these words, "*a devil of a minister*" he bowed low, and said to me, "Sir, I ask you ten thousand pardons for saying so in your presence; but, good faith, I can assure you, sir, (asking your pardon) he was nothing else but the *devil of a minister*."

[m.] They were scarce arrived, when they spied two sail, which they apprehended to be ships of war, and therefore got all their money, arms, and ammunition on shore as fast as they could. All went ashore, except the Marquis of Tullibardine, who was laid up in the gout, and could not stir. Their fears, however, were soon dissipated, by finding the ships proved only merchantmen.

The very first night they landed happened to prove violently stormy and wet; and they were obliged to lodge in one of the little country houses, wherein there were already many others, that were weather-bound.

Here they were all refreshed, as well as the place could afford, and they had some beds, but not sufficient for the whole company; on which account the Prince, being less fatigued than the others, insisted upon such to go to bed as most wanted it. Particularly, he took care of Sir Thomas Sheridan, and went to examine his bed, and to see that the sheets were well aired. The landlord, observing him to search the bed so narrowly, and at the same time hearing him declare he would sit up all night, called out to him, and said, that it was so good a bed, and the sheets were so good, that a prince needed not be ashamed to lie in them.

The Prince, not being accustomed to such fires in the middle of the room, and there being no other chimney than a hole in the roof, was almost choked, and was obliged to go often to the door for fresh air. This at last made the landlord, Angus MacDonald, call out, "What a plague is the matter with that fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without doors?"

From Erisca some of the company sent to Roger MacNeil, Esq. of Barra, as relations being come thither, and who would be glad to see him; but he happened to be from home. At the same time, they sent out several other messengers upon the same errand, to several gentlemen in different parts, particularly to Alexander MacDonald, Esq. of Boisdale, who went to them the next day. [c.] This gentleman spoke in a very discouraging manner to the Prince, and advised him

to return home. To that, it is said, the Prince replied, "I am come home, sir, and I will entertain no notion at all of returning to the place from whence I came; for that I am persuaded my faithful Highlanders will stand by me." Mr MacDonald told him, he was afraid he would find the contrary. The Prince condescended upon Sir Alexander MacDonald, and the Laird of MacLeod, as persons he might confide in. Mr MacDonald begged leave to tell him, that he had pitched upon the wrong persons, for, from his own certain knowledge, he could assure him, these gentlemen would not adhere to his interest; on the contrary, they might chance to act an opposite part. And seeing the Prince had been pleased to mention Sir Alexander MacDonald's name, Boisdale desired he might run off an express to him, and let his return be the test of what he had advanced. He added withal, that, if Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod declared for him, it was his opinion he might then land on the continent, for that he doubted not but he would succeed in the attempt; but if they happened to refuse their assistance, (which he still insisted would be the case,) then their example would prove of bad consequence, and would tend only to make others backward, and to keep at home; and in that event he still thought it advisable to suggest his returning back to where he came from.

According to this advice, the Prince did send a message to Sir Alexander MacDonald, intimating his arrival, and demanding assistance. Before the messenger could return, Æneas MacDonald, anxious to have the honour of seeing the Prince in the house of his brother, the Laird of Kinlochmoidart, prevailed upon the Prince to get out for the continent. When the messenger returned to the Prince, he brought no answer with him, for Sir Alexander refused to give any.

It is worth remarking here, that though MacDonald of Boisdale had played the game of the government, by doing all he could to dissuade the Prince from making the attempt, and, after the standard was set up, by keeping back all Clanranald's men (to the number of four or five hundred good stout fellows) that lived in South Uist and the other isles, yet his conduct could not screen him from rough and severe treatment; for, after the battle of Culloden, he suffered in his effects as well as others, and had the misfortune to be made a prisoner, and to be carried to London by sea, in which expedition he had the additional affliction of having his brother, the Laird of Clanranald, sen. (who had never stirred from his own fireside,) and his lady, to bear him company; and none of them were released till the 4th of July, 1747. However, to do Boisdale justice, he was of very great use to the Prince (as Donald MacLeod and Malcolm have both declared) when wandering up and down through South Uist,

Benbicula, and other parts of the Long Isle, and exerted his utmost endeavours to keep him out of the hands of his enemies.

[M.] Kinlochmoidart accompanied the banker back to Erisca. Amongst those who went on board the *Doutelle* at Erisca, and there laid the plan of the operations, and contrived the scheme, were the foresaid Donald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, Esq. and Ronald MacDonald of Clanronald, jun. Esq. who commanded that clan.⁸ Kinlochmoidart was made a colonel and aide-de-camp to the Prince, and was to have been made a baronet and peer of Scotland. He was an exceeding cool-headed man, fit for either the cabinet or field. He was frequently employed in going from one friend of the cause to another. Upon one of these expeditions he was either going, or had been, when both he and his servant were taken by some country people, and sent to the castle of Edinburgh, whence he was removed to Carlisle, and was there put to death upon Saturday, October 18, the festival of St Luke the Evangelist, 1746. The place where he was made prisoner is called Lesmahagoe, and he was committed to Edinburgh Castle on the 12th of November, 1745.

Having dismissed several messengers to their respective friends on the continent of Scotland, they set sail about the 26th of July, 1745, and, coasting about the isles between Sky and Mull, and landing some of their passengers, proceeded to Lochshiel, in Lochabar. Of this the government was informed, as we find by a paragraph in the *Gazette* of Saturday, August 17, 1745, from Edinburgh, dated on the 11th of the same month.

Here it will not be amiss to give a short account of the vile and dishonourable method used for seizing the Duke of Perth, who was actually in the hands of two Highland officers, Sir Patrick Murray of Ochertyre, and Mr Campbell of Inverary, at his own house of Drummond Castle; but he had the good fortune to make his escape from them. The manner of both was as follows:

A warrant being out to take the Duke of Perth, it was given to the above officers to put it in execution. They not daring to attempt it openly without a large force, the sight of which would give a sufficient alarm for him to escape, they therefore thought of the following scandalous method: As they were often hospitably entertained at his table, they sent him word that they were to dine with him at such a time. He sent them word back, he should be proud to see them. The time appointed being come, (July 26, 1745,) they went, as usual, and,

⁸ The contents of the above paragraph happened in Lochnanuagh.

according to the Duke's generous temper, were entertained at dinner. One of his footmen, having spied some men in arms coming towards the house, called the Duke to the door of the room, and told him what he had seen, begging his Grace, in the mean time, to take care of himself. This the servant did more than once, but the Duke always smiled, and would not suspect any gentleman to be guilty of any such dirty action. After dinner, the officers, having drunk a little while, and the time being come when they had appointed the soldiers to surround the house, at a little distance, were pleased to inform his Grace of their errand, pulling out their orders for that purpose. The Duke commanded his temper very well, and seeming not to be much displeased, told them he would step into the closet which was in the room where they were sitting, and get himself ready. To this they agreed, as they thought he could not go out of the room. He went into the closet, and (gently locking the door) slipt down a pair of back stairs which came to the closet, and got into the wood joining to his gardens with much difficulty. In making his way through the wood, (which was surrounded,) he got all his legs much scratched and wounded with the briars and thorns, and he behoved sometimes to crawl on hands and feet to keep himself from being seen by the sentinels at their different posts. The officers waited some time, and the Duke not returning, they went to the closet door, which being locked, they called some of the servants, who told them their master was gone away on horseback in a great hurry. After the Duke got out of the wood, he lay squat for some time in a dry ditch till the party should be gone. The officers and their command, in their return to Crieff, the place where they quartered, passed so near the ditch, that the Duke heard all that they spoke. When the party were all out of sight, the Duke rose up to look about him, and, spying a countryman with a little horse, he desired to have the use of the horse, which the countryman readily complied with. The horse had neither saddle nor bridle, but only a branks (or halter) about its head. However, in this pickle did the Duke ride to the house of Mr Murray of Abercairny. From that he went to the house of Mr Drummond of Logie. At night, when all were in bed, Logie Drummond, entertaining fears he could not really account for, got out of bed, and, going to the Duke's bed chamber, awaked him, and begged him to be gone speedily to some other place, for that he was afraid of his not being safe to stay all night. Logie would not leave him till he saw him out of the house, and the Duke was not well gone when a party came (in dead of night) and searched the house very narrowly for the Duke. It is worth remarking here, that when Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre was made a prisoner on Gladsmuir field, the Duke of Perth came up to him, and,

asking how he did, spoke these words to him very pleasantly,— “Sir Patie, I am to dine with you to-day.”

But to return: At Lochshiel, in Lochabar,⁹ they unloaded their ship, the chief of whose cargo consisted of brandy, (a liquor absolutely necessary in the Highlands,) a thousand stand of arms, a proportionable quantity of ammunition, and some provisions.

[c.] After the Prince’s arrival upon the continent, some friends met to consult what was to be done, and I have heard it affirmed by good authority, that Keppoch honestly and bravely gave it as his opinion, that since the Prince had risked his person, and generously thrown himself into the hands of his friends, therefore it was their duty to raise their men instantly, merely for the protection of his person, let the consequence be what it would. Certain it is, that if Keppoch, Lochiel, young Clanranald, &c. had not joined him, he would either have fallen into the hands of his enemies, or been forced immediately to cross the seas again.¹⁰

⁹ A mistake. The Prince landed, July 25, at [Boradale](#), in [Avasaig](#), from an arm of the sea called [Lochnanuagh](#).— Ed.

¹⁰ Some very curious particulars respecting the Prince’s landing, and other events about that time, are given by Bishop Forbes, in a “Narrative of a Conversation with Mr Hugh MacDonald, brother to the Laird of Morar, (Leith, Friday, June 15, 1750,)” which is as follows: —

“Mr MacDonald told me that, when the Prince came first upon the coast of Scotland, he himself was in Edinburgh, and that, in returning to the Highlands, he happened to meet with MacDonald of Kinlochmoydart, crossing the Water of Lochy, who asked him, ‘What news?’ ‘No news at all have I,’ said Mr Hugh. ‘Then,’ said Kinlochmoydart, ‘I’ll give you news. You’ll see the Prince this night at my house.’ ‘What Prince do you mean?’ said Mr Hugh. ‘Prince Charles,’ said Kinlochmoydart. ‘You are certainly joking,’ said Mr Hugh; ‘I cannot believe you.’ Upon this Kinlochmoydart assured him of the truth of it. ‘Then,’ said Mr Hugh, ‘what number of men has he brought along with him?’ ‘Only seven,’ said Kinlochmoydart. ‘What stock of money and arms has he brought with him then?’ said Mr Hugh. ‘A very small stock of either,’ said Kinlochmoydart. ‘What generals, or officers fit for commanding, are with him?’ said Mr Hugh. ‘None at all,’ replied Kinlochmoydart. Mr Hugh said, he did not like the expedition at all, and was afraid of the consequences. ‘I cannot help it,’ said Kinlochmoydart. ‘If the matter go wrong, then I’ll

certainly be hanged, for I am engaged already. I have no time to spare just now, as I am going with a message from the Prince to the Duke of Perth.' They then took leave and parted.

"When Mr Hugh MacDonald came to Kinlochmoydart, he met there with Angus MacDonald, banker, (brother to Kinlochmoydart,) who told him, that the Prince was still on board in Lochnanuagh; that he might see him to-morrow if he pleased, but that he behoved to take no notice of him at all in quality of a prince, as he was known to none of the crew, with whom he passed for a Monsieur L'Abbé, being in the habit of one.

"Next day Angus and Mr Hugh MacDonalds went on board the vessel in Lochnanuagh, when the Prince happened to be above deck, to whom Mr Hugh made up, saluting him as an abbé, welcoming him to Scotland, asking how he liked the country, &c. The Prince soon learning what Mr Hugh was, went to the cabin, desired Mr Hugh to be brought to him, and discovered himself to him, informing him upon what design he had come. Upon this Mr Hugh paid his respects to him as to a prince, and begged he would be exceedingly cautious, and keep himself very private, as the garrison at Inverlochie was not far off, and the Campbells in the neighbourhood thereof, who (all of them) would be too ready to take him, and give him up to his enemies, &c. 'I have no fear about that at all,' said the Prince.

"In talking about the expedition, Mr Hugh suggested his own fears as to the event, and hinted, that he was afraid the Prince would find it the most eligible course to return again to France, and wait a more favourable opportunity, as he had brought no forces along with him.

"The Prince said, he did not chuse to owe the restoration of his father to foreigners, but to his own friends, to whom he was now come to put it in their power to have the glory of that event. And as to returning again to France, foreigners should never have it to say, that he had thrown himself upon his friends, that they turned their backs upon him, and that he had been forced to return from them to foreign parts. In a word, if he could get but six stout trusty fellows to join him, he would chuse far rather to skulk with them among the mountains in Scotland, than to return to France.

"Young Clanranald and Allan MacDonald, senior, (brother to Kinlochmoydart,) had been despatched by the Prince to Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod; and when they returned with their absolute refusal, and with instructions from them to importune the Prince to return, then friends became more pressing than ever in persuading a return to France, insomuch, that

[M.] About the 3d or 4th of August they had cleared the ship. The next day it was known that the Prince was arrived, and young Clanranald sent a guard to attend him.

During this time all the messengers were very successful, and several of the Prince's friends began to be in motion, and gathered their respective vassals, in order to be ready to attend at the setting up of the standard.

While these were busy raising men, &c. others were as much employed in procuring a sufficient quantity of oat meal, which being scarce, cost seventeen shillings sterling per boll. In about the space of three weeks, having laid up a large quantity of oat meal, and having a

the few who had come along with the Prince, (Sir Thomas Sheridan not excepted,) joined in urging him to return. The Prince was single in the resolution of landing. Mr Hugh MacDonald observed to the Prince, that Sir Alexander MacDonald's and the Laird of MacLeod's refusal would make many others backward that liked the cause well enough, and would throw a great damp upon the design. In this he was supported by all present. But the Prince still insisted in his resolution, and gave always the same answer as above.

“Dr Archibald Cameron came from his brother, Lochiel, to urge the Prince to return, and was very positive that Lochiel would not join. To him the Prince gave likewise the same answer, and desired to know of MacDonald, younger of Scothouse, (of Glengary's family,) who had come of himself to pay his respects to the Prince, if he would go a message from him to Lochiel, and endeavour to persuade Lochiel to do his duty. Young Scothouse complied, and succeeded so well, that he brought Lochiel along with him to Boradale, the Prince being by that time landed.

“When Mr Hugh MacDonald saw the Prince positive (before leaving the ship) to make a trial of what could be done, he importuned his young chieftain to go ashore immediately and raise as many men as might be sufficient to guard the Prince's person, and to preserve him from being surprised by any small party of red-coats or Campbells that would attempt to make him prisoner; for it must be remarked, that Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod endeavoured to procure a promise from young Clanranald not to join, and indeed they prevailed so far as to make him backward enough in joining; but Mr Hugh MacDonald, and other friends, joined in persuading him to consider the urgency of the case, and to consult the safety of the Prince's person, to which he listened, and immediately raised his following upon the continent.”

sufficient quantity of brandy, (two of the most grateful things that could be given to a Highlander,) the Prince thought it high time to begin to try his fortune.

About the 11th of August the Prince sailed to Kinlochmoidart, about twenty-five miles farther, where he stayed till the 17th. As he went from hence he was joined by one hundred and fifty men.¹¹ On the 18th, he crossed Lochshiel, and lay at Glensiarich, and from thence, on the 19th, they proceeded to Glenfinnan, at the head of the loch, in Clanranald's country, and there set up his standard, on which there was no motto at all, and was immediately joined by Lochiel,¹²

¹¹ Bishop Forbes communicates the following particulars applicable to this part of the expedition, from the narrative of Captain Alexander MacDonald, brother of the Laird of Dalely: —“Before the Prince marched to Glenfinnan, he was at Glenaladale, where old Glenbucket joined him, and delivered over to him Captain Swetenham, an English gentleman, one of the prisoners taken by Major MacDonell of Tiendrish. The foresaid captain went to London upon his parole, and strictly kept it till the time prefixed was expired. At Glenfinnan, the Laird of Morar, of Clanranald's family, came up to the Prince (before the standard was set up) with one hundred and fifty men of Clanranald's following, that had been for some time keeping guard upon his Royal Highness, the Prince himself thinking fifty men sufficient for that purpose, the rest of Clanranald's men having been employed in carrying the baggage and luggage from the head of Lochshiel, (up which loch they had been brought in small boats,) to the head of the Lochiel; which service kept the most of Clanranald's men back for four days from joining the main body at Moidh, or Moy, in Lochabar.”

¹² The following “Narrative of a Conversation with Young Glengary,” related by Bishop Forbes, will throw some new light upon that decisive point in the enterprise,—the rising of young Lochiel, upon which Mr Home has already communicated some interesting but, it would appear, imperfect information:—

“Leith, Thursday, April 9, 1752.—Alexander MacDonell, younger of Glengary, did me the honour to dine with me. * * * In the course of conversation, I told young Glengary, that I had oftener than once heard the Viscountess-Dowager of Strathallan tell, that Lochiel, junior, had refused to raise a man, or to make any appearance, till the Prince should give him security for the full value of his estate, in the event of the attempt proving abortive. To this young Glengary answered, that it was fact, and that the Prince himself, (after

Keppoch, and others, with 1400 men in all. Young Clunranald had joined him before.

Here a considerable number of both gentlemen and ladies met to see the ceremony; among the rest, was the famous Miss Jeanie Cameron, as she is commonly, though very improperly, called; for she is a widow nearer fifty than forty years of age. She is a genteel, well-looking, handsome woman, with a pair of pretty eyes, and hair as black as jet. She is of a very sprightly genius, and is very agreeable in conversation. She was so far from accompanying the Prince's army, that she went off with the rest of the spectators as soon as the army marched; neither did she ever follow the camp, nor was ever with the Prince but in public, when he had his court at Edinburgh.

Here it must be remarked, that Mr Anthony Welch, the owner of the *Doutelle*, an eminent merchant of Nantz, after having landed his passengers and cargo, as above mentioned, towards which expense the Prince gave him £2000 sterling, and knighted him, making him a present of a gold hilted sword, which cost eighty louis'd'ors, and was

returning to France,) had frankly told him as much, assigning this as the weighty reason, why he, the Prince, had shewn so much zeal in providing young Lochiel (preferably to all others) in a regiment. 'For,' said the Prince, 'I must do the best I can, in my present circumstances, to keep my word to Lochiel.' Young Glengary told me, moreover, that Lochiel, junior, (the above bargain with the Prince notwithstanding,) insisted upon another condition before he would join in the Attempt, which was, that Glengary, senior, should give it under his hand, to raise his clan, and join the Prince. Accordingly, Glengary, senior, when applied to upon the subject, did actually give it under his hand, that his clan should rise under his own second son, as Colonel, and MacDonell of Lochgary, as Lieutenant-Colonel. Then, indeed, young Lochiel was gratified in all his demands, and did instantly raise his clan.

"Glengary, junior, likewise assured me, that Cluny MacPherson, junior, made the same agreement with the Prince, before he would join the attempt with his following, as young Lochiel had done, viz. to have security from the Prince for the full value of his estate, lest the expedition should prove unsuccessful, which the Prince accordingly consented unto, and gave security to said Cluny MacPherson, junior, for the full value of his estate. Young Glengary declared, that he had this from young Cluny MacPherson's own mouth, as a weighty reason why he, Cluny, would not part with the money which the Prince had committed to his care and keeping."

bought for the Prince against the intended Dunkirk expedition in 1743: This merchant, I say, after landing his passengers, went a privateering, having a letter of mark, and was of signal service to the Highland army, by taking six or seven prizes, the chief of which were loaded with meal. The biggest of these he ransomed for £60 sterling, and also the others in proportion, on condition the owners would carry their lading and sell it to the Prince, &c.; but if they did not bring certificates of that, then the ransom was to be three times as much. This Mr Welch chiefly trades to Martinico. He has twenty-four merchantmen and privateers, one of which took — man-of-war, in — and sold it to the King of France for 15,000 livres.

[C.] The Prince stayed where the standard was set up two days, and I have heard Major MacDonell frequently say, in the Castle of Edinburgh, that he had never seen the Prince more cheerful at any time, and in higher spirits, than when he had got together four or five hundred men about the standard. Major MacDonell presented the Prince with the first good horse he mounted in Scotland, which the Major had taken from Captain Scott, son of Scotstarvet.¹³

On Friday, August 23d, the Prince lodged in Fassafarn, three miles down the Lochiel, and about five miles from Fort William. On sight of a warship, which lay opposite the garrison, the Prince crossed a hill, and went to Moy, or Moidh, a village on the river Lochy, belonging to Lochiel. There he stayed till Monday, August 26th, waiting intelligence about General Cope; and that day he crossed the river Lochy, and lodged in a village called Leterfinla, on the side of Loch Lochy. At twelve o'clock at night, being very stormy and boisterous,

¹³ On the 22d, a great number of letters were written and despatched to the different friends of the cause throughout Scotland. The following, addressed to Moray of Abercairney, nearly resembles several others which we have seen in the original.—Ed.

“Kinlochiel, August 22, 1745.

“This is to let you know that I have set up the Royal Standard, and expect the assistance of all my friends. I want money in particular; and as I depend on what I know you have promised me, I desire you would pay it immediately into the hands of Arnprior, or send it by a sure hand to whatever place I shall be in.

“You must not doubt me but I shall be always ready to acknowledge this, and all other services, and to give you proportionable marks of my favour and friendship.

(Signed) “CHARLES, P. R.”

he learned that General Cope was at Garvaimor,¹⁴ whereupon the men stood to arms all night; but the General had altered his route, and, by forced marches, was making the best of his way for Inverness, which (as was given out) happened by an express from President Forbes, advising the General not to attempt going up the country to attack the Highlanders at the pass of Coriearag, (very strong ground,) where they had posted themselves, but to make all the haste he could to Inverness, where he might expect the Munroes, &c. to join him, whereby he would be considerably reinforced.

Upon notice that the General was marching towards Inverness, about six hundred of the Highlanders urged the being allowed to follow him under cloud of night, and promised to come up with him, and to give a good account of him and his command; but the Prince would not hear of such an attempt, and desired them to wait for a more favourable opportunity. It was with much difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to lay aside the thoughts of any such enterprise. This I had from the brave Major MacDonell.

When the Prince was coming down the Highlands to meet General Cope, (as was supposed,) he walked sixteen miles in boots, and one of the heels happening to come off, the Highlanders said, they were unco glad to hear it, for they hoped the want of the heel would make him march at more leisure. So speedily he marched that he was like to fatigue them all.

August 27th,—The Prince slept at Glengary's house, and next night lay at Aberchallader, a village belonging to Glengary.

August 30th,—The Prince and his army were at Dalnacardoch, a public house in Wade's road from Inverness, as appears from a letter, writ by the Duke of Athol to a lady,¹⁵ desiring her to repair to Blair Castle, to put it in some order, and to do the honours of that house when the Prince should happen to come there, which he did the day following, August 31st. I saw the letter, and took the date of it.

When the Prince was at Blair, he went into the garden, and, taking a walk upon the bowling-green, he said he had never seen a bowling-green before; upon which the above lady called for some

¹⁴ General Cope commenced his march into the Highlands on the 20th of August, with fourteen hundred infantry, for the purpose of suppressing the insurrection in its commencement; but, finding some unexpected difficulties, withdrew to Inverness, leaving the road into the Lowlands open to Prince Charles.—ED.

¹⁵ Mrs Robertson of Lude, a daughter of Nairn.—R. F.

bowls, that he might see them, but he told her that he had got a present of bowls sent him, as a curiosity, to Rome from England.

September 2d, he left Blair, and went to the House of Lude, where he was very cheerful, and took his share in several dances, such as minuets, Highland reels; the first reel the Prince called for was, "This is no mine ain house," &c. and a strathspey minuet.

September 3d, he was at Dunkeld, and next day he dined at Nairn House, where some of the company happened to observe, what a thoughtful state his father would now be in, from the consideration of those dangers and difficulties he had to encounter with, and that upon this account he was much to be pitied, because his mind behoved to be much upon the rack. The Prince replied, that he did not half so much pity his father as his brother; "for, (said he) the king has been inured to disappointments and distresses, and has learnt to bear up easily under the misfortunes of life; but, poor Harry! his young and tender years makes him much to be pitied, for few brothers love as we do."

September 4th, in the evening he made his entrance into Perth, upon the horse that Major MacDonell had presented him with.

September 11th, early in the morning, he went on foot, attended by few, and took a view of the House of Scoon; and, leaving Perth that day, he took a second breakfast at Gask, dined at Tullibardine, and that night went towards Dumblain, and next day to Doune.¹⁶

¹⁶ The subsequent history of Duncan Cameron is thus given by Bishop Forbes:—"When the Prince was marching his army towards England, Duncan Cameron was ordered to attend the Prince's baggage, and had got a young horse to ride upon that had not been accustomed to noise, and, therefore, threw Duncan, upon hearing the pipes and the drums. Duncan was so bruised with the fall, that he behoved to be left behind, and accordingly was carried to the house in which Lady Ormiston was then living, in the neighbourhood of Dalkeith. Soon an information was given that the Highlanders had left one behind them at such a place, and he was said to be Colonel Strickland, in his wounds, upon which a party of dragoons were despatched to take the Colonel prisoner, but they found only plain Duncan, whom they brought into Edinburgh. He was committed to the city jail, where he was so lucky as to be overlooked, either through sickness or want of evidence, when others were sent off to England to stand trial. At last he was released, nothing appearing against him, some time before the indemnity came out, and got a protection for going to his own country in the Highlands. However, Duncan had no

mind to make use of that protection, being resolved to return to France. He luckily fell in with Mrs Fotheringham, who was going over to France to her husband, late governor of Dundee. This lady was allowed a pass and protection for herself, a child, a man-servant, and a maid-servant, to sail for Holland. She wanted much to have Duncan Cameron along with her, because, having the French language well, he would prove an excellent guide for her to France. Duncan, on the other hand, was fond of having it in his power to oblige such a lady, and glad to go into any scheme whereby he could safely make his way to Holland; and, therefore, he agreed to pass for Mrs Fotheringham's servant, and, accordingly, he was inserted in the pass under the name of Duncan Campbell, an Argyleshireman. They sailed from Leith Roads, on board of one Sibbald, upon Friday, June 19th, and arrived in Holland, the 23d, 1749.

“It was most lucky for Duncan Cameron that it was never known to any of the government that he was one of those who came over in the same frigate with the Prince. The most distant suspicion was never entertained about this, otherwise his fate would have turned out in quite another shape.”

The Bishop, in another part of his collections, mentions that Mr Æneas MacDonald, when in confinement at London, “helped, by his *facetious conversation*, to keep up the spirits” of his last remaining fellow-prisoner. “Though a young man,” the Bishop adds, “Mr MacDonald contracted such a swelling in his legs, that, immediately after his releasement, he was obliged to go to Bath.” Of his character and farther history, we have not observed any particulars in Bishop Forbes's papers.—Ed.

MARCHES OF THE HIGHLAND ARMY.

FROM THE MANUSCRIPT OF LORD GEORGE MURRAY,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.¹⁷

I Shall, according to your desire, give you an account of the principal occurrences where I had an immediate concern. Had I time, and my papers, I could give you a much more particular relation of our whole transactions, by which you would see, that our officers and men behaved all along with more conduct and bravery than could well have been expected; for as we had no time to discipline and exercise our people, who were always in action, being so much employed in marching and countermarching, battles, sieges, blockades, and skirmishes, I believe it will be thought more surprising that we did so much, as that we did not more. What follows mostly relates to my own particular.

I joined the standard at Perth the day his Royal Highness arrived

¹⁷ The original of the following excellent military narrative was lately, and probably still is, in possession of the family of William Hamilton of Bangour, Esq. the well known Jacobite poet, to whom it was addressed by the writer, to serve as material for a history of the insurrection, contemplated, but never executed, by that gentleman.

Lord George Murray was a younger son of John, first Duke of Atholl, and brother of the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied the Prince to Scotland. He had appeared in arms for the house of Stuart at the Invasion of 1719, which terminated in the skirmish of Glenshiel; but, being pardoned by the government, had since lived quietly in the country, and was the father of a family, consisting of three sons and a daughter. His mature years and experience, together with his great family influence, at once pointed him out to the Prince as a proper person to take the chief command, a duty which he discharged in the most able manner. Lord George has unaccountably been charged with treachery to the cause in which he acted and fought with such conspicuous bravery; but we believe the only faults which could properly be laid to his charge were a certain sturdiness of opinion, and intractability of temper, which occasionally rendered him disagreeable to those around him, among whom the Prince was included. Happening to be possessed of several original letters, written by his Lordship during the course of the campaign, we shall insert them at their proper places, in the shape of notes.—Ed.

there. As I had formerly known something of a Highland army, the first thing I did was to advise the Prince to endeavour to get proper people for provisors and commissaries, for otherwise there would be no keeping the men together, and that they would straggle through the whole country upon their marches if it was left to themselves to find provisions, which, beside the inconveniency of irregular marches, and much time lost, great abuses would be committed, which, above all things, we were to avoid. I got many of the men to make small knapsacks of sacken before we left Perth, to carry a peck of meal each upon occasion, and I caused take as many threepenny loaves there as would be three day's bread to our small army, which was carried in carts. I sent about a thousand of these knapsacks to Crieff, to meet the men that were coming from Atholl. I believe there were no irregularities committed at Perth.¹⁸ After we marched from thence, Mr O'Sullivan, who had stayed a little behind, brought old Provost Cree and another man prisoner, for some little claim that he

¹⁸ Lord George Murray to the (titular) Duke Of Atholl.

Perth, 7th Sept. 1745.

Dear Brother,—Things vary so much from time to time, that I can say nothing certain as yet, but refer you to the enclosed letter, but depend upon having another express from me with you, before Monday night; but, in the meantime, you must resolve to be ready to march on Tuesday morning, by Keinacan and Tay Bridge, so as to be at Crieff on Wednesday, and even that way, if you do your best, you will be half a march behind; but you will be able to make that up on Thursday, when I reckon we may meet at Dunblane or Doun; but of this more fully in my next. It is believed for certain, that Cope will embark at Aberdeen.

I hope the meal was with you this day—35 bolls—for it was at Inwar last night. It shall be my study to have more meal with you on Monday night, for you must distribute a peck a man; and, cost what it will, there must be pocks made to each man, to contain a peck or two for the men to have always with them. Buy linen, harn, or any thing, for these pocks are of absolute necessity—nothing can be done without them. His Royal Highness desires you to acquaint Glenmoriston and Glenco, if they come your way, of this intended march, so that they may go by Taybridge, (if you please, with you,) and what meal you can spare, let them have. You may please tell your own people, that there is a project to get arms for them. Yours, adieu.

GEORGE MURRAY.

Saturday, nine at night.

had made. The town had paid £500 sterling, which was the demand upon them, and it was promised nothing else should be asked. He came up, after we had halted at mid-day, with his prisoners. I made application to his Royal Highness, and got them relieved.¹⁹

¹⁹ The following letter appears in Bishop Forbes's collections as written by the Prince, from Perth, to his father, the day before he proceeded on his march to Edinburgh: —

Perth, September, 10, 1745.

SIR,— Since my landing, every thing has succeeded to my wishes. It has pleased God to prosper me hitherto, even beyond my expectations. I have got together thirteen hundred men, and am promised more brave determined men, who are resolved to die or conquer with me. The enemy marched a body of regular troops to attack me; but, when they came near, they changed their mind, and by taking a different route, and making forced marches, have escaped to the north, to the great disappointment of my Highlanders: but I am not at all sorry for it; I shall have the greater glory in beating them when they are more numerous, and supported by their dragoons.

I have occasion every day to reflect on your Majesty's last words to me,—that I should find power, if tempered with justice and clemency, an easy thing to myself, and not grievous to those under me. 'Tis owing to the observance of this rule, and to my conformity to the customs of these people, that I have got their hearts, to a degree not to be easily conceived by those who do not see it. One who observes the discipline I have established, would take my little army to be a body of picked veterans; and to see the love and harmony that reigns amongst us, he would be apt to look upon it as a large, well ordered family, in which every one loves another better than himself.

I keep my health better in these wild mountains than I used to do in the Campagnie Felice, and sleep sounder, lying on the ground, than I used to do in the palaces at Rome.

There is one thing, and but one, in which I had any difference with my faithful Highlanders. It was about the price upon my kinsman's head, which, knowing your Majesty's generous humanity, I am sure, will shock you, as it did me, when I was shewn the proclamation, setting a price upon my head. I smiled, and treated it with the disdain I thought it deserved; upon which they flew into a violent rage, and insisted upon my doing the same by him. As this flowed solely from the poor men's love and concern for me, I did not know how to be angry with them for it, and tried to bring them to temper by representing, that it was a mean, barbarous principle among princes,

and must dishonour them in the eyes of all men of honour; that I did not see how my cousin's having set me the example would justify me in imitating that which I blame so much in him. But nothing I could say would pacify them. Some went even so far as to say,—“Shall we venture our lives for a man who seems so indifferent of his own? “Thus have I been drawn in to do a thing for which I condemn myself.

Your Majesty knows, that in my nature I am neither cruel nor revengeful; and God, who knows my heart, knows that if the Prince who has forced me to this (for it is he that has forced me) was in my power, the greatest pleasure I could feel would be in treating him as the Black Prince treated his prisoner, the King of France, to make him ashamed of having shewn himself so inhuman an enemy to a man, for attempting a thing, whom he himself (if he had any spirit) would despise for not attempting.

I beg your Majesty would be under no uneasiness about me. He is safe who is in God's protection. If I die, it shall be as I lived, with honour; and the pleasure I take in thinking I have a brother, in all respects more worthy than myself, to support your just cause, and rescue my country from the oppression under which it groans, (if it will suffer itself to be rescued,) makes life more indifferent to me. As I know and admire the fortitude with which your Majesty has supported your misfortunes, and the generous disdain with which you have rejected all offers of forcing assistance, on terms which you thought dishonourable to yourself, and injurious to your country; if bold, but interested, friends should at this time take advantage of the tender affection with which they know you love me, I hope you will reject their proposals with the same magnanimity you have hitherto shewn, and leave me to shift for myself, as Edward the Third left his brave son, when he was in danger of being oppressed by numbers in the field. No, Sir, let it never be said, that to save your son you injured your country. When your enemies bring in foreign troops, and you reject all foreign assistance, on dishonourable terms, your deluded subjects of England must see who is the true father of his people. For my own part, I declare, once for all, that, while I breathe, I will never consent to alienate one foot of land that belongs to the crown of England, or set my hand to any treaty inconsistent with its sovereignty and independency. If the English will have my life, let them take it if they can; but no unkindness on their part shall ever force me to do a thing that may justify them in taking it. I may be overcome by my enemies, but I will not dishonour myself; if I die, it shall be with my sword in band, fighting for the liberty of those who fight against me.

I know there will be fulsome addresses from the different corporations of England; but I hope they will impose upon none but the lower and more ignorant people. They will, no doubt, endeavour to revive all the errors and excesses of my grandfather's unhappy reign, and impute them to your Majesty and me, who had no hand in them, and suffered most by them. Can any thing be more unreasonable than to suppose that your Majesty, who is so sensible of, and has so often considered, the fatal errors of your father, would, with your eyes open, go and repeat them again?

Notwithstanding the repeated assurance your Majesty has given in your declaration, that you will not invade any man's property, they endeavour to persuade the unthinking people, that one of the first things they are to expect, will be to see the public credit destroyed; as if it would be your interest to render yourself contemptible in the eyes of all the nations of Europe, and all the kingdoms you hope to reign over, poor at home and insignificant abroad. They, no doubt, try to frighten the present possessors of church and abbey lands with vain terrors, as if your Majesty's intention was to resume them all; not considering that you have lived too long in a Catholic country, and read the history of England too carefully, not to have observed the many melancholy monuments to be seen there, of the folly of those pious princes, who, thinking to honour religion, have lessened it by keeping superstitious rites in the church, whereby they have insensibly raised up a power, which has too often proved an overmatch for their successors.

I find it a great loss that the brave Lord Mareshall is not with me. His character is very high in this country, and it must be so wherever he is known. I had rather see him than a thousand French, who, if they should come only as friends to assist your Majesty in the recovery of your just rights, the weak people would believe came as invaders.

There is one man in this country whom I could wish to have my friend, and that is the Duke of Argyle, who, I find, is in great credit amongst them, on account of his great abilities and quality, and has many dependents by his large fortune; but, I am told, I can hardly flatter myself with the hopes of it. The hard usage which his family has received from ours, has sunk deep into his mind. What have those princes to answer for, who, by their cruelties, have raised enemies, not only to themselves, but to their innocent children?

I must not close this letter without doing justice to your Majesty's Protestant subjects, who, I find, are as zealous in your cause as the

We marched towards Dumblain that night, where there was a day's halt, and then passed the Forth at the Frews. The men having committed abuses in taking and shooting sheep, the Duke of Perth and the other officers rode about and did all in their power to prevent it, and promised satisfaction to the country people. We lay all night in a field near Touch. Next day we passed by Stirling, and the royal standard was saluted by some cannon shot from the castle. I sent into the town; they opened the gates, and sent out bread, beer, cheese, and other provisions, (to sell,) near to Bannockburn, where we halted. We lay upon a field east from Falkirk and the parks of Callendar that night. We were there told that the two regiments of dragoons which had retreated from Stirling,²⁰ were that night encamped betwixt Linlithgow and the bridge west of it. It was proposed to send a detachment to attack the dragoons. A thousand men went, about one in the morning, which I commanded. There was not a hush to be heard the whole way, and I was much satisfied to find the men could march in such order; and, upon any emergency, were perfectly obedient, though, when no enemy was near, they were not so regular. When we came to the place, by four in the morning, we found the dragoons had gone off the night before; the rest of the army came up to us at Linlithgow about ten, and we all marched three miles farther. Next night we got within three miles of Edinburgh, and took possession of the town by break of day, the 17th September.

When we had certain accounts of Sir John Cope's landing at Dunbar, we left our camp at Edinburgh, and lay upon our arms at Duddingston, and on the Friday morning, (the 20th,) we marched from thence, hearing that the enemy was approaching. I had the van, and, when we were upon the south side of Pinkey gardens, we had certain information Sir John Cope was at or near Preston, and that, in all appearance, he would endeavour to gain the high ground of Fawside. There was no time to deliberate, or wait for orders; I was very well acquainted with the grounds, and as I was confident that nothing could be done to purpose except the Highlanders got above the enemy, I struck off to the right hand through the fields, without

Roman Catholics, which is what Dr Wagstaff has often told me I should find when I came to try them. I design to march to-morrow, and hope my next shall be from Edinburgh. I am, your Majesty's &c. &c.

²⁰ Hamilton's and Gardiner's regiments, which formed the only regular force left by Sir John Cope in the south of Scotland.—Ed.

holding any road. The gentlemen who used to ride before, with an escort, to choose ground where the army was to halt, or be drawn up, did not do it upon this occasion. In less than half an hour, by marching quick, I got to the eminence. I went very slow: after I had got possession of the ground, I intended waiting till the rear was fully joined. We then marched in order, advancing towards Tranent, and all the way in sight of the enemy. They were drawn up in the plain betwixt Preston Grange and Tranent; but there were meadows, and deep broad ditches, betwixt us and them. Mr O'Sullivan then came up, and, after taking a look of the enemy, he took fifty of Lochiel's people who had the van, and placed them in a churchyard at the foot of the town of Tranent, for what reason I could not understand. I sent Colonel Ker into the meadows to observe well the grounds. He rode in at a gate, and went to the meadow next the enemy; several of their men got amongst the ditches and shot at him. He did his business very coolly, and then returned and told me it was impossible for men to pass those ditches in a line. In the mean time, the enemy brought some of their cannon to bear upon the men that were placed at the foot of Tranent. They huzzaed at every discharge, thinking to frighten the Highlanders, who, they imagined, had never seen cannon. As the place those fifty men were posted in was not half cannon shot from them, they soon wounded a man or two. One of Lochiel's officers came to him and told him they were much exposed, and did not see what good they could possibly do in that place. Lochiel went himself and viewed it, and brought me word that nothing could dishearten men more than to be placed in an open exposed part, when they could not advance. Mr O'Sullivan was then gone to the rear, so, as I was sure the only way to come at the enemy was upon the other side of Tranent, I desired Lochiel to march those men through the village, and I should march the line and join them. Of this I sent word to his Royal Highness; and it being evening, and no time to be lost, I marched accordingly. When I was in the middle of the village, and joined by those fifty men, Mr O'Sullivan came up and asked what I was doing. I told him it was not possible to attack the enemy on the west side of the village; that the men he had placed at the foot were exposed to no purpose; and that as there were exceeding good fields on the east side for the men to lie well and safe all that night, I should satisfy his Royal Highness how easy it would be to attack the enemy by the east side. I took the ground I designed; and when all were past the village except the Atholl brigade, who were to continue on the west side above Colonel Gardner's enclosures, his Royal Highness came up to the front of the line. The men lay all down in rank and file. The place was perfectly dry, with stubble, and a small rising in their

front, just enough to cover them.

It was now night, and when all the principal officers were called together, I proposed the attacking the enemy at break of day. I assured them that it was not only practicable, but that it would, in all probability, be attended with success. I told them I knew the ground myself, and had a gentleman or two with me who knew every part thereabouts: there was, indeed, a small defile at the east end of the ditches; but once that was past, there would be no stop, and though we should be long on our march, yet when the whole line was past the defile, they had nothing to do but face to the left, and in a moment the whole was formed, and then to attack. The Prince was highly pleased with the proposal, as indeed the whole officers were; so, after placing a few piquets, every body lay down at their posts, and supped upon what they had with them. At midnight the principal officers were called again, and all was ordered as was at first proposed. Word was sent to the Atholl brigade, to come off their post at two in the morning, and not to make the least noise. Before four the army began to march, and the Atholl men came up in good time, who were to be the second line, or corps de reserve; those of the first line who had the van and the right the day before, were now, according to what was agreed formerly upon, to have the rear and the left; so the line marched from the left, and passed close in the front of what had been the right; this was done without the least noise or confusion. The Duke of Perth went in the front, and I gave him my guides. The Atholl men marched at the same time, in a different line, a little behind the first. After we had all passed the defile, I found (being in the rear, and to have the left) that the front had advanced too far, which proceeded from the not being able to distinguish the line, as day was but just beginning to dawn. We had brought no horse, to prevent being discovered by their noise. When we were past about a hundred paces from the ditches, I immediately concluded, if we went farther, we should leave the enemy upon our left flank. I therefore called to face about, and the word went from the left to the right. We immediately marched on to the attack; and I desired Lochiel to call to his men, in going on, to incline to the left; and I believe, by the time we came up to the enemy, the Camerons had gained half the ground we had left betwixt us and the main ditch. The enemy's cannon were also opposite to us, and, upon the first noise, having discovered us, they fired very briskly. Though we were the last that had past the defile, yet we were the first that attacked, and we soon passed their cannon. Our whole first line broke through the enemy. Some of them were rallying behind us, but when they saw our second line coming up, they then made the best of their way. We on the left pursued to the

walls and lane near Colonel Gardner's house. A lieutenant-colonel, with five other officers, and about fourteen common men of the enemy, got in over the ditch, and fired at us. I got before a hundred of our men, who had their guns presented to fire upon them, and, at my desire, they kept up their fire, so that those officers and soldiers surrendered themselves prisoners; and nothing gave me more pleasure that day, than having it so immediately in my power to save those men, as well as several others. Many prisoners were taken by Lochiel's people, in the heat of the action. A good many dragoons passed us a little after, but most of them were dismounted before they reached the lane. Lochiel kept his men very well together, and they were the first who rallied in a body. I was told that a number of the enemy were gathering in a body near to Tranent, and I perceived a good many people on the height. I immediately marched, with Lochiel and his regiment, back to the narrow causeway that led up to Tranent; but when I was halfway up, we found those who were taken for enemies, were mostly servants belonging to our army, and some country people. I got intelligence, at the same time, that a number of the enemy were at Cokenny. I immediately made the rear the front of Lochiel's men, and went with Lochiel straight to Cokenny, leaving our prisoners with a guard. This place was about a mile to the right of where we first engaged. There were about three hundred of the enemy there, above the half of them being their Highlanders.²¹ As they were within walls, they thought of defending themselves, but hearing that we were masters of their cannon, and as they could expect no assistance, they surrendered at discretion. The baggage of their army was all at that place. By the list I caused take that afternoon, by their own sergeants and corporals, we had made betwixt sixteen and seventeen hundred prisoners, of which about seventy officers. His Royal Highness caused take the same care of their wounded as of his own. I do not mention the behaviour of all our officers and men that day— their actions shewed it. I only take notice of those that were immediately under my eye, which was Lochiel's regiment, and the Stewarts of Appin. Any loss we had was mostly all of them, and a great number of prisoners were taken by them. In going through the field of battle that afternoon, I observed some few of General Cope's soldiers, who were the worst wounded, had not been carried to houses to be dressed; and though there were several of the country people of that neighbourhood looking at them,

²¹ Some volunteer companies, which had been recently embodied at Inverness, under the care of President Forbes, and sent along; with Sir John Cope to the Lowlands.—ED.

I could not prevail with them to carry them to houses, but got some of our people to do it.

In the evening I went with the officer prisoners to a house in Musselburgh, that was allotted for them. Those who were worst wounded, were left at Colonel Gardner's house, where surgeons attended them; the others walked, as I did amongst with them, without a guard, (as they had given me their parole;) and to some, who were not well able to walk, I gave my own horses. It was a new finished house that was got for them, where there was neither table, bed, chair, or chimney grate. I caused buy some new thrashed straw, and had, by good fortune, as much cold provisions and liquor of my own, as made a tolerable meal to them all; and when I was going to retire, they entreated me not to leave them, for, as they had no guard, they were afraid that some of the Highlanders who had got liquor, might come in upon them, and insult or plunder them. I lay on a floor by them all night. Some of them, who were valetudinary, went to the minister's house, and I sent an officer with them, and they got beds: this was the quarter designed for myself. Next morning, after his Royal Highness went for Edinburgh, I carried these gentlemen to the house of Pinkey, where they were tolerably well accommodated. After I had returned to the field of battle, and given directions about the cannon, and seen about the wounded prisoners, to get all the care possible taken of them, and given other necessary orders, I returned to Pinkey, where I stayed all night. I got what provisions could be possibly had to the common men prisoners, who were that night in the gardens of Pinkey; and the night before, I had got some of their own biscuit carried from Cokenny to Colonel Gardner's courts and gardens, for their use. In these things I had ever laid it down as a maxim, to do by others, as I would wish they would do by me, had I been in their place, and they in mine. The day of the battle, I did another piece of service, which, I believe, scarce any body else would have got accomplished.

When I found that it was determined to blockade the castle of Edinburgh, I took my share of the danger and fatigue, though I declared from the beginning, as my opinion, that it was impracticable to take it without cannon, engineers, and regular troops;²² but others

²² LORD GEORGE MURRAY to the DUKE OF ATHOLL.

Edinburgh, 29th September, 1745.

Dear Brother,— My excuse for not writing more frequently, or more fully, is still the same,— I have really more business upon my hands than any one person can manage. I have spoke to Lord Nairn

thought it would be obliged to surrender for want of provisions; but General Guest was too knowing an officer to have neglected so material a thing, and I was sure we were not to stay long enough to bring them to any straits. What I proposed, was to have placed guards in such a manner, as to prevent sallying to surprise us. One

and others, to write frequently to give you a detail of all our transactions. This day, about sixty of our officer prisoners went for Perth, by the Frews, the ford of Forth, which we all passed, and I hope they may be at Perth by Tuesday night. They are to stay there for some time, and are all upon their parole of honour. Keynachan, with about a hundred and fifty of your men, escorts them, to hinder any party from the castle of Stirling from retaking them, and to prevent any of our straggling soldiers offering any insult to them; there are near twenty more that are either wounded or sick, who are to follow how soon they can conveniently travel. But Major Stewart of Keynachan's principal business is, to bring up as many of your men as can possibly be sent, and he, with Fascal, and the other officers who went this day with the escort, must make all imaginable diligence. The desertion is very frequent amongst all the army, but not so much as your men; and, indeed, if some effectual method be not fallen upon, and severities used for examples, all we have done is to no purpose, and the most promising appearance of our cause ruined for want of our people sticking by us; for God's sake, send off our officers and what men can be got immediately.

A governor of the town of Perth is much wanted, and if there were but sixty or a hundred good men in garrison there, with proper officers, under a governor, it would be of great use, not only to have the name of it, but to protect the officers that are on their parole of honour from any insult. I wish you could find some proper persons and men of honour, to consult with upon this, and several other important occasions; and as you have the supreme command on the north side of the Forth, whatever you do for the best will be approved of; but we have so much in hand just now here, that all on the other side is left to your care, and the advice you have from good friends with you. Keynachan will give you a particular list of the gentlemen upon parole, and enclose a note of so many of our deserters. There is just now a message from General Guest, from the castle, to the provost, that if water and provisions he not allowed them from the town, they will be obliged to cannonade it. Adieu, yours,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Sunday, Seven at Night.

guard was very improperly placed at the Weighhouse; the battery of the half moon, near the castle gate, bore upon it, and it was so near that the first firing of that battery would not only have beat down the west end of the Weighhouse, but must have killed most of those in it. I removed that guard, when the Atholl men had it, to a place under cover, on the north side of the street nearly. Mr O'Sullivan one day placed a small guard near the West Kirk, which was not only exposed to the castle fire, but they could let down men, or send them out of the sally port, and take them prisoners, for no relief could be sent to them in less than two hours' time, by reason of the circumference to be made to avoid the castle; I never knew of this guard being placed there, till they were taken prisoners. It was found inconvenient to relieve these guards near the castle by different corps, because when they came first, they could not know the duty and danger so much as when they were accustomed to the thing. So Lochiel agreed to take all these guards and relieve them himself by his regiment, which was for that purpose quartered in the Outer Parliament House. I was with him when the guards were relieved, and the men did their duty exceeding well, especially when there was danger; and, when the fire was hottest from the castle, they kept their posts with much resolution and bravery. Lochiel and I being much with them, gave them a heartiness that hindered them from complaining of a duty that was so hard, and which the rest of the army had not in their turns. We even placed new guards to keep the castle from sallying, as they seemed disposed, and Keppoch's regiment was brought into town to take some of the guards and support them. I lay in town for some nights, and was constantly visiting the guards and sentinels.

I got a letter from the Abbey, by his Royal Highness's orders, to evacuate the town, and nail the cannon upon the walls, in which case the army was to have retired to Musselburgh and Dalkeith; but as we had scarce any loss, and if the sentinels kept in the places they were appointed, I thought there was very little danger, which I represented; so got leave to stay, and not make a precipitate retreat. In a day or two thereafter, his Royal Highness revoked, by a proclamation, the order which made it death to carry provisions to the castle, as he understood the town suffered much from their cannon. All the alteration made in the different guards, was only removing about four sentinels from the Reservoir, and things were much quieter all the time we continued at Edinburgh, which was about three weeks longer.

Before we marched, some had advised the Prince to go straight to Berwick, and that he would be very easily master of that town. I was of a very different sentiment, and, in presence of many of the

principal officers, I represented it as a thing at least of great difficulty, and of not so great use as to lose time, which was then so precious. I proposed marching into England the other road, but, to conceal the design, that the army should march in two columns, the one by Kelso, which would be supposed designed to go in by Woolerhaughead, and the other to march by Moffat, so that both columns could join, the day appointed, near Carlisle. Most of the officers approved much of this scheme; but his Royal Highness thought the whole army going to Berwick best. Next morning he told me, as he found that most of the officers were for the Carlisle road in the manner I had proposed, he agreed to it. The secret was very well kept, and we marched accordingly. When we came near Carlisle, it was thought advisable to go for Brampton, that if Mr Wade should design to fight, we had hilly ground, and might meet him. But after two days, at a council of war, (when we found General Wade did not move,) several different opinions were offered. His Royal Highness seemed most inclinable to follow that which was for marching to attack General Wade; others thought this was very dangerous, and even suppose a victory should be obtained, those of the army who survived, would go in to Newcastle, so as we could not pretend to take it. Some spoke of returning to Scotland, till we were joined by a greater body of our friends, many having left us upon our march. I was for a part of the army going to besiege and blockade Carlisle, whilst another part should stay at Brampton. The Duke of Perth seconded this, and said he would undertake the charge of the battery, if I would the blockade. All at last agreed in this, and it was put in execution accordingly; six regiments went to blockade the town, (besides the Duke of Perth's, that were to be employed in the works.) The town surrendered the second day. A few days afterwards, a council of war was called, to consider what was next to be done; some proposed returning to Scotland, others were for quartering in the country thereabouts, till we should see if any appearance would be made in England, and others were for marching forward the west road, and that now we had Carlisle, at worst we had a safe retreat. His Royal Highness declared for this. My opinion was asked: I stated the advantages and disadvantages of each of the different opinions, and concluded, that for myself I could not venture to advise his Royal Highness to march far into England, without more encouragement from the country than we had hitherto got; but I was persuaded, if his Royal Highness was resolved to make a trial of what could be expected, and would march south, his army, though but small, would follow him. Upon this, he immediately said he would venture it. I spoke with the more caution, as some things had happened about the time of the blockade

of Carlisle and a little before, which had made me desirous to serve only as a volunteer, and not as a general officer; but as all the other officers were very pressing with me, I soon had laid that thought aside.²³

²³ Connected with the resignation of Lord George at Carlisle, we present the following documents:—

LORD GEORGE MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF ATHOLL.

Harbery, 14th November; five of the morning.

DEAR BROTHER,—I posted the men in the villages so as to stop the communication to and from Carlisle, according to the note I gave to his Royal Highness; but I believe there must be some alteration this day, for I think of calling off Shian from Butcherby, (where there is no occasion for a party,) to reinforce this post, and that commanded by Lord Nairn, as both will be pretty much exposed if the enemy should attempt to sally, and as they will be some miles distant from one another, so that no succour could go in time from the one post to the other, and quite at a distance from the rest of the army.

Lord Nairn, who is now at Blackhall, must go to some place nearer Carlisle, and upon the road from thence to Whitehaven; but I can say nothing certain till the places be viewed this day after daylight.

I am sorry to find that it is impossible to go on so quick with the battery of cannon as would have been wished. By the report of those I sent there, the ground is marshy, and vastly too much exposed; and, notwithstanding all the pains taken by the Duke of Perth, who is indefatigable in that service, and who meets with unnumberable difficulties, I suspect the place pitched upon will not answer. But if the thing be prosecuted, I think it my duty to tell you, so as you may represent it to his Royal Highness, that the men posted upon the blockade of Carlisle will not expose themselves, either in trenches or all night in the open air, within cannon shot, or even musket shot, of the town, except it be in their turn with the rest of the army, and that to be decided by lot who to mount that guard, first night, second, and so on. The way I would propose, if it be approved of by a council of war, is as follows: that fifty men be draughted out of each of the battalions that are at Brampton, with proper officers, and at least two majors out of the six battalions, and be sent to quarter at Butcherby, which, I believe, is within a mile of the battery; and, as I suppose one hundred and fifty men will mount guard at the battery, these six battalions will furnish two guards, your men will furnish one, General Gordon and Lord Ogilvies, one, which in whole makes four guards, or reliefs; and I think, by that time, the town will be either taken, or the

blockade removed. I don't mention the Duke of Perth's regiment, because they have more than their turn of the duty already, besides furnishing workmen, &c.; and for Colonel John Roy Stewart's regiments, I suppose they have the guard of the equipage, &c. and they will perhaps be able to furnish some workmen. If any thing be done of this nature, the sooner I hear of it the better. I ever am, dear brother, your most affectionate brother, and faithful humble servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Copy of the result of the court martial held in consequence of the above letter, written by Mr Secretary Murray.

So soon as the whole body that now forms the blockade have taken their turn of the guards, the division of the army now here will march in a body and form the blockade; but no detachments can be sent from the different corps, nor do they think it fair to require them to do so, as they had all the fatigue and danger of the blockade in Edinburgh.

Brampton, 14th Nov. 1745.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY TO THE PRINCE.

15th November, 1745.

SIR,—I cannot but observe how little my advice as a general officer has any weight with your Royal Highness, ever since I had the honour of a commission from your hands. I therefore take leave to give up my commission. But as I ever had a firm attachment to the royal family, and in particular to the king, my master, I shall go on as a volunteer, and design to be this night in the trenches as such, with any others that will please to follow me, though I own I think there are full few on this post already. Your Royal Highness will please order whom you think fit to command on this post and the other parts of the blockade. I have the honour to be, Sir, your Royal Highness's most faithful and most humble servant,

(Signed) GEORGE MURRAY.

Lord Elcho has the command till you please appoint it otherwise.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF ATHOLL.

DEAR BROTHER,—I had not time to write to you last night, when I wrote a few lines to his Royal Highness, by which I gave up my commission of lieutenant-general, as I was sensible I could be of no use in the manner things are conducted: for instance, I desired to know, as near as could be, the terms his Royal Highness would accept of from Carlisle, and that though I did not desire any power to

conclude, yet it would have been a great saving of time, if I had been trusted with his Royal Highness's intentions, as surely by all roles I ought to have been; and then all would have been regular for his Royal Highness to have accepted of, according to what he should have given me in commission; for when he could not come to any fixed resolution before I came away, I begged his Royal Highness would send his intentions and instructions after me, that I might conduct myself by them; but his secretary told plainly, he took that matter to be his province, as he seems indeed to take every thing upon him, both as to civil and military. There are many other things which have determined me to wish to have no command; and it is some time past since I observed things must go into utter confusion. I shall shew, as a volunteer, that no man wishes more success to the cause, and I can be of more use charging in the first rank of your Atholl men, than as a general, where I was constantly at a loss to know what was doing. I am of opinion you should reduce your men to two battalions, one for Lord Nairn, the other

Mr Mercer. When you are quartered any where, if you have any hole to spare, I shall be as often with you as I can; at other times I shall lye with the men in a barn, which, I doubt not, will hearten them much. In every thing, as a volunteer, I shall do all I can to advance the service; but am determined never to act as an officer. I have several other things to say at meeting. If you have occasion for tent or horses, they are at your service, for I design to keep none, but make presents of them all. Adieu.—Yours,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Haroby, 15th Nov. 1745.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF ATHOLL.

DEAR BROTHER,—I did expect you would have, upon occasion, stood my friend; but I find you are too apt to hearken to designing people, by your being so ready to blame me before I was heard; and except you shew some regard for me, how can I expect it of others?

I told his Royal Highness, that you had acquainted me he desired to see me. He said, no, he had nothing particular to say to me. I told him, I should be as ready to serve in a private station, and as a volunteer, in the first rank of your men, as ever I could be in any other. He said I might do so. Nothing else past. I spoke a good time to Sir Thomas Sheridan, and told him in particular, that if any thing was taken amiss in my letter, as having expressed my attachment to the King, without having mentioned his Royal Highness, it was very injurious to me; for, having mentioned the King and Royal family,

The march was ordered, and, for the better accommodation of the army, it was agreed that I should march with six regiments and some horse, a day before the other six regiments, till we came to Preston. The Duke of Perth's regiment which was not included, was to guard the thirteen cannon and ammunition. The whole army joined at Preston. I proposed going with the column I had marched with to Liverpool, and could easily have been at Macclesfield the same day that the other part of the army would have arrived; but this was not thought proper. Some gentlemen and some private men joined us at Manchester, where we halted a day. When we came to Macclesfield, we had certain intelligence that the Duke of Cumberland's army was on its march, and were quartered at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle under Line. We resolved to march for Derby; and to cover our intentions, I offered to go with a column of the army to Congleton, which was the straight road to Litchfield, so that the enemy would have reason to think we intended to come upon them,

(and designing my letter to be short,) I thought it needless to be more particular; for surely, next to the King, I would serve none on earth before his Royal Highness, which, after what I have shewn, and all my actions since I joined the standard, could not be called in question.

I mentioned several particulars, wherein I shewed, that I had no authority in the station I was in, and that others acted as general, who had not any call, but used his Royal Highness's name. That in the drudgery I was employed, but any thing of moment was done without my participation. That, in short, I had ventured my all,—life, fortune, family—every thing but my honour, which last I had some to lose, but none to gain, in the way things were managed, and therefore resolved upon a private station.

I wish you would be careful of the Atholl men, that they be not slighted, which never should have happened, as long as I had any command. I find scarce any of them have even got thanks for venturing life and fortune, and even the gallows; and which is worst, (I don't know how it is come about,) they are not thought equally good with other men. If you would send me the notes that were made out of the way of modelling them into two different regiments, I would, now that I have time to do it, as much as possible for the good of the service, and the general comfort. I always am, dear brother, your most faithful and humble servant, and affectionate brother,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Haroby, 16th Nov. 1745.

which would make them gather in a body, and readily advance upon that road, so that we could get before them to Derby. This was agreed to. A little before I came to Congleton, the Duke of Kingston and his horse retired towards Newcastle under Line, where Mr Weir, with one or two others, were taken, and some escaped out of windows. This Weir was principal spy. We heard afterwards that the body of the enemy, who were at Newcastle under Line, retreated towards Litchfield, and other bodies of them that were farthest back advanced, so as to gather their army into a body about that place, which entirely answered our design; for next morning early I turned off to the left, and, passing through Leek, got that evening to Ashburn. His Royal Highness, who had halted a day at Macclesfield, came the next to Leek, a little after I passed through it.

I got to Derby about mid-day, on the 5th December, and his Royal Highness, with the other column, came that evening. Next day, when most of the officers were at the Prince's quarters, it was considered what next was to be resolved on. We did not doubt but that the Duke of Cumberland would be that night at Stafford, which was as near to London as Derby. Mr Wade was coming up by hard marches the east road, and we knew that an army, at least equal to any of these, would be formed near London, consisting of guards and horse, with troops, which they would bring from the coast where they were quartered; so that there would be three armies made up of regular troops, that would surround us, being above thirty thousand men, whereas we were not above five thousand fighting men, if so many; that, upon a misfortune, it could not be supposed one man could escape, for the militia, who had not appeared much against us hitherto, would, upon our defeat, possess all the roads, and the enemy's horse would surround us on all hands; that the whole world would blame us as being rash and foolish, to venture a thing that could not succeed, and the Prince's person, should he escape being killed in the battle, must fall into the enemy's hands. His Royal Highness had no regard to his own danger, but pressed with all the force of argument to go forward. He did not doubt but the justness of his cause would prevail, and he could not think of retreating after coming so far; and he was hopeful there might be a defection in the enemy's army, and that severals would declare for him. He was so very bent on putting all to the risk, that the Duke of Perth was for it, since his Royal Highness was. At last he proposed going to Wales, instead of returning to Carlisle, but every other officer declared their opinions for a retreat, which some thought would be scarce practicable. I said all that I thought of to persuade the retreat, and indeed the arguments to me seemed unanswerable; and, for the danger, though I owned an army upon a

retreat did not fight with equal valour as when they advanced, yet, if the thing was agreed to, I offered to make the retreat, and be always in the rear myself, and that each regiment would take it by turns till we came to Carlisle, and that the army should march in such order, that if I were attacked, I might be supported as occasion required, and without stopping the army, (except a very great body of the enemy should be upon me,) I would send aid-de-camps to desire such assistance as I should judge the occasion would require, but that I really believed there would be no great danger; for, as we were informed that the Duke of Cumberland was at Stafford, and would in all appearance, that night or next morning, be drawing rather nearer London to intercept us; so that if our design were not mentioned till next morning, that it would be put in execution, we would be got to Ashburn before he could have certain information of our design to retreat. It would after that take some time to lay his plan, and give the necessary directions for following us; and I imagined it could only be horse, for I was persuaded we would have three days' march of them, and I did not believe their horse alone would venture to attack us. As for Mr Wade's army, they were so far to the east, that, before they could cross the country, we would be far before them. That, as we knew our quarters, we would not be kept under arms at night till we were billeted, but that every body would take the quarters that had been allotted to them, in coming up; so that the night being long, our men would be well refreshed, and need not halt a day till we came to Preston, which would be the sixth day. As all the officers agreed in this opinion, his Royal Highness said he would consent to it, though it was observed he was much disappointed, to be so near London, and yet not in a condition to march forwards. I desired one thing more, and that was, that the cannon and carriages with the ammunition, should march in the van, and that I should have no trouble nor charge about these things, which was promised me.

Our resolution was to be kept secret, as it was of great consequence the enemy should have the intelligence of our march as late as possible; yet, in the afternoon, one Sir John Macdonald, an Irish officer in the French service, who had come over with the Prince, came where Lochiel, Keppoch, and I, were talking together, and railed a great deal about our retreat. "What!" says he to Keppoch, "a Macdonald turn his back!" and to Lochiel, "For shame! a Cameron run away from the enemy!—go forward, and I'll lead you." This gentleman was old, and had dined heartily, for he was much subject to his bottle. We endeavoured to persuade him that he was mistaken, but he still insisted, and said he had certain information of it. To tell the truth, I believe he liked his quarters and entertainment better in

England than in Scotland, and would rather have been taken prisoner, (many of these gentlemen had that expression,) than return; for he thought, as he was in the French service, he did not run the same risk that others did. Some people seeing the Prince so much cast down about the retreat, to ingratiate themselves, blamed the resolution; and though they had shewn in the morning, as much as any body, their hearty concurrence in that measure, and had expressed themselves so, yet, as they saw the retreat would be certainly put in execution, though they appeared against it, they thought proper to say, that their reason for agreeing to it was, because they knew the army would never fight well when the officers were against it. Sir Thomas Sheridan, and his Royal Highness's secretary, acted this part. And the Duke of Atholl, who had not been present in the morning, when the Prince sent for him in the afternoon, and spoke to him, seemed much for going forwards. In the evening, when this was understood by the rest of the officers, they told his Royal Highness, that they valued their lives as little as brave men ought to do, and if he inclined to go forward they would do their duty to the last; but desired that those that advised his Royal Highness to march forward would sign their opinion, which would be a satisfaction to them. This put a stop to all underhand dealings, and the Duke of Atholl, when he heard others upon the subject, was fully satisfied as to the necessity of the measure.

It was past ten o'clock before his Royal Highness left Derby, and the march was regular enough. My great difficulty was to bring up stragglers, who could not be kept from going into houses and committing abuses. I found it necessary to have, every day afterwards, a clever officer out of each battalion, to assist in this; for whatever regiment happened to have the rear, they had only authority over their own men. So this plan of having an officer out of each regiment was very useful, and in case of an attack, as they were well choice, they would have been of great service. Most of the colonels, by turns, were frequently with me, besides him who had the rear. We were commonly very late before the rear got to their quarters. His Royal Highness, in marching forwards, had always been the first up in the morning, and had the men in motion before break of day, and commonly marched himself afoot; but in the retreat he was much longer of leaving his quarters, so that, though the rest of the army were all on their march, the rear could not move till he went, and then he rode straight on, and got to the quarters with the van. When we came to Manchester, I found his Royal Highness was to halt a day there, and in the orders it was so mentioned. I told that it might be of dangerous consequence; the men had no occasion for

it, and it was only giving so much time to the enemy to approach us. About two in the morning, I was waked by Mr O'Sullivan, who told me the army was to march that day; but as it had been given out otherwise in the orders, it was eleven o'clock before the army marched; it was a long day's march, and very bad roads, so that it was very late before they got to Wiggan; the rear guard came not in till midnight, and without the help of lanterns and candles, many of them would have straggled all night. Next day we came to Preston, when we halted a day. That day, the Duke of Perth asked if I had any commands to Scotland, that he was ordered there to bring up our men to England. I told him if he had not a good escort he might be in danger, especially when he came near Stirling: he set out accordingly. I had desired that orders might be given to change the four-wheeled waggons that had been taken up there when we passed Preston before, for the ammunition, because the roads southward were very good, the two-wheeled carts had been left at Preston; so, having a day's rest, there was no great difficulty to change them, but this was not done. The next march was to Lancaster: it was eighteen long miles, so it was very late before the rear got into town. I was much surprised, when I came to my quarters, to be informed that in the orders that were given out, the army was to halt a day there. When I went to the Prince's quarters next morning, he told me he was resolved to fight the enemy, and desired I should go with Mr O'Sullivan and reconnoitre the grounds, to choose a right field of battle. I said that it would be proper some of the Highland officers should also go, as ground that was fit for them might be different from what would be perhaps proper for regular troops. Lochiel was present, and I asked that he might go alongst, which he did. I understood afterwards, that those who had advised the Prince in this design thought, that when he spoke to me of it I would have given reasons against it, but I did not offer any advice in the affair. I took an escort both of horse and foot, and went back about two miles, where we found a very fine field, upon a rising ground, that could contain our whole army, and which, every way the enemy could come, we could be under cover of the rising ground till they were close upon us. After taking a very narrow view of these grounds, and having made two or three of the enemy's rangers, as they were called, prisoners, we returned to Lancaster. We understood by our prisoners, that the corps called the rangers were at Garston, a town about eight miles back, and that a great body of dragoons were come to Preston. I told the Prince of the field we had been viewing, and that, if our number would answer, I could not wish a better field for Highlanders: he said he was to march next day. We got to Kendal next night; it was late

before the rear got in. Here we found the Duke of Perth had been obliged to return, having been attacked by the country militia, so he could not make his way to Carlisle. I went to the Prince's quarters, and entreated some course should be taken with the carriages, for I reckoned it was impossible for four-wheeled waggons to go from thence to Shap; and since they had not changed them at Preston, they could not miss getting as many two-wheeled carts at Kendal, and though some people should sit up all night at so necessary a work, it would be doing good service. I also thought it would be right that the men should be desired to provide themselves with a day's provision of bread and cheese, for I doubted little or nothing could be got at Shap. Mr O'Sullivan was at supper with the Prince. He had got some mountain Malaga, which he seemed very fond of, and gave me a glass or two of it. There was always a major or principal officer of each regiment waiting at the quarters till the orders should be given out, and this night they sent in to him several times about the orders, which were to be copied for their different corps. It was eleven at night before I left the quarters, and Mr O'Sullivan had not then wrote them out.

Next morning, when I was marching out of town with the rear, I was surprised to find many of the men returning, and when I inquired, I was told they were desired to provide themselves in a day's bread, &c. which they had not heard of till they were on their march. This was like to create great confusion: the town's people had shut all their doors for fear of stragglers and abuses. I did all in my power to prevent any disorder, and sent detachments of the rear, with officers, to see to get out all our people, which at last I got accomplished, though it much retarded our march. It proved a very bad, rainy day; and by the time I had marched four miles, and got amongst the hills, I was stopped by what I always suspected,—the waggons could not be carried through a water where there was a narrow turn and a steep ascent. It is not easy to express the trouble we were at. The horses of two waggons were yoked to one, besides at least forty hands. Two or three of the Manchester officers were vastly useful, and, entirely of their own accord, they were up to the middle in water for an hour. I was detained there all night. It was the Glengary men were in the rear that day; they are reckoned not the most patient, but I never was better pleased with men in my life; they did all that was possible. After much labour, I was forced to take up my quarters with them all night, at a large farm, about a gun-shot off the road, only four miles from Kendal; and we made the best shift we could, in the barns, byres, stables, and the farm house. I placed as many men at a little house upon the road as it could contain, for a

guard, where the ammunition was; but, indeed, we all kept guard. I bought all the oat meal, cheese, and other things in the place, and distributed it among the men. As soon as day began to break, we got all the small carts (that had timber wheels, or wheels of one piece of wood, as none other could¹ be had,) we could purchase, and sent even two miles off the road and got some. We unloaded the waggons, and put the things into those small carts. I was surprised to find how little there was in most of the waggons. I found two barrels of biscuit, which had travelled from Edinburgh to Derby, and back again, which I gave amongst the men. It was the heaviness of the waggons, and their being so unwieldy, and of a vast length, that had been their stop, and not what was in them: two of the smallest carts contained all that was in the best loaded waggon; and we had left above a dozen fine box carts at Preston, that would have done more than all the business. I got two messages from his Royal Highness that morning, who, it seems, had heard of the ammunition, &c. being left behind. I was ordered not to leave, upon any account, the least thing, not so much as a cannon ball; for he would rather return himself, than that there should be any thing left. I desired these gentlemen to see themselves what care and trouble I had been at, and that they might assure his Royal Highness, that I should do all that man could do; but I told them, when I undertook the retreat, it had been promised we should have no trouble with these things, which had proceeded entirely from the neglect of those who had the charge or ordering of them; and that though I did not doubt but I would be attacked before I could join the rest of the army, who, I had found, had marched for Penrith, yet I should do my duty as well as I could. The officers of the different regiments, who had used to be with me, had left me the day before, (as, indeed, I could not blame them,) to get quarters to themselves, and I did not see them till I came to Carlisle. Thus I was left with one single regiment.

Before I had marched two miles, I came up with a cannon that had been overturned into a water, over a bridge. A cart with ammunition had the same fate. The hill, from that place, was the steepest and longest on the whole road. I got the men to carry to Shap a good many cannon balls, which eased the carriages much. I gave sixpence the piece for the doing it, by which means I got above two hundred carried. It was late before we got to Shap, though we had marched but six miles that day; and here I found most of the cannon, with what ammunition had come alongst with them, and Colonel Roy Stewart and his battalion. We marched very early next morning, but had great difficulties, for some of the small carts were continually breaking; but I sent off on all hands to get a supply, and endeavoured to have two or

three spare ones. The country people had put every thing out of the way, so that if a cart was found, it took much time to put it in order.

I now observed small platoons of horse appearing on eminences at some distance behind me. Of this I sent word to the Prince; but at Penrith they had taken a notion that it was only militia. There was, indeed, a body of two or three hundred light horse, being, I believe, mostly Cumberland people, that drew up in my way, thinking to obstruct our march; but so soon as the Glengary men threw their plaids, and ran forward to attack them, they made off at the top gallop, and gave me no more trouble. When I came to Clifton, I sent off the cannon, and other carriages, to Penrith, being two miles farther; and as I believed these light horse that had met me would probably be near Lord Lonsdale's house at Lowther, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the county, I went a short way with the Glengary men to that place, through several enclosures, it being not above a mile. Lord Pitsligoe's horse had joined me, so I was in hopes, by scouring these enclosures, to meet with the light horse. We got sight of severals hard by Lord Lonsdale's house, but could come up with few: at a turn of one of the parks, one like a militia officer, clothed in green, and a footman of the Duke of Cumberland's, were taken. We understood by them, that the Duke of Cumberland, with a body of four thousand horse, as they said, were about a mile behind. I sent Colonel Roy Stewart with the prisoners to Penrith, and to know his Royal Highness's orders, and that I would stop at Clifton, which was a good post, till I heard from him. When I came back to Clifton, the Duke of Perth was there; and, besides Colonel Roy Stewart's men, being about two hundred, that I left there, Cluny, with his men, and Ardsheil, with the Appin men, were with them. The Duke of Perth, who was also there, had been persuaded that it was only militia that had appeared; but he then saw, upon an open muir, not above cannon-shot from us, the enemy appear and draw up in two lines, in different divisions and squadrons. His Grace said he would immediately ride back, and see to get out the rest of our army, for as the grounds were strong where I drew up, he did not doubt I could maintain that post till others joined me. I sent an English gentleman with him, who had attended me all the retreat, and knew the country perfectly well, who said he would lead them a near way by the left, undiscovered; that they could fall upon the enemy in flank, and, as there was a lane that lay betwixt Lord Lonsdale's enclosures, which was near a mile in length, and through which the enemy had come, if they were obliged to retire, they would suffer much by both sides of the lane, if we lined it. I only desired a thousand more men than what I had, by which means I could not only maintain the post I had, but

send half of my men through the enclosures on my right, so as to flank the enemy on that side, if they were attacked on the other side; and if once but twenty of their horse could be killed, it would make such an embarrass in the lane, that it would put them all in confusion, and choke up the only road they had to retreat, except the Apleby road, and that might be also secured, which would give us an advantage, that perhaps we should not meet the like again.

After the Duke of Perth went to Penrith, I made my disposition in the best manner I could; caused roll up what colours we had, and made them pass half open to different places, bringing them back once or twice under cover; so that the enemy, seeing them as they were carried forward to different places, could not form any judgment of our numbers. I did this in a manner to make them believe that our numbers were much greater than they were, and they could not know but our whole army was come into the village, and about it. After an hour they dismounted, as near as we could guess, about five hundred of their dragoons, which came forward to the foot of the muir they were upon, and to a ditch, which was the last of three small enclosures from the places where we were posted at the village. My men were so disposed, that the Glengary men were upon the enclosures on the right of the highway, and Appin's men, with Cluny's, in the enclosures upon the left; Colonel Roy Stewart's men I placed on the side of the lane, or highway, close to the village. I was about a thousand men in all. Pitsligoe's horse and hussars returned to Penrith. The ditches at the foot advanced more towards the muir on the right, than on the left; and that part was also covered by Lord Lonsdale's other enclosures; so they could not easily be attacked, but had the advantage that they could with their fire flank the enemy, when they made an attack upon our left. The lane, which was the high road betwixt these small enclosures, was not above twenty feet broad. It was now about an hour after sunset, pretty cloudy, but the moon, which was in its second quarter, from time to time broke out, and gave good light; but this did not continue above two minutes at a time. We had the advantage, by seeing their disposition; but they could not see ours. Our hussars, upon seeing the enemy, went off to Penrith. One of their officers, Mr Hamilton, with two or three of his men, had dismounted, (being ashamed of the going off of the others,) and gone in through a hedge, and were taken prisoners; how it happened I cannot tell, for it was before I came back from Lowther Hall. Had they stayed near Clifton, they ran no risk.

Colonel Roy Stewart returned to me from Penrith. He told me his Royal Highness resolved to march for Carlisle immediately, and had sent off the cannon before, and desired me to retreat to Penrith. I

shewed Colonel Stewart my situation, with that of the enemy. They were, by this time, shooting popping shots among us. I told him, if I retreated, being within musket shot of the enemy, they would follow up the lane, and I must lose a number of men, besides discouraging the rest; that from Clifton it was a narrow road, and very high walls, so that I could not line them to secure my retreat; and that probably my men would fall into confusion in the dark, and that the enemy, by regular platoons in our rear, being encouraged by our retreat, must destroy a great many; and by taking any wounded man prisoner, they would know our numbers; whereas, I told him, I was confident I could dislodge them from where they were, by a brisk attack, as they had not, by all that I could judge, dismounted above five hundred. Their great body was on horseback, and at some distance; and Cluny and he owned, that what I proposed was the only prudent and sure way; so we agreed not to mention his message from the Prince. I had crossed the lane, or high road, several times, which only could be done at the foot of the village, by two gates, one on each side. I now went over again to where the Glengary men were placed, and ordered them to advance, as they should observe me do on the other side, and to keep up their fire as much as they could, till they came to the bottom ditch; and that, if we beat the enemy from their hedges and ditches, they had a fair sight of them, and could give them a flank fire, within pistol-shot; but I gave them particular injunctions not to fire cross the lane, nor to follow the enemy up the muir. I left Colonel Car with them: he was one of the Prince's aid-de-camps, but had liberty to be mostly with me. He was an excellent officer, and was riding through the fields in the time of the fire, as if it had been a review. After having spoke with all the officers of the Glengary regiment, I went to the right of the lane. The dismounted dragoons had not only lined the bottom enclosures, but several of them had come up to two hedges that lay south and north; the others where we were, and the dragoons at the bottom, lay east and west. The Appin battalion were next the lane upon that side, and Cluny's farther to their left. We advanced, and had a good deal of fire on both sides. After the Highlanders on that side had given most of their fire, they lay close at an open hedge, which was the second in these fields. We then received the whole fire of the dragoons that were at the bottom, upon which Cluny said, "What the devil is this?" Indeed, the bullets were going thick enough. I told him we had nothing for it but going down upon them, sword in hand, before they had time to charge again. I immediately drew my sword, and cried, Claymore! Cluny did the same, and we ran down to the bottom ditch, clearing the diagonal hedges as we went. There were a good many of the enemy killed at

the bottom ditch, and the rest took to their heels, but received the fire of the Glengary regiment. Most of Ardsheil's men, being next the lane, did not meet with so much opposition. I had given orders that our men should not pass the bottom ditch, to go up the muir, for they would have been exposed to the fire of the Glengary regiment, that could not distinguish them from the enemy. We had no more firing after this; so we returned to our first post. We had now done what we proposed; and being sure of no more trouble from the enemy, I ordered the retreat: first Roy Stewart's, then Appin, Cluny, and the Glengary men; and it was half an hour. after the skirmish before we went off. I was the last man myself. The Atholl brigade had come the length of a bridge, within half a mile of Clifton, hearing of my being in sight of the enemy, and there waited for orders. Had the rest of the army come out, and followed the plan that was proposed, they would have been upon the flank of the dragoons that were on horseback, by the time that we attacked the others. The officers that were with me, as well as the men, behaved to my wish, and punctually obeyed the orders they received. The Glengary regiment told me that day, that they would not have stayed three days behind the rest of the army, to guard baggage, for any man alive but myself. Colonel Roy Stewart was close with me, after he returned from Penrith; and Glenbucket, who was very infirm, stayed at the end. of the village on horseback. He told me he was sorry he was not able to go on with me. He entreated me to be very cautious, for, if any misfortune happened, I would be blamed. He gave me his targe: it was convex, and covered with a plate of metal, which was painted; the paint was cleared in two or three places, with the enemy's bullets; and, indeed, they were so thick about me, that I felt them hot about my head, and I thought some of them went through my hair, which was about two inches long, my bonnet having fallen off. It was lucky I made that stand at Clifton, for otherwise the enemy would have been at our heels, and come straight to Penrith, where, after refreshing two or three hours, they might have come up with us, before we got to Carlisle. I am persuaded, that night and next morning, when the van entered Carlisle, there was above eight miles from our van to our rear, and mostly an open country, full of commons.

I have been the more particular about this little skirmish, because I observed it was very differently related in the English newspapers, as if we had been beat from our post at Clifton; whereas, I was there about half an hour after the enemy were gone. I heard they retired a good many miles for quarters, and I am persuaded they were as weary of that day's fatigue as we could be. I could give a more distinct account, and I am sure none a more true, for all I have related is

matter of fact. When I came to Penrith, the Prince was just taking his horse. He seemed very well pleased with what had happened. The men that had been with me, stayed a little time to refresh; some of them had great occasion. When we came to Carlisle, where we halted next day, I was clear for evacuating it, but it seems another resolution was taken, and I was ordered to speak with some of the officers that were appointed to stay. The Duke of Perth was very unwilling to leave any of his men; as, indeed, it was no wonder. In the Prince's presence, he asked me, why so many of the Atholl people, were not desired to stay. I told him, if his Royal Highness would order me, I would stay with the Atholl brigade, though I knew my fate; for so soon as they could bring cannon from Whitehaven, I was sure it was not tenable. We might have blown up part of the castle, and at any rate, whenever we were in a condition to return, Carlisle could not do us hurt; we could come in by Brampton, which was nearer, and had not the river Eden to pass; the country was open to us there, and in many other places. As for our military stores, what was not easy Carried along with us, could be thrown into the river, and once we were upon the Scots side, we were in no danger of being followed; the grounds were so strong, and dragoons could not subsist, except they brought every thing necessary along with them, which must be a work of some time. I do not know who advised leaving a garrison at Carlisle; I had been so much fatigued for some days before, that I was little at the Prince's quarters that day, but I found he was determined in the thing. It was very late next day before we marched. The Prince had some difficulty about those who were to stay at Carlisle, who were very unwilling. I waited with most of the men upon the Scotch side of the bridge a considerable time; at last we marched, and when we came to the water Esk, which was at the place where we were to pass, seven long miles from Carlisle, for by the near road it was impassable, no concert had been taken what rout we were next to follow. His Royal Highness, in presence of some of the officers, desired to know my opinion, which I gave, and that was, that I should march with six battalions that night to Ecclefechan; next day for Moffat, and then halt a day; and after making a feint towards the Edinburgh road, turn off to Douglas, then to Hamilton and Glasgow; that his Royal Highness would go with the clans and most of the horse that night to Annan, next day to Dumfries, where they would rest a day, then to Drumlanrig, Lead Hills, Douglas, and Hamilton, so they would be at Glasgow the day after us. This was immediately agreed to. I passed the water. We were a hundred men abreast, and it was a very fine show: the water was big, and took most of the men breast-high. When I was near cross the river, I believe there were two

thousand men in the water at once: there was nothing seen but their heads and shoulders; but there was no danger, for we had caused try the water, and the ford was good, and Highlanders will pass a water where horses will not, which I have often seen. They hold by one another by the neck of the coat, so that if one should fall, he is in no danger, being supported by the others, so all must drown or none; and if at any time they find the water too hard for them, and that they cannot make it out, they return; so it seldom happens that ever any of them are drowned; and no people in the world wade waters so much as they do when they are single. They venture too much in waters, (for they do not like to be stopt by any difficulties,) and then they are liable to accidents. All the bridges that were thrown down in England, to prevent their advancing in their march forwards, never retarded them a moment. I was this day in my philibeg. I did not know but the enemy might have come from Penrith by Brampton, so shunned the water of Eden, to have attacked us in passing this water of Esk; and nothing encouraged the men more, than seeing their officers dressed like themselves, and ready to share their fate.

Some ladies had passed the water on horseback just before us; but had they looked back, they could have seen nothing, the water was so big. The pipes began to play so soon as we passed, and the men all danced reels, which in a moment dried them, for they held the tails of their short coats in their hands in passing the river, so when their thighs were dry, all was right. It was near night. Those who went to Ecclefechan, had a very bad march, mostly through mossy ground, and our guides led us off the road. I found out that it was to shun houses, that our men might not go into them, and when they did not pass near them they could not see them. It was very late before we got to our quarters, and we were pretty much fatigued. I had contracted a most violent cold and cough, with the three last days' march, before we came to Carlisle. The day we left Kendal, I had stood several hours in a heavy rain, and not having stript for some nights, made me feel the effects of it the more; but that day's march cured me. I had wide²⁴ several waters, and often been mid-thigh deep in moss, but when I got myself washed with warm water, and oat meal and water—what the Highlanders call a brochin—in bed, at Ecclefechan, I was next day almost cured, and the day thereafter quite free of my cold and cough. We halted a day at Moffat. It was Sunday, and having episcopal ministers along with us, we had sermon in different parts of the town, where our men all attended. Our people were very regular that way,

²⁴ The Scottish preterite of wade.—ED.

and I remember at Derby the day we halted, as a battle was soon expected, many of our officers and people took the sacrament. We marched next to Douglas, then to Hamilton, and arrived at Glasgow, 25th December. His Royal Highness came there next day, with the other column of the army, by the route above mentioned. We halted there till the beginning of January, and then marched in two columns towards Stirling. I had endeavoured to get linen and cloth distributed amongst the men, which had been furnished by the town of Glasgow; after his Royal Highness consented it should be (at least so much of it) divided, some people advised him not to do it, for that the men would go home so soon as they received it: they were much in the wrong, for if good usage would not keep them, nothing would, and those who were determined to go home for a few days, would not be kept for so small matters. I was very much vexed at this, as it had very bad effects. The Prince marched with one column by Kilsyth, and lay that night there; next day he went to Bannockburn, and all round Stirling, and took possession of Stirling a day or two after. The other column, being six battalions of the clans, with which I was, lay the first night at Cumbernauld, and came the next day to Falkirk, where we took up our quarters. I had sent Lord John Drummond an account of our return from England, when I was at Moffat, though I had no directions to do so, and by this means he knew of it two days sooner than he otherwise would. He had much trouble and difficulty in bringing up the cannon; some came by the Frews, and others by Alloa; but there was so small a guard with those at Alloa, that Lochiel's regiment, which was now about seven hundred strong (being joined by his recruits) was obliged to be sent there. We had intelligence of so many regular troops being shipped, to land on that side, so the cannon would have been in great danger, had he not gone over, as he did, with his regiment, for they had not sent men enough to Alloa from Perth, and it was by much the nearest road for the cannon to get over the Forth. I luckily got a vessel that was lying off Airth, the tide before the frigates came up, which served for transporting so many of our cannon and stores to a place near Polmaise. We had got three of our own cannon placed at Elphinstone to keep off the frigates. I was obliged to have strong guards there relieved every day, as well as at Airth. The frigates, so soon as the spring tide served, came up, and there was a good deal of firing from them, and from our battery for two days, but they could make nothing of it, and were obliged to fall down the Forth again. I believe they lost some men. We had none killed or wounded. Lochiel's regiment were called to Bannockburn, for a guard to his Royal Highness; so I had but five battalions, of which two were very thin,

and the duty was hard, having many guards to furnish, and we were but a day's march from Edinburgh, where the enemy were turning very strong.

On the 13th January, I marched the five battalions, with Elcho's troop of life guards, and Pitsligoe's horse, to Linlithgow. We were told they had made preparations there for the enemy, a body of whom were to be that night at that place. Before I entered the town, I called the whole officers together, and told them what I designed, and desired that in a moment's warning they should come out to the streets to march whichever way was needful. We had not been an hour in town, when our advanced parties discovered a body of dragoons, but no foot, upon which we all marched out: they retired as we advanced. I sent our horse, with two hundred of the best foot, about two miles after them, and kept sight with our main body, but not being willing to lose time, we all returned, except reconnoitering parties, and dined at Linlithgow. We then found they were returning with a body of foot, which, I was informed, was four regiments. We waited on the streets till they were at the end of the town, and then marched. They held above the town. My design was to attack them when a half should pass the bridge, half a mile west from the town. They followed us to the bridge, but none of them passed it. So, finding this, we marched back to Falkirk. Next day we went to Bannockburn, as we were ordered. For three days thereafter, our army drew up in line of battle, to the east of Bannockburn, the third day, which was the 17th. As all the men we expected soon were come up, (excepting those who were to be left at Stirling, being about twelve hundred,) it was proposed to march to the enemy. We had been told they designed to have marched towards us that day, but they were still in their camp, on the west side of Falkirk, as they had been for two days before. The officers being called into his Royal Highness's presence, I observed how difficult it was to bring our men together from so many different cantonments for several miles round, and that we found it was always midday before we could be assembled; whereas, the enemy, being encamped, had nothing to do but to strike their tents, and as they had carriages for them, they could march by break of day, and so be in the heart of our quarters before we could make head against them, there being but four miles from a great part of our cantonments and their camp, in which case I was afraid we would be in great confusion, and probably not be able to make a stand on that side of Stirling. I said, that by holding above the Torwood, we would gain the hill of Falkirk as soon as them, as it was a thing they did not expect; I knew the ground well, and thought there was no difficulty of taking it before they could. This was

approved of by every body, and his Royal Highness was much pleased with the design. I then asked, if I should march off at the head of the two lines in the manner they were then drawn up, which the Prince agreed to, and it was done accordingly, for there was not a moment to be lost, it being then betwixt twelve and one. After I had marched about half a mile, Mr O'Sullivan came up to me, and told me he had been talking with the Prince, and that it was not thought advisable to pass a water in sight of an enemy, and therefore it was best delaying it till night, and then we could do it unperceived. This surprised me; I told him that we would be all past the water in less than a quarter of an hour, and the place where we were to pass, was two full miles from the enemy. I did not halt, and he went back to his Royal Highness, who was riding betwixt the two lines. The Prince came up soon after, with Brigadier Stapleton, Mr O'Sullivan, and some others, when I told my reasons, that I thought we could not lie in the open fields all night, in that season of the year, and if we attempted it, most of the men would shift for themselves, so that we would be longer next day of getting them together than formerly; and that I was of opinion, that we should either march forwards or return to our quarters, for it seemed to threaten a very bad night. Brigadier Stapleton said, To be sure, if the enemy were not near enough to dispute our passing, there could be no other objection. I told him, so far from disputing our passing, that we were now within half a mile of the water, which then was very small, and that the enemy were full two miles off, and could not see us till we were very near it; and as for our resolution, (being only taken within this hour,) it was not possible for them to know of it, and that probably they were then all at dinner, so that we must get up to the high ground before them. His Royal Highness and the Brigadier were entirely satisfied. We had not stopped all the time, and Lord John Drummond had been sent to make a feint with the horse below the Torwood. After we came in sight of the water, which was just below us, we had a view of Falkirk and the enemy's camp; and some scouts that were on the other side of the water, whenever they saw us, rode off at full gallop, and carried the alarm to them, which was the first notice they had.²⁵

²⁵ What follows within brackets, is an account of the battle of Falkirk, written by Lord George Murray, in the third person, as a separate paper, and which is here preferred on account of its being much more ample than the slight sketch included in the general narrative. That sketch, however, which was purposely made short on account of the author having previously written the other at length, is given as a note proceeding from the .end of the larger paper.—ED.

[It is not an easy task to describe a battle. Springs and motions escape the eye, and most officers are necessarily taken up with what is immediately near themselves; so that it is next to impossible for one to observe the whole: add to this, the confusion, the noise, the concern that the people are in, whilst in the heat of action. The smallest oversights and most minute incidents, are often the cause of the loss or gain of the day; an opportunity, once missed, cannot be recalled; and when a commanding officer commits a mistake, it may perhaps not be perceived but by very few, if by any, and yet prove fatal. And there is not any part so trying for a General, as the immediate laying hold of opportunities, either in improving advantages, or giving immediate succour where it is necessary. This requires a quick eye, a good judgment, and great composure of mind. As there were particular relations published of the battle of Falkirk, I shall refer to them in the following description. I propose taking notice of some of the most material incidents that were omitted in the former accounts, either by the hurry they were wrote in, or that perhaps it was not convenient at first to discover some mistakes, which was the real cause that that battle was not so decisive as it might have proven, and certainly would, had the Highland army made a proper use of the infinite advantage they had from their position,—the nearness of the attack, the descent of a hill, the strong wind and rain which was in their backs, and directly in the enemy's face; and that they had some mossy ground upon their right, which prevented the enemy's horse from being able to flank them; and that by reason of the badness of the road, and steepness of the hill, their cannon were of no use to them; in a word, the Highland army had all the advantages that nature or art could give them. Their right wing, which consisted of the MacDonaldis in the front line, and the Atholl men in the second line, was a full quarter of an hour in sight of the enemy's horse, and within musket shot; they advanced very slowly, both that they might keep their ranks, (which they did perfectly well,) and to give time to the left to come up and form, for from the time they had passed the water of Carron at Dunnipace, which was in sight of the enemy, till they had taken possession of the ground they intended, they had marched very quick to prevent the enemy gaining the advantage of the ground and wind; but so soon as they had got possession of that field, they advanced in line of battle, foot by foot, till they were within pistol shot of the enemy's horse, Lord George Murray going alongst the line all the time, and desiring them to keep their ranks, and not to fire till he gave the order. All this was executed with as much exactness as was possible, and as sometimes one part of the line was farther advanced than the rest, they halted till the others

came equal with them. Upon the left, Lochiel's battalion, who were upon the extremity of the line, were outflanked by three battalions of the enemy. This might have been easily remedied, had two or three battalions of the second line been extended on that wing, but as each Colonel commanded only their own regiments, they gave no orders to any but their own men; for the Highlanders do not willingly obey the chiefs of another, and the great loss was, that there was no superior officer upon that wing. For although it is said in the printed relations of the battle, that Lord John Drummond commanded the left wing, yet I believe he had no directions to do it, and was not there when the battle began. He had gone by order, when the march began, towards the high road, (which led through the Torwood, directly to Falkirk,) with most of the horse, to make a feint, as if the whole army were to march that way; and when the foot came to the water of Carron, he turned short and followed them, and by the time he came up they were drawn up on the field of battle. He joined the Prince with so many of the horse who were with the Irish picquets, and some other troops as a corps de reserve: the rest of the horse were sent to the right, particularly Lord Elcho with so many of the horse guards, who drew up behind the Atholl men; for by reason of a small morass, by which Lord George Murray had covered his flank, Lord Elcho could not pass farther to the right. This was the position when the battle began by the enemy's horse, (who before that had made several motions, with a design to draw the fire, and ride in and break the Highlanders.) They came at last at the full trot, in very good order, within pistol shot of the first line. Then Lord George Murray gave orders to fire, which was done with such execution, that it entirely broke them; but after that there was no possibility of making the MacDonalds keep their ranks; many of the first line of the right, pursued the horse, and fell in with some of the enemy's militia. In about five minutes after this first fire, the left, consisting of the Camerons, Stuarts of Appine, the MacPhersons, Frasers, and others, were charged by the enemy's foot, and also a body of horse; upon these they spent a good part of their fire, so that when they attacked the foot, they had scarce any of theirs left, but went in with great bravery, sword in hand. What did them most damage was these three regiments of the enemy's foot who flanked them; and the second line of the Highlanders' left, instead of moving farther to the left, or keeping their line till they should receive orders, crowded in with the first line,—at least many of them did,—and went down upon the enemy with them; the rest of the second line fell into confusion with their ranks, being thinned by those who had run in with the first line. Those who had attacked, seeing the three regiments of the enemy

that were upon their left, entire and nothing to oppose them, retired back to the ground they had at first been drawn up upon. By this time, Lord George Murray had advanced with the Atholl men, who kept their line in perfect good order; and having a full view of the confusion the enemy were in, he resolved to attack them upon their retreat, and did all in his power to rally the MacDonalds, as he marched down the hill. He sent Colonel Ker to entreat that the reserve might advance on the left. Colonel Ker came forward with the picquets, and Lord John Drummond, and several other officers came up with them, as also several of those who had made the attack on the left. Before this time, Lord George Murray had got near the foot of the hill, and had passed the enemy's cannon, which they had left behind. He found that there were three or four regiments of the enemy in their rear, in better order than the rest of their body, and a regiment of dragoons which had been in their right wing: these, though marching off very quick, were, however, entire. The other part of their army were in the utmost confusion, running off by forties and fifties to the right and left to get into Falkirk, so that their line was in the greatest disorder, except those in the rear; but as he had not above six or seven hundred men with him, the rest being all scattered on the face of the hill, he judged it would be risking all the advantages they had gained; and the regiment of horse keeping always in the rear, they got into Falkirk by the time he was at the foot of the hill, which was large musket shot from the town. The Irish picquets then joined him, and severals from the different corps. Most were of opinion to retreat towards Dunnipace and the places adjacent, where the men might be covered, it being a prodigious rain; but Lord George Murray was absolutely for marching into the town, for he said that if the enemy had the least time, they might line the houses, and clean their guns, so as to make it impossible for them to get in; and that, therefore, there was not one moment to be lost, for he was certain the enemy were in the utmost confusion; and concluded with Count Mercy's expression at the battle of Parma, that he would either lye in the town or in paradise. His Royal Highness came up at that very time, and approved much of the resolution of attempting the town, and was advised himself to stay at some house in the face of the hill, till Lord George Murray sent him word of the success. One vast loss was, that not a pair of pipes could be got. The pipers, whenever a battle begins, give their pipes to their boys, who take care of themselves; and the pipers, who are commonly as good men as any, charge with the rest. This, though it may appear trifling, was the reason why the MacDonalds and others had not rallied from the first. Excepting the picquets and the Atholl men, none of the other corps

were together when they entered the town; but there were several of the officers, such as Keppoch, Glengary's son, Lochiel, Ardsheil, Lord Ogilvie, and Colonel Roy Stewart, and some of the men of each. When they got into the town, most of the enemy were gone, there being but few taken prisoners there. It is not to be believed, that fifteen hundred men in all came in that night: they spread through the whole country, upon the road that they had marched, and some went back as far as Bannockburn. The enemy's camp was immediately visited, and a few prisoners were made there. His Royal Highness came into town soon after, and next day most of the army. It is very easy, from the above particulars, to judge that, without a body of regular troops, the Highlanders, by themselves, have many disadvantages, by their not being disciplined, and especially their not rallying quick after an attack. Their advantages this day as to situation, and every thing else, were to their wish. Had the MacDonalds on the right, either not broke their ranks, or rallied soon after, they, with the Atholl men, would have cut the whole enemy's foot to pieces, for they were close at them, and must have drove them down the hill before them; and by speed of foot, not a man of them could have got off from them.

Had there been any officer on the left, to have ordered two or three battalions from the second line, or reserve, to have faced those of the enemy that outflanked them, they would have had a complete victory.²⁶ Most of the officers were with his Royal Highness in the

²⁶ The English army was commanded, at the battle of Falkirk, by Lieutenant-General Hawley, an old and experienced officer, but who permitted himself, on this occasion, to be taken somewhat by surprise. He died, March 23, 1759, aged upwards of eighty, leaving a very extraordinary will, which made some noise at the time, and is that described in the Scots Magazine:

“By his will, which is dated March 29, 1749, with four codicils annexed, dated in 1749, 1750, 1752, and 1753, he has left his whole fortune, in certain proportions,—to his only sister, Anne Hawley; to Captain William Toovey, his adopted son, whom he constitutes his sole executor, and directs to take both his names; and Lieutenant-Colonel John Toovey, both of the deceased's own regiment, and sons of Mrs Elizabeth Toovey, widow, who liferents most of what Captain William Toovey succeeds to, and who, he says, had been for many years his friend and companion, often his careful nurse, and, in his absence, a faithful steward; and to Elizabeth Burkett, spinster, niece to Mrs Toovey, who, he says, had been a useful, agreeable handmaid to him. The introduction to the will is as

reserve; had they come up, and with the left of the second line followed the first, extending a little farther to the left, the enemy's whole army, at least the foot, must have been taken or killed, and, in that case, even but few of the horse would have escaped. The Highlanders would never have given over the chase, till they had got to Linlithgow; in short, had there been men brought up, either from the second line on the left, or the corps de reserve, to have faced these regiments that outlined the Highlanders, the battle would not have lasted ten minutes, but all would have been carried at once; but these three regiments, giving part of their fire on the flank of the Highlanders' left, and keeping their ground, as there was no body that appeared against them, was the occasion of those who had attacked, sword in hand, retiring to their former ground; but so soon

follows:—"I being perfectly well both in body and mind now that I am writing this my last will, by which I hereby give, order, and dispose of what is mine, both real and personal, that there may be no disputes after I am gone. Therefore, as I began the world with nothing, and as all I have is of my own acquiring, I can dispose of it as I please. But, first, I direct and order, that, as there is now a peace, and I may die the common way, my carcase may be put any where—'tis equal to me; but I will have no more expense or ridiculous show than if a poor soldier, who is as good a man, was to be buried from the hospital. The priest, I conclude, will have his fee: let the puppy have it. Pay the carpenter for the carcase box. Debts I have none at this time; some very small trifles of course there may be: let them be paid—there is wherewith to do it.' After mentioning the legacy to his sister, he says, 'As to any other relations, I have none who want; and as I never was married, I have no heirs. I, therefore, have long since taken it in my head to adopt one heir and son, after the manner of the Romans,' viz. Captain William Toovey. The legacy to Elizabeth Burkett is left, upon condition she never marries Lieutenant-Colonel John Toovey. If she does,' says he, 'I give her nothing. Likewise, if Lieutenant-Colonel John Toovey should be fool enough ever to marry her, Elizabeth Burkett, I disannul whatever relates to him and her, and I give nothing either to Lieutenant-Colonel Toovey or her. And if, after all this, they should be both fools, and marry, I do hereby give, (what I had given to them,) I say, I give it to my sister, Anne Hawley, and her heirs; and order her or them to sue for the same.' The will concludes thus: 'In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, having writ it all with my own hand, and signed each page; and this I did, because I hate all priests of all professions, and have the worst opinion of all members of the law.'"—ED.

as Lord George Murray appeared, with those of the second line in his wing, and the picquete, with some others on the other wing, these regiments made a very quick retreat in the rear of their main body. Mr O'Sullivan, whom the Prince chiefly trusted with the disposition, was the person that might easily have remedied the error in bringing up men from the second line, or corps de reserve, to have extended the first line—nothing was more easy; but that gentleman had certainly no knowledge in these affairs, nor was he ever seen to do any thing in the time of action. Early that morning, Lord George Murray had given a scroll of the line of battle to his Royal Highness: it agreed with others only in this,—the regulars and picquets were to be disposed of by being half upon the right on the second line, and half upon the left, to be brought up, in case of being flanked with horse; but they were kept in the reserve. Lord George Murray, when he gave in that scroll, desired that his Royal Highness would appoint the officers that were to command, and where; but I never heard that there was any appointment made that day. When it was agreed to march to the enemy betwixt twelve and one, he asked, as there was no other lieutenant-general there, if he should not march at the head of the army? which the Prince agreed to; so he marched at the head of the two lines, and consequently was on the right when the action began. He never got a message but one from that time till the affair was over; that message was by Mr O'Sullivan. Before they had marched half a mile, he told Lord George Murray that his Royal Highness was advised not to let the army pass the water in daylight in view of the enemy, which might be very dangerous; but Lord George Murray told him, that if there was the least stop, the enemy would gain the ground he designed for, and that if they did not pass the water in daylight, most of the men would take shelter in all the houses and villages in the neighbourhood, and it would be mid-day next day before they could be got together. Mr O'Sullivan returned with that answer to the Prince, who came up himself with Brigadier Stapleton and Lord George Murray, who had continued the march, repeated what he said, and added, that as the enemy were encamped, they would march next day at break of day, and attack the Highlanders before the half of them could assemble, and that there was nothing for it but marching on as quick as possible, to gain the rising ground above the town of Falkirk, and then they would have great advantage if the enemy came up that hill, once they had possession of it, and if they did not, but stayed in their camp, his Royal Highness would have a full view of them, and then deliberate upon what was next to be done; he said, farther, that he was well acquainted with the ground, and did not doubt but he would get

possession of it before the enemy, who, he was sure, did not expect them, as the resolution to march had been but just now taken, so consequently they could have no intelligence about it. Brigadier Stapleton approved very much of what he said, so the march continued, there being not the least halt from the time they began till they got possession of the ground they intended.

Had the enemy been in readiness, so soon as the Highland army appeared, to have marched straight up the hill, they might have been there before them; or had they been drawn up in their camp, and lined the town of Falkirk with musketeers, the Highland army, in either of these cases, would have had a bad chance, especially as the night proved stormy. If, upon their retreat after the battle, they had put two or three regiments in the town of Falkirk, the Highlanders could not have attempted it: considering their situation, and the great rains, they must have sought shelter somewhere. Upon the whole, the best of the Highland officers, whilst they remained at Falkirk after the battle, talking of the affair, were absolutely convinced, that, except they could attack the enemy at very considerable advantage, either by surprise or by some strong situation of ground, or a narrow pass, they could not expect any great success, especially if their numbers were no ways equal, and that a body of regular troops was absolutely necessary to support them, when they should at any time go in, sword in hand; for they were sensible, that without more leisure and time than they could expect to have to discipline their own men, it would not be possible to make them keep their ranks, or rally soon enough upon any sudden emergency, so that any small number of the enemy, either keeping in a body when they were in confusion, or rallying soon, would deprive them of a victory, even after they had done their best.²⁷]

²⁷ [I shall not here give a detail of that battle; there were accounts of it printed, and there was another account wrote, to which I willingly refer. All I shall say is, that we took the ground and wind, (which was very high,) as we designed. Lord John Drummond came up with the horse before the battle. I never heard that he was ordered to command the left wing, and I believe neither he nor any other was appointed. As I was in the van, I consequently was to be in the right. The MacDonalds that were in the first line on that wing behaved very well. I was on foot, and charged at their head; but after they broke the enemy's horse, they pursued them in disorder, instead of keeping their ranks, and fell in with the Glasgow militia; and it was not in my power to get them rallied, so as to carry them down upon the enemy's foot regularly. The Atholl brigade kept their ranks: they were the

right of the second line, but they were not above six hundred men, many of them having gone home after their return from England. I marched forward with them, and sent Colonel Ker to see what men could be brought from the corps de reserve, for the enemy were going off in the greatest confusion. Had Mr O'Sullivan been riding amongst the line, as an adjutant-general should, before the action, and acquainted the Prince that the enemy outflanked us on the left by three regiments, it would have been the easiest thing in nature to have remedied it by bringing up as many from our second line, or corps de reserve, to have faced these, in which case not one of their foot could have escaped; for when those on our left charged sword in hand, and broke all before them, they, seeing these three regiments (who had none to oppose them) standing entire, were obliged to return to their first ground, and could not fall into their ranks in time. Colonel Ker came up with the French picquets, and Lord John Drummond came amongst with them, and joined me after I was a good way down the hill; but the enemy went off with so much precipitation and hurry, that it was not possible to overtake them. The regiments that had been in their right, and a small body of horse, being in the rear, they got through Falkirk by the time we came into it, and it was quite night, with a high storm of wind and rain; two of his Royal Highness's aids-de-camps came up to me just before the engagement, but they had dismounted, so they were of no use but as single men, and I had nobody but Colonel Ker and another aid-de-camp to carry all the orders that it was necessary for me to give upon the wing I was on. Some of the officers upon the left blamed me for not being on horseback, because if I had, and had come up to them as they were engaging, they said I would have remedied the disorders that happened, by our line not being supplied with men to face the enemy on our left. My answer to this was, that I had no particular charge; for I had asked twice that morning who were to command in the different stations, and his Royal Highness went and talked of it to some others, but I got no answer. Most of the general officers were with his Royal Highness in the time of the action, and they had opportunity to see and advise what was proper to be done. I believe my conduct was unexceptionable, and that in the advantages we gained I had a considerable share. Our pressing forward and going into Falkirk was owing to my being pretty positive about it. Most of the men, by reason of the badness of the night, and their not rallying in good order and in time, went and took shelter wherever they could, and I do not think we had fifteen hundred men in Falkirk that night. I must also observe, that our being outflanked

The Prince returned next day to Bannockburn, and the siege of Stirling Castle was to be pushed forward with all expedition. The Duke of Perth commanded in the town, and was obliged to stay there with about twelve hundred men, at the time of the battle, to hinder the castle from sallying, and to carry on the works.

It was soon found we had no good engineers. He who was the principal, a French gentleman, I believe, understood it; but he was so volatile, that he could not be depended upon. All our army, except the clans, were cantoned in and about Stirling; but there was great want of regular troops. The few we had found the duty too hard, and the siege went heavily on. I continued at Falkirk with the clans. The Frasers, and some others, who had come up before the battle, were lodged near me, on Carron Water, towards the Torwood. Many of the men went home from all the different corps, and this evil was daily increasing; so that when we understood that the Duke of Cumberland was ready to march from Edinburgh, and that two or three new regiments had joined their army, the principal officers at Falkirk, taking their situation into their serious consideration, were persuaded that we were in no condition to fight them, and that there was not the least hopes of taking Stirling Castle. The battery that had been mounted against it with great labour, and considerable loss, was the first or second day dismounted, so that they were to change it, and it was to be doubted if it could be taken any way but by starving, which would be the work of months.²⁸

in the left did not proceed from our right being too far advanced, but from the enemy's numbers, and their way of drawing up, leaving intervals betwixt each battalion and squadron in their line, for our very right hand man was opposite to their regular; and their militia, which indeed we did not much regard, were a good way to our right, and had no body to oppose them till the MacDonalDs scattered, when some of them fell upon the militia.]

²⁸ We here subjoin a contemporary journal of the transactions at Stirling, composed apparently by a townsman, and a Whig. The paper, which is original, is entitled, "STIRLING NEUSE."—ED.

January, Munday 6th. The inhabitants, to the number of three hundred, joynd with two hundred military forces, with eight companeys of militia, extending to three hundred and twenty, all well armyd from the castle; when, hearing of the ribles coming to St Ninian's, and other parts about us, were dayly expecting a visite from them, were fully resolved to stand it out, and all in top spirits.

Tuesday, 7th. The Magestrats, and some of the principall people of

the toun, to prevent effusion of blood, capitulate for a surrender, whereupon the gait was to be laid open against ten of the clock next morning. The inhabitants refused the same, not being well informed of the terms. Same day, the ribles through up a trinch near Livelands, in a hollow, out of veu of the Castle, whereupon they erected a three gun battrie, in order to play upon the toun.—*Evening*, 7. The military and militia went and delivered up their arms to the Castle, where their officers took refuge, with severall of the officers of the touns people. Notwithstanding whereof, the tounsmen took to their arms, elected new officers in place of such as deserted, and placed their guards as uswall, though the cannon from the ribles' battries, firing closs upon the toun, from seven att neight till ten, having discharged nine rounds without the least execution. The Generall, observing the bravery of the inhabitants, gave orders that whosoever of the militia inclined to go out to their assistance, should have allowance; whereupon one Mr M'Killop, one of the captains of the tounsmen, came out with some of the militia, about twelve o'clock at neight, who all kept their posts that neight.

Wednesday, 8th. The inhabitants, being better informed of the terms, that they should be free of all plunder, contributions, and their arms should be delivered up to the Castle. *Morning*, 8. They all yielded, and delivered up their arms. *Do.* 10. A drumer came beating from the trinches to the gait, and was received by Bailie Patrick Stivenson and William Christie, late Provost, upon which the gait was laid open. Att three afternoon, the ribles took their march from St Ninian's towards the toun, and marching by Livelands, out of veu of the Castle, severall guns was fired therefrom, but execution concealed; they entred the toun, placing their gairds at Marrswork, Arguil's lodging, and severall other parts of the toun, stoping all communication to the Castle.

14th. The ribles mostly marched out of toun—seemed to stop att Seeock Muir, hering of our armys advancing to Falkirk.

17th. The ribles marched out of toun, in order to meet our army, who was lying near Falkirk. Same evening, received account of a skirmish between the two arrays, near Pantaskine, to the advantage of neither. About the time of the engagement, the flage blew from the ensigne staf of the Castle, but was recovered again.

18th. The ribles, rejoising for their pretended victory, caused ring the bells, which the brave generall observing, fired severall bulots att the stiple, braiking the corner thereof, near the bells, which made them to give over. *Evening*, 3. The Castle recived a sumonds to

surrender, from the Earle of Pearth, whereupon the brave General's return was, That his Grace was a man of honor, and he himself should doe nothing but as a man of honor.

19th. The ribles having broke ground to the nor-east of the Castle, in order for a trinch, upon which the Castle fired closs, with small arms and some cannon, with great execution. In the evening, about one hundred persons, consisting of souldiers and militia, with severall country and touns people, who had gon to see the battle, was brought in prizoners.

21st. This day, the Castle fired on the trinches—severall killed and wounded. Betwixt three and four, their Prince came in person to visit the trinches, attended by severall of his officers.

26th. Great firing from the trinches upon the Castle, with small arms, from nine in the morning till six at neight, without any execution.

28th. In, the evening, finished their trinches, and erected a battry; carried up three of their guns, one eighteen-pounder, one twelve-pounder, and one eight-pounder, with severall carts of poudor and ball.

29th. *Morning, 5.* The ribles, having placed their cannon, began to play upon the Castle, chattering two of the ambesures; one bulot went through the roof of the gaird-room; severals of them went over the Castle, towards the toun of Cambusbarren, one of which greased in the middle of the toun. The Castle fired closs upon them, with two battrys, one of nine nine-pounders, and one of four six-pounders, which, before nine in the morning, dismounted their guns, beating their mouth, broke their cariages, and leaved their trinches in a sad manner, and great numbers of them killed. They lost, during the siege, above six hunder of their best men, being almost all French. There was only one man killed in the Castle.

31st. They marched all in a body, out of toun, leaving their whole artillery and amonition behind them, excepting some which they had lodged in the church of St Ninian's, which they maliciously blew up, killing severall of themselves, and people of the toun. *Evening, 6.* The advance gairds of our army came into the toun, consisting of Arguileshire men and dragouns.

2d. His Royall Heighness, the Duke of Cumberland, entered toun about one of the clock mid day, and was received with great joy, both from toun and Castle.

3d. The Duke went to veu the burgh and trinches; set to work for

In less than two hours after they first talked of this matter, the officers at Falkirk drew up their opinion and signed it, and sent it to his Royal Highness. This was three days before the retreat, (which they thought absolutely necessary.) Some of their battalions were a third weaker than they were before the battle. I heard this opinion was much blamed. I refer to the reasons given in that memorial,²⁹ which I think unanswerable. I was told I was mostly blamed for it. I really cannot tell who was the first spoke of it, but this I am sure, every one of us were unanimously of the same opinion. When the enemy advanced to Linlithgow, we, as had been appointed, marched that night to Bannockburn and the places adjacent—(very bad care had been taken to put things in order for the retreat.) I continued at the Prince's quarters till betwixt twelve and one at night, where it was agreed upon that we were to rendezvous next morning at nine near St Ninians, and appoint a rear guard, &c. which I would very willingly have taken the charge of; and a message was ordered to be sent to Stirling to the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond, to be ready betwixt nine and ten, but not to evacuate the town till they received farther orders. (It was Mr O'Sullivan received these orders, but sent very different ones, and was himself employed about his baggage.) I went then to my quarters at Easter Green Yards, having the horse patrols, and several other things, to order. It seems, after I left Bannockburn, they changed the concert that was taken when I was present, and orders were sent to Stirling to evacuate it by break of day. I never got so much as a message, nor knew nothing of any change. I heard the great noise made when the church of St Ninians was blown up, but thought it firing from the castle, and came not there till an hour after every body was gone. My surprise is not to be expressed; I knew no enemy was even come the length of Falkirk, so that, except the garrison of Stirling Castle, nothing could hurt us: I imagined they had sallied, and made the confusion I observed. I shall say no more about this—a particular account of it is wrote. I believe the like of it never was heard of.

There was a council of war called near Crieff next day. I complained much of the flight, and entreated we should know who advised it. The

repairing of the bridge.

4th. The army marched over the bridge, with their whole artillery, betwixt ten and one afternoon. About three afternoon, the Duke marched after his army by the Drip.

²⁹ The memorial is printed in the appendix to Mr Home's *History of the Rebellion of 1745*.—ED.

Prince did not incline to lay the blame on any body, but said he took it on himself. It was agreed to march north in two divisions. I offered to go the coast road, after others refused it; and Lord John Drummond said he was very willing to go if I went. We came to Perth that night late, and stayed all next day, and till three o'clock the day after; we could not make up any considerable body, for the way we had left Stirling had much discouraged the men, and Lord Ogilvie had asked leave the day before to go home with his men, and promised to join us at Aberdeen, or on our march; for he knew his men must be at home, as they were to pass so near their own country there would be no hindering them; so the sooner they went the sooner they would join. A vast many carriages of arms and military stores had come in a Spanish ship to Peterhead, and were upon the road coming up to us; many of them had come the length of Brechin. Lord Pitsligo was at vast trouble, and we got all that was upon the road carried back to Aberdeen. After halting two or three days there, we marched northwards, and I left a body of men at Aberdeen, that were to retire only as the army approached them.

A vast storm of snow came on the day we marched from Aberdeen. I had above three hundred carriages. The French picquets, and Lord John Drummond's regiment, were obliged to halt a day at Kintore and Inverurie, and they took afterwards a worse road, and deeper in snow, than I had gone, which was their rout. I halted two days for them at Strathbogie, and marched from thence the day I knew they would arrive, that they might have good quarters. I came that night to Speyside, which was the same time his Royal Highness came to Moy, near Inverness,³⁰ so that if the Earl of Loudon should come the east

^{30 30} Charles reached Moy on Saturday, February 16, with an advanced guard of about fifty men, and could proceed no farther at that time, as Inverness was possessed by the Earl of Loudon, with about two thousand men, Highland volunteers, in behalf of the Government. Of the remarkable incident which took place there on the 17th, an account is subjoined, which Bishop Forbes gives, as the composition of Alexander Stewart, one of the Prince's footmen:

"To the best of my knowledge, in the morning of the 13th or 14th of February, 1746, as I can remember, his Royal Highness, being in the house of Lochmoy, belonging to the Laird of Macintosh, it being the head-quarters for that night, Lord Loudon and MacLeod intended, from Inverness, to surprise his Royal Highness, before he could get up, with the number of about seventeen hundred or two thousand men; whereas his Royal Highness had not above fifty men of a guard that night, but what was all quartered some little way off; and as soon

as Lord Loudon and MacLeod set out from Inverness, there was a little boy,* about twelve or fourteen years of age, that set out along with them, in order to alarm the Prince; but, for the space of two or three miles, he never could have the opportunity of passing by them; and, at last, he got clear of them, and made the best of his way for Moy that he could, and gave the cry as soon as he came to the close where the guards were standing, and called out the enemy was within a mile of us; and then he came into the kitchen, where I was lying on the table-head asleep, and awakened me by pulling and hauling at my great coat, and desired me, for God's sake, to go and awaken the Prince; which, accordingly, I went up stairs, and met one of the guard, coming down from the Prince's room door, and I asked him if the Prince had made him answer, and he said he had; upon which his Highness heard us speaking and called out, who was there? upon which I made answer; and he desired me to call the piperach, which I did; and his Highness, went down stairs, and his feet in his shoes, by the way of slippers, and buckled them in the close; upon which my Lady Macintosh, and her sister, and me, went to the room where he slept, and took all the most valuable things that were in the room where he lay, and went up to the garrets, and hid them in the feather-stands, that were almost, full of feathers; and my lady was always calling at me to follow with the canteens, for I would stay till they would take me by the neck; for, by this time, the Prince was more than a mile off, toward the south-west end of the loch, through a wood. Then I went after, and overtook them all, at the other end of the loch; and, by that time, Lochiel and all his men were coming; and when he came, we were to go no farther, but stand it, if they came up: but, in the meantime, that they were all taking a dram, there came an express from my Lady Macintosh, acquainting his Royal Highness to return back again; for the five spies that she sent out, the night before, were come back, and had happened to surprise Norman MacLeod, (the Laird,) who was upon the advance-guard, with about seventy men with him, lying in a hollow, not knowing what to do, by reason of the flashes of lightning[†] from the heavens, that was confounding all their designs, for which a blacksmith, one of the five men that my Lady Macintosh sent out as spies, fired upon them, and killed MacLeod's piper, hard by his side, and wounded another of them; and then they all took the flight, and returned to Inverness, hauling the piper after them, till they got a horse and a cart, to carry him off: and so his Highness returned back to Moy, and stayed another night, and marched the next day for Inverness. And this is truth, as far as I have wrote you; but I know no more of the matter."

road, I was ready to intercept him, which was our plan. I went on to Elgin, Forres, and Nairn, and, after quartering my men, I went to Culloden, which was the day³¹ before the Castle of Inverness surrendered. I gave the Prince an account of our march, and indeed it is inconceivable the fatigue and trouble we had undergone. I also told him I had laid down a plan with Lord Pitsligo, to get five thousand bolls of meal in Banff, Murray, and Nairn shires, by laying it on in as equal a manner, and as little burdensome to the counties, as possible; and I proposed that most of this meal should be sent to the Highlands, that if we were obliged to retreat there, so as to draw the Duke of Cumberland to the hills with his army, we might have subsistence. But his Royal Highness would have it all brought to Inverness, which was a farther carriage for most of it. I was also told by the officers, that, instead of following Lord Loudon from Inverness, they had allowed him to march off in their sight. They were pleased to say, had I been with them they were sure they would have given a good account of that body of men. Lord Cromarty was at last sent with such a body of men as was sufficient. I returned that night to Nairn. I was sent for again, as it was found Lord Cromarty was doing no good, and the men had not much confidence in him; so his Royal Highness thought proper I should go, which I did. I went the first night to Dingwall, and upon my coming, the men on that detachment assembled, and shewed a great deal of cheerfulness. I marched next day for Tain, no accounts being yet come that Lord Loudon had as yet passed from thence to Sutherland. When I was within seven miles of Tain, I met an express from the Earl of Cromarty to the Prince's secretary. I opened the letter, in which I found that Lord Loudon had passed two days before. I was surprised Lord Cromarty's intelligence had not been better, being in his own country, so as he should have known this sooner. He had been two days at his own house with a strong guard. I immediately assembled the principal officers, the Glengary regiment, Clanranalds, the Stewarts of Appin, the Frasers, Lochiel's brother, with about three

* "By name, Lachlan Macintosh, as I was informed by Mr Gib, the Prince's Master of the Household, who was very kind to the boy, and took him into the kitchen R. F." This seems to decide a point, which Mr Home has left uncertain.—ED.

† "This is a circumstance not mentioned by any other, as yet; but whether true or not, farther information may happen to discover.—R.F."

³¹ The Castle surrendered on the 20th February.—ED.

hundred of his men, and Glengyle and MacKinnon, with their men, (Lord Cromarty had with him so many MacKenzies as a guard about his house.) The officers agreed that it was in vain to attempt following Lord Loudon, except boats could be got to pass at Tain; for to go up by the head of that firth, and come down where Lord Loudon was, would be a five or six days' march, and no accommodation; and he, having possession of the boats, could come over to this side when we were on the other; so we could not get near him: and if we attempted to go so far about, we would be six or seven days' march from Inverness; and if the enemy should march from Aberdeen, we could not be back in time. That we might, indeed, go to Tain; but, if we were there, Lord Loudon would be much more on his guard than otherwise, so that it were better our men were quartered a day's march farther back, in case there was any possibility of getting boats brought about the coast. This was resolved upon; and I marched back to Dingwall, quartering the men so as they might either march to Inverness or Tain in a day. Of this I sent notice to Lord Cromarty, and went myself back to Inverness the day after.

Next day Lochiel's men were called back, to go for Fort Augustus, which was to be besieged. We had no great cannon; it was impossible to draw them about from Perth, where we had some eight pounders, which I had caused nail; but I had got two brought about all the way, in a boat, from Montrose, which was a laborious work and dangerous; for there were many of the enemy's frigates at sea, all the way from thence to Inverness; so they were obliged to go in the night time, and lie in creeks all the day time, till they came to Inverness. Fort Augustus was easily taken; but the resolution of besieging Fort William, I did not approve, as I always had heard it was a strong place, and regularly fortified. But Lochiel, Keppoch, and the other Highlanders who had their houses anywhere in that neighbourhood, were very keen, as that garrison had already begun their burning orders: so I did not oppose it, though Brigadier Stapleton and I had no hopes of success, by what had happened at Stirling Castle, which was not so strong. They endured much fatigues and hardships in the attempt, and found the thing impracticable. I was ordered at that very time to go to Athol. There was about three hundred of the Argyleshire Highlanders at several posts in that country, and it was apprehended their numbers would increase, and it was given out that General Campbell was coming from Argyleshire with one thousand more; and then the Hessians³² were to march from Perth, and join

³² * Five thousand troops of this nation, under the command of the Prince of Hesse, arrived in Scotland, February 8, to assist their ally.

them, as also the garrisons of Blair and Castle Menzies, and to march together towards Badenoch: and, by choosing a strong camp, they might harass us much on that side, especially their Highlanders. At the same time, the Duke of Cumberland was to march from Aberdeen. I was, therefore, to see to surprise those Highlanders, and, if possible, to be master of Blair Castle, where there was three hundred regular troops. His Royal Highness had gone to Elgin, where he was very bad of a fever of cold. I made a very quick march; and, in one day and night, made above thirty miles. I had not above seven hundred men; yet we laid our scheme so well, that, betwixt the hours of three and five in the morning, we took their whole posts, though at many miles' distance one from another, having sent different parties to each; and I believe there were not under thirty, reckoning all the different houses they were quartered at. We also took a small guard of the regular troops at the bridge of Tilt, and another of the same at the house of Lude, and secured the pass of Killicrankie at the same time. We took near three hundred prisoners, and there was only two or three of them killed in the attempt, and none of ours either killed or wounded, though there was a good deal of firing on both sides. So soon as I could gather about three hundred of our men, after securing the prisoners, I marched, and invested Blair Castle. The rest of the parties came also there that day. It was about eight or nine in the morning when I came before Blair Castle; and all I could do at first was to place my men so as to hinder the enemy from getting in any supply of provisions, or sallying out. Two cannon had been sent with me. They were only four pounders: they could do no harm to the walls, that were seven foot thick; but it was designed to set the roof on fire, with hot bullets, which was a work I was by no means fond of. The cannon were not only small, but bad. One of them seldom hit the Castle, though not half-musket shot from it. We understood the garrison had not much provisions; and that, in a fortnight or three weeks, they must be obliged to surrender: and this was what I thought best. It had been, indeed, proposed, before I left Inverness, to make a mine, to blow up the Castle; but I had no positive orders to attempt that. I believe it might have been done by the old stables, under protection of which the wall could have been undermined, if I had been furnished with proper workmen. I placed a guard of three hundred men in the village of Blair, where I was myself, and another of near the same number, near the Mains, at the new stables.³³ I got a

the reigning King of Great Britain, and remained stationed at Leith during the remainder of the rebellion.—ED.

³³ A very curious account of the siege of Blair, by an officer of the

reinforcement of four or five hundred men, in the country of those who had been with us formerly. I sent a party down to Dunkeld, who staid there till the Hessians came from Perth, and then they retreated to Pitlochrie, two miles below the pass of Killiecrankie. We continued in this position for a fortnight. We had picqueering with the huzzars, and some of St George's dragoons, for four or five days. They came near Pitlochrie, in the day time, and retired at night. I was commonly back and forwards twice a-day betwixt that and Blair. One morning we took one of their huzzars, and two or three horses; the men got off, except the huzzar. He was a Swede by birth, and spoke very good Latin—was a gentleman, and had formerly been a lieutenant. As he said he did not expect any quarter, (for huzzars seldom give it,) he was surprised when he found himself so well treated. I sent him back to the Prince of Hesse, desiring to know if he intended to have a cartell settled; but I had no answer. The Swede asked me if he must return. I told him, not, except the Prince of Hesse sent him. He went away very well pleased.

The day before we left Blair, a considerable body of the Hessians came up the length of the Haugh of Dalskean, within two short miles of Pitlochrie. The dragoons and huzzars came forwards, and we retired to the foot of the pass, where we made a disposition to dispute it, and stayed there above six hours, till we heard that a great part of them had returned to Dunkeld; others staying about Pitlochrie. I had, the day before and that day, got three expresses to return to Inverness; for it was believed the Duke of Cumberland would march in a day or two. I had, that morning, ordered off our two pieces of cannon, that we might not be impeded in our march. About ten at night I drew off the men from the pass, and came to Blair, and as I had left orders, all was in readiness; so we marched off about two in the morning. We had a good deal of fatigue in that expedition; but I was as well assisted by the officers and men as I could desire, particularly Cluny, who always kept to the post at the town of Blair. I was, for the first seventy hours, that I had not four hours' sleep. Much the same thing happened to me the three last days of our retreat to Carlisle; for, besides the marching and fatigues others underwent, I had also all the orders to give, and dispositions to make; and though others were relieved, and took it in their turns, I had none to relieve me. Receiving and despatching expresses, settling guards and sentinels,—which, at first, I always saw done myself, till the thing went on of course,—alarms, gaining of intelligence, and other necessary duties, took up much time. I believe the country suffered

garrison, is printed in the Scots Magazine, for 1808.—ED.

by our being on this expedition; but as little as was in my power. We were forced to take meal and some sheep; for, by this time, the men had no pay. The men that were with me went, as I had got directions, down Speyside, to a place called Elchies, a good part of our army being posted from thence to the mouth of Spey. Cluny's men were to guard Badenoch, from the Atholl side, as they had done before this expedition; and I returned to Inverness the third April.

I cannot but take notice of an attempt that was made upon Lord Loudon, when I was at Blair. It was one of the best laid plans that could well be. Boats were got on the coast, and sent about to Tain, undiscovered. At the same time, the Duke of Perth marched there, by land, with the men I had left cantoned at Dingwall. He had Lord Cromarty and Mr O'Sullivan with him. By carelessness, the men who had the charge of the boats did not keep them afloat, so they lost a tide; but next morning it proved so foggy, that they got over the firth undiscovered. They came up, at first, with about two hundred of Earl Loudon's men, commanded by his major. Instead of attacking them immediately,—in which case they must have laid down their arms, and surrendered,—they parleyed with them, and many messages went back and forwards. This took two hours' time; and then they surrendered. I was told the Duke of Perth was advised in this by Mr O'Sullivan, which lost him so much time, during which Lord Loudon, and most of his men, with the President,³⁴ went off,—so many towards the Isle of Skye, and the MacKays to their own country. So, they not only lost the opportunity of taking Lord Loudon, with most of his party; but the M'Kays went straight home: and it was these people that took, four days thereafter, those that had landed out of the Hazard sloop,³⁵ to the number of seventy men and officers, also

³⁴ President Forbes, of Culloden.—ED.

³⁵ The Hazard, sloop of war, had been taken in November, 1745, in Montrose harbour, chiefly by the ingenuity and intrepidity of Captain David Ferrier, Governor of Brechin in the Prince's interest. Of this incident, a minute account is given in Forbes's papers, as taken by Bishop Keith, from the mouth of Captain Erskine, (brother to Lord Dun,) who also was materially concerned in the affair. This account is subjoined:

“On Thursday, the day of November, 1745, the Hazard sloop, (in the Government's service,) carrying sixteen guns, twenty-four swivels, and about eighty men, Captain Hill, commander, came into the harbour of Montrose, and anchored at Ferriden, and fired upon the town, for three days and nights, though none of the enemy were

there. On Monday thereafter, Captain Hill carried the town's guns from the fort, viz. four six-pounders, and two four-pounders. He unrigged the shipping, and put guns and rigging aboard a vessel, of — tons, Robert Arbuthnot, master; and, by a gross oversight, left the vessel at the quay, which afterwards afforded the enemy an opportunity of taking out the cannon, and, with them, to take his ship.

“On Tuesday, Captain Hill burned two barks,—one of fifty tons, James Henderson, master; the other of thirty tons, John Orkney, master. He had also entered into an association with some of the townsmen, to go, in the night-time, and surprise about one hundred of Lord Ogilvie's men, who were in Brechin, at five miles' distance, with their officers, Captains Erskine and Ferrier; but had not the resolution to execute it.

“On Wednesday evening, a party of Lord Ogilvie's men, under the command of Walter Young, Serjeant to Captain Erskine, came to Montrose, and carried off Cummin, a supervisor, and two gaugers, prisoners to Brechin; and, next night, Captains Erskine and Ferrier came to Montrose, with their men. Erskine possessed the island, on the south side, opposite to the town, and where the Hazard sloop lay; Ferrier lay, with his men, on the north side, next the town. While they were there, on Friday morning, at sun-rising, the Hazard sent her boat up to the pier, where the coxswain and his men landed; but, being fired upon, ran back to their boat. One man was killed, and another wounded in the back. They rowed off to the isle, and were taken prisoners by Captain Erskine, who saved the coxswain from being shot by one of Erskine's men. The Hazard fired on all sides of the town and isle; but none were hurt.

“Saturday, Captain Erskine went to the fort, at the south point of the water-mouth, and, at four, afternoon, saw a ship at sea, with French colours. He then hoisted a waif, directing her into the harbour; and she, accordingly, came in, without a pilot, having six guns, (three-pounders,) a good many French officers, and about one hundred and fifty of Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets. She also brought in her hold, two brass cannon, (sixteen-pounders,) two of twelve, and two of nine, which, being landed, the last two were carried to the battery. The Hazard, upon seeing the French ship, fired a gun to the leeward, a signal to decoy; but, upon a signal from Captain Erskine, her officers landed, on the south side; and he directed the frigate to run a-ground, out of reach of the Hazard. They then landed her six guns,—three on the south

side, and three on the north,—and got them ready to fire on the Hazard next morning; but did her no damage, save cutting some of her rigging. Meantime, Captain Ferrier carried Arbuthnot's ship, (which had the town's cannon,) from the pier to the Fish-shore; and, on Sunday, at four afternoon, got out the cannon, the Hazard firing on the town and that ship all the while; and one of the shot pierced the ship through, while they were working; but nobody was hurt. They carried four of the six-pounders to the Dial-hill, on which the Hazard also fired some few shot. Against twelve at night, they got their cannon on the hill ready, and fired on the Hazard, and continued so to do until morning.

“On this Sunday afternoon, Captain Erskine sent a serjeant, with some French, and some of his own men, to Ferryden-town, very near to which the Hazard lay, who fired musket-shots upon her, but did no execution; and if Captain Hill had had foresight and resolution, he might have easily got out to sea, with the Hazard, on the Sunday night, the wind being fair, and nothing to hinder him; and as the small French frigate wanted her guns, which had been taken ashore, and was just in his way, he might have carried her along with him, or burned her, most of her men being on shore.

“On Monday morning, the Hazard hoisted a flag of truce. Then his lieutenant and his brother came a-shore, in his boat, and asked liberty to go off with the King's ship, which was refused. The lieutenant and the captain's brother were carried up to the town, to Mr Carnagie of Balnamoon, governor of the county for Prince Charles; and the lieutenant wrote to the captain, with the boat: upon which the captain came immediately a-shore, and surrendered himself and his ship. The officers were lodged in public houses; and the common men, being about seventy-five, were put in prison.

“The day before, (being Sunday,) Captain Erskine, having been informed that a boat, sent by the Hazard sloop to Admiral Byng, in the Firth of Edinburgh, was returned, and had put into Usan harbour, a mile off, and had despatches to Captain Hill from that admiral, sent a party, and seized the boat and men; but the midshipman, who commanded, had gone to Dunenald, where he was taken; but he had thrown his despatches and all the arms into the sea.

“Monday night, (the day Captain Hill surrendered,) a French frigate, called *Le Fine*, of thirty-two guns, came to the back of the Ness, and landed Lord John Drummond, and about three hundred men; and next day, (being Tuesday,) about mid-day, appeared the *Milford*, man-of-war, of forty guns. This made the French ship cut

£12,000 sterling, of money. We had near two thousand choice men there.

Lord Loudon's men were all scattered, and never came to a head, and, in the first surprise, might have been mostly all taken: and, even afterwards, had they sent six or seven hundred men through Seaforth's country, the way Lord Loudon fled, they would have been joined by many more; and the same number gone to Lord Reay's country, to take security of them that they would no more carry arms against us, we would have had the good fortune to have saved the money, &c. I believe it was not above twenty-four or thirty miles off. The Duke of Perth surprised also three vessels that were attending Lord Loudon with arms, military stores, and provisions. Much about this time, our advanced party, towards Banffshire, surprised the Duke of Cumberland's advanced party, at a place called Keith. It consisted of so many of Kingston's horse, and the Campbells—in all one hundred—that were either all taken or killed.³⁶ All these

her cable, and make for the shore; but, the wind being right down against her, she was obliged to run a-shore, within the water-mouth. The Milford came after her, and dropt anchor at the water mouth, and fired on the French ship, and on a boat crossing the river, in which boat a young French officer was killed. The Milford, finding herself a-ground, cut her cable, and fired to windward and leeward, to get off; but in vain, until she sent her boat to the south side, and fixed a rope to a rock, by which she hauled off; and had not the French captain and most of his men deserted their ship, they could, with their guns, have prevented this boat's passing, or fixing the rope: or had the Milford been kept ten or fifteen minutes longer, she had never got off, but would have been fixed in the bank till next tide, as the water was then ebbing. The French had carried down two twelve-pounders, (which came by the first small frigate,) and made a battery on the north side, to attack the Milford; but she got off before it was ready."

³⁶ Of the affair at Keith, Bishop Forbes has preserved a very minute account, which he states to have been drawn up, at his desire, by Captain Robert Stewart, of John Roy Stewart's regiment, who was engaged on the occasion. This narrative is here subjoined:—

"Alexander Campbell, brother of Barcalden, having marched from Strathbogie, in the evening upon — of March, 1746, for Keith, being guided by Mr Campbell, helper at Kirk of Karnie, with seventy Campbells, and thirty of Kingston's light horse, all choice men and horses, as an advance guard, having come the length of the burn of

Karnie three miles, and half way to Keith, (that being a very hollow burn, with a good deal of planting in it.) The minister thought proper to plant the men in ambush there, to remain till he should go to Keith, and see if any of the Prince's men were there; which accordingly was done, and forward he went. Betwixt that and morning, the minister returned, with an account that they might advance forward, for there were none of the Prince's men before them at Keith. Captain Campbell, then, at beginning his march, gave his men precise orders, in case an action should happen, that they should neither give nor take quarter. Then forward they marched, and entered the town, about day-light, with breaking open of shops, and plundering, &c.

“The Prince's men at Spey that day, having passed the water, about ten o'clock, to Fochabers, to refresh themselves, about twelve o'clock an alarm was rumoured through Fochabers, that Cumberland's army was upon them, coming down the burn of Ault-chace, and would cut them all to pieces, (that is a burn which comes betwixt two hills, and they could be within two or three musket-shots of Spey, before they could be observed.) Lord John Drummond, who commanded then at Spey, ordered the pipes to play, and drums beat to arms; and, after drawing up at his order, they began their march down the back of the town, to the water side, to take up ground for action, (providing they had the least prospect for victory; for, upon the 17th, there had come about three thousand of Cumberland's men, commanded by General —, to Strathbogie, twelve miles from Spey, or Fochabers, and dispossessed Roy Stewart and Abachie Gordon's battalions, a part of Lord Elcho's troop of guards, and a few of the huzzars, amounting in the whole to about five hundred men, who formed the Prince's advance guard, and made a safe retreat, without the loss of one man, after they were within musket-shot of the three thousand men;) and when they joined Lord John Drummond, at Spey, the whole of them would not have been above nine hundred, or a thousand men, at the time. But, to return to the subject again: the day being a little misty, and surrounded with hills, they could not see far about them. At last Cumberland's light horse appeared, within less nor a mile, upon the hill of Fochabers, patrolling that ground; upon which the huzzars sent out a patrolling, to observe if any body of men was at hand, and returning with accounts that they could see none, the whole returned to Fochabers again, for a second refreshment, after they had stood about two or three hours under arms. A detachment of Roy Stewart's men was ordered to take the guard, under the command of Captain Lodowick Stewart, representative of Sir Walter Stewart of

Strathdown and Glenlivet, who examined very strictly all passengers that passed and repassed. About an hour after, the pipes played, and drums beat to arms, to march to the barracks, on the other side of the Spey. At passing the water, Major Glasgow came to Colonel Stewart, by order of Lord John Drummond, and demanded a detachment of his men, to go on an expedition with him. The Colonel refused, by reason they had undergone a great deal of fatigue, by forming the rear guard on the retreat from Stirling, and had never been relieved from the advance guard and outposts since they came to that country; and that it was hard they should undergo so much fatigue, and the rest having lain at more ease. The Major returned to Lord John with this account, and obtained a second order; and, in half an hour's time, he was at the Colonel again, and told that he had Lord John's express order, and would not risk the expedition, unless he got his detachment, (the regiment being under a pretty good character.) Then the Colonel gave orders for five men of a company to be turned out, (which accordingly was done,) the whole fifty to be commanded by Captain Robert Stewart, younger, representative of the said Sir Walter Stewart of Strathdown and Glenlivet; and, upon his examining the men's arms and ammunition, and finding them in very indifferent order, was obliged to disperse the most of all his own powder and shot, (who kept himself always well provided, on all occasions.) Then, throwing away his plaid, he desired that every one might do the like, &c.; then ordered by the Colonel to march his party to the Cross of Fochabers, there to wait for farther orders from Major Glasgow, who was to command the whole party in chief. Upon his marching back to the Cross again, the inhabitants seemed a little surprised; but, to prevent farther conjectures, Captain Stewart called out, pretty loud, to get the keys of the guard-house, for he was come to take the guard of the town that night: but, at the same time, desired his soldiers, quietly, if they inclined to take any small refreshment, by half dozens, they might. He had not been a quarter of an hour at the Cross, when a small body of huzzars came riding down the street, in haste, and told him that Cumberland's light horse was in the Fir Park, within rig length of the town; that they had been firing on one another for some time; that they wanted a party of his men to line the horse, and would go into the Park and attack them. The captain told them, they behoved to go to Major Glasgow, and, on getting his order to that effect, as he commanded above him, they should have them, but not otherwise; upon which they went off. This detachment had waited upon the street about three quarters of an hour, when, in the dusk of the evening, the Major came up with a

detachment of Lord Ogilvie's men, about sixteen of the French, and about twenty or thirty horses of different corps. Upon seeing the party before them, the French officer challenged, Who was there? Captain Stewart answered, it was Colonel Stewart's men. The French officer replied, he was well pleased to see them there,—that was the brave men. The Major called Captain Stewart, told him to allow the French to go in the front, and they would shew them the way; that Lord Ogilvie's was to follow him in the rear, which accordingly was done. Away they marched, and entered the Fir Park, the horse, commanded by Lieutenant Simpson, surrounding the same, and searching it out to the other end. Finding none of the enemy, they sat down very quiet, till such time as the horse had patrolled the whole bounds, and returned again, finding none of the light horse. Then they began their march again, towards Keith; at the same time, Major Glasgow told Captain Stewart, that the French was to form the advance guard with the horse; that he was to march at a hundred paces distance, (which was pointedly observed.) Then, upon their way, they got intelligence of their enemy's patrol having passed before them. After five miles' marching, they parted from the Keith road, eastward, and passed by Taremore. They searched it; but found none of their enemies there: then passed the water of Illa, at Mill of Keith; made a circle round the town, to the tents of Summer-eve's Fair, as if they had been from Strathbogie. Then Captain Stewart was ordered to close up with his party to the advance guard. As twelve o'clock at night struck, they came near the town. The Campbell's sentry challenged, Who was there? It was answered, Friends—the Campbells. He replied, you are very welcome; we hear the enemy is at hand. On their coming up to him, they seized his arms, griped him by the neck, and threw him to the ground. Then he began to cry: they told him if he made any more noise, they would thrust a dirk to his heart. Then Lieutenant Simpson surrounded the town with the horse. The Major, with the foot, entered the town, marched down the street, and up to the church-yard; when, finding their guard in the school, and their main body in the kirk, the French began the action with a platoon on the guard; and a general huzza was given, with these words, 'God save Prince Charles!' The action continued very hot on both sides, about half an hour, (the fire from the Campbells coming very hard from the windows of the kirk.) Captain Stewart, turning to the kirk, called out with these words, 'You rebels, yield, or die!' Captain Stewart was severely wounded with a musket ball, through both his shoulders, about the middle of the action. * Part of his men, observing this, seemed a little disheartened; but he observing, told

different occurrences happened the last fortnight in March; but the siege of Fort William was going very ill on, at the same time, so our people were obliged to abandon it, the beginning of April, and lost some cannon, that they were forced to leave behind. On Saturday morning, the 12th of April, intelligence was brought, that the Duke of Cumberland was marching, with his whole army. They had been, for a fortnight before that, lying all the way from Aberdeen to Strathbogie, at which last place near half of their army was. Expresses were sent every where, to bring up our men. Those who

them, Gentlemen, take no more notice of such things; but still to act as he commanded. At the surrendering of the kirk and guard, the Major sent to Captain Stewart, desiring that he might come with a party of his men, for he was like to be overpowered in the streets, (for Kingston's light horse was quartered in the town.) Captain Stewart immediately came down to the street with a party, where there was a pretty hot action for some time in the street. He vanquished them, and made the whole of them prisoners, carried them over the bridge, and sent back a party to assist in bringing up the rest of the prisoners. Upon their coming up, Captain Stewart began at the first end of the prisoners, and ranked them, two men a rank, and planting his soldiers on each side of them, at the same time giving his men strict charge over them, as he went forward. By this time, with the loss of blood that Captain Stewart had sustained, he was beginning to turn a little weak, was obliged to put off his arms, and take a horse; but there being accounts among them that there were seven hundred of Cumberland's horse lodged in that country about, they were a little doubtful that they might be attacked by the horse, and the prisoners taken off. For this reason, Captain Stewart rode in the rear, keeping too the men, and in due order, to prevent any of them falling into their enemies' hands, providing they were attacked.

“In this action, there were nine of Cumberland's men killed, a good number wounded, about eighty taken prisoners, and betwixt twenty and thirty horses, which Major Glasgow, with his party, delivered at Spey, a little before sun-rising.

“Of the Prince's, there was only one Frenchman killed; but a good many wounded, particularly Lord Ogilvie's men, as they happened to stand in the south side of the kirk-yard, by the fire from the windows of the kirk.”

* “That is, in at the left shoulder, and out at the right; for Captain Stewart made me feel the wound, like a furrow, on his back. He told me, when he got the wound, he happened to be looking about, to see if his men were keeping close by him. This wound prevented his being at Culloden battle.—R. F.”

had been at the siege of Fort William, were on their march; but Lord Cromarty was at a great distance, with a good body of MacKenzies; and also Glengyle and M'Kinnon, with their men. It seems they were left there, after the Duke of Perth had dispersed Lord London's corps, and was returned himself to Inverness. The other men that had been with him were cantoned north from Inverness. His Grace was then gone to Speyside, where Lord John Drummond also was. They had the Duke of Perth's regiment, those of the Gordons, the Farquharsons, Lord Ogilvie, John Roy Stewart, the Atholmen besides, and some others; and all our horse. Had the rest of our army been come up, we were all to have marched there. Clanranald's and the MacIntoshes were sent to strengthen them; and they had orders to retire as the Duke of Cumberland advanced. On Sunday morning, the 13th, it was confirmed that the enemy were coming on, and passed the Spey. Many of our people, as it was seed time, had slept home; and as they had no pay for a month past, it was not an easy matter to keep them together. On Monday, the 14th, Lochiel came up; and that day, his Royal Highness went to Culloden, and all the other men as they came up marched there; and that night, the Duke of Perth came back with all the body he had at Speyside. The Duke of Cumberland had passed the river on Saturday, and encamped this night at Nairn. Many were for retiring to stronger ground till all our army was gathered; but most of the baggage being at Inverness, this was not agreed to. Early on Tuesday morning, we all drew up in a line of battle, in an open muir, near Culloden. I did not like the ground: it was certainly not proper for Highlanders, I proposed that Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Ker should view the ground on the other side of the water of Nairn, which they did. It was found to be hilly and boggy; so that the enemy's cannon and horse could be of no great use to them there? Mr O'Sullivan had gone to Inverness, so he was not with them when they reconnoitred the ground. They were returned by two o'clock afternoon; but the same objection was made to taking up that ground, as to retiring farther; the enemy might have marched to Inverness. When it was so far in the day, it was concluded the Duke of Cumberland would not move from Nairn till next day. It was then proposed a night attack might be attempted. His Royal Highness and most others were for venturing it, amongst whom I was; for I thought we had a better chance by doing it, than by fighting in so plain a field; besides, those who had the charge of providing for the army were so unaccountably negligent, that there was nothing to give the men next day, and they had got very little that day; even though meal should be brought, the men could not make it ready, without dispersing, for several miles, to all the houses about, which could not be done when

the enemy was so near. Keppoch came up that evening; but before the time the army was to march, a vast number of the men went off on all hands to get and make ready provisions; and it was not possible to stop them. Then, indeed, almost every body gave it up as a thing not to be ventured. His Royal Highness was extremely bent upon it, and said that, whenever we began the march, the men would be all hearty, and those that had gone off would return and follow. His Royal Highness had so much confidence in the bravery of his army, that he was rather too hazardous, and was for fighting the enemy on all occasions. What he had seen them do, and the justice of his cause, made him too venturous. I was desired to march in the van, which I did; but before we got six miles, the road had been so bad, and I was stopped so often, by aid-de-camps sent to me to give time for the line to follow, that it was near two in the morning; and having still four long miles, it was found impracticable to be near the enemy till it was within an hour of day-light, and as our only hope was surprising them, and attacking them before day, we were forced to give it up and return to Culloden, where we got about five.

When the enemy was approaching, betwixt ten and eleven o'clock, we drew up in the muir, a little back from where we had been the day before. I told Mr O'Sullivan, who was placing the men in the order of battle, that I was convinced it was wrong ground; but he said that the muir was so interspersed with moss and deep ground that the enemy's horse and cannon could be of little advantage to them. We had still time to cross the water and take up the ground which Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Ker had viewed the day before; for our right was within three hundred paces of the water, and the banks were very steep, which was nothing to hinder Highlanders, and our horse and cannon could have crossed at a small ford, a mile farther back; but I reckon the belief that the enemy would have marched straight to Inverness was the occasion that we did not quit that plain muir. The Master of Lovat, with the rest of his men, (for half of them were come up before,) joined us before the battle, as did most of the stragglers. There was no account of Lord Cromarty. I could never learn why he was kept so long above thirty-six miles off, and an arm of the sea betwixt. It was probably to collect the public burdens in Sutherland. He had above seven or eight hundred men under his command. Cluny was within three or four miles, with above four hundred men, and was marching as quickly as possible, and many others were hourly expected,—those particularly who had gone off from most regiments to their labour, and who, hearing there was to be a battle, were all coming up. So I am persuaded that night, or next morning, we would have been near two thousand stronger; and had

we passed that water, in all probability we would not have fought that day; so that if the Duke of Cumberland had encamped that night upon the muir, which very possibly he might, we would have had a fair chance next day. I shall say little of this battle, which was so fatal. I commanded upon the right. Our men broke in upon some regiments on the enemy's left; but others came quickly up to their relief. Upon a fire from these last, and some cannon, charged with cartouch shot, that they had, I think, at their second line, (for we had passed two that were on their front,) my horse plunged and reared so much, that I thought he was wounded; so quitted my stirrups, and was thrown. I brought up two regiments from our second line, after this, who gave their fire; but nothing could be done—all was lost. We lost a great many men of the right of the first line; I'm sure, in some battalions, a third did not come off. There are more particular accounts of these last two days to which I shall refer. I came up with Cluny's men, and endeavoured to rally all I could near Moy-Loch. Here I came up with the Dukes of Atholl and Perth, and I expected others; but all was to no purpose. Besides our defeat, there was neither money nor provisions to give: so no hopes were left.

I have now wrote what occurs to me, in so far as regards myself, without entering into minute things, though, even in these, I could shew, in a thousand instances, that nothing was wanting on my part to forward the cause. I was always early in the mornings employed in some necessary work: any thing that was readiest served for breakfast; and I commonly dined betwixt four and five, and no supper. Any body who had business with me, or any thing to say, had access at all hours, whether I were at meals or in bed. On some occasions, I have been waked six times a-night, and had either orders to write, or letters to answer, every time; for as I mostly commanded a separate body of the army, I had many details that, in a more regular army, would belong to different people. I not only wrote the orders myself when I commanded a separate corps of the army, or directed them, but to any officer that was to go upon a party, or upon an outpost, I endeavoured to explain every thing that might happen, and answered any objections that could be started, besides giving the orders in writing, by which means there was no mistake or confusion, and the officers did their duty with cheerfulness, and made their reports with exactness. Mr O'Sullivan's manner was—when he had parties to send, or a post to occupy, it was mentioned in the general order of the day, only mentioning the regiment that was to furnish so many officers and men. This might have done well in a very regular army, but in ours more exactness and attention was necessary. Much confusion and mistakes happened by it; and it was often night before

a party went that should have gone in the morning. But, above all, I was particularly careful to have discipline as exactly kept as was possible, and, to the utmost of my power, I protected the country wherever I went; and upon any complaints, I almost always got them redressed. The taking of horse for carrying their baggage, or for sick men, was what the Highlanders committed the greatest excess in. Many hundreds I got restored; and if the people whom they belonged to could but fix where they were, or who had them, I never failed to get them restored, though we were obliged to allow them to be carried a day or two's march, perhaps, longer than they should. As to plundering, our men were not entirely free of it; but there was much less of this than could have been expected, and few regular armies but are as guilty. To be sure, there was some noted thieves amongst the Highlanders, (those called our Huzzars were not better;) what army is without them? But all possible care was taken to restrain them. How often have I gone into houses on our marches to drive the men out of them, and drubbed them heartily! I was even reprov'd for correcting them. It was told me that all the Highlanders were gentlemen, and never to be beat; but I was well acquainted with their tempers. Fear was as necessary as love, to restrain the bad, and keep them in order. It was what all their chiefs did, and were not sparing of blows to them that deserved it, which they took without grumbling when they had committed an offence. It is true, they would only receive correction from their own officers; for upon no account could the chief of one clan correct the faults of the meanest of another: they would not bear it. But I had as much authority over them all, as each had amongst his own men; and I will venture to say, that never an officer was more beloved of the whole, without exception, than I was. They had, indeed, from the highest to the lowest, a greater confidence and trust in me than I could deserve; and any little disputes that happened betwixt those of different names, I constantly made up to their mutual satisfaction; and sometimes, when some young men, who were officers, did not do their duty with that care and exactness that was necessary, or were any ways remiss or faulty, I reprov'd them in such a manner as they not only took it well, but afterwards acknowledged that they were much obliged to me. At any time when there was a post of more danger than another, I had more difficulty in restraining those who were too forward, than in finding those who were willing.

In the whole march to Derby, and back again, nor, indeed, in the whole time we were together, did I ever go into a house, or stop at a door, to take so much as a glass of water, till I came to my quarters; but I often went into houses to turn out others. I thought I could not

reasonably find fault with others in that, if I did not shew them a good example. I never took the least thing without paying the full value. My horses were either all my own breed, or bought before the standard was set up. Fodder and corn I got often out of the magazines, as others did. I had a servant, who dressed my meat; and though, when I had a supper at command, (which was oftenest the case,) I had always some of the officers that dined with me. Yet I seldom had any thing but broth, a piece of boiled meat, and a roast; and one bottle of rum or brandy, in punch, served us for liquor, when we had not good ale. Our expense was very inconsiderable; and I never heard of an army, generally speaking, so temperate. In many parts of England I was quartered in private houses, and they had their dinner prepared, (knowing who was billeted upon them,) when I came in, towards the evening. Many would not take payment; but I always left, at least, a guinea in the house, which was more than would have paid the expense. The only place that I ever heard a complaint, was on our march north, ten miles from Perth, at an inn, where we were badly entertained. I paid the woman all her bill, which was extravagant; but refused to pay for twelve horses, she having stated more than what I had. But in nothing was I more careful than about prisoners, even the common soldiers, when they were under my charge. I caused to take all the care possible of the sick and wounded. I had many letters, full of acknowledgments, from the officers. There was an English officer, that I had taken at the battle of Falkirk, who was left upon his parole at Sir George Dunbar's house, who wrote me in terms expressing his owing his life to me. All those who were taken in Athol, were as civilly used as possible, so long as I had the care of them. I visited the soldiers that were prisoners in the church of Inverness, and got relief and assistance sent to the sick. There was one thing like to happen there, which I was exceedingly displeas'd with. An officer of our army had got a new corps raised, and they were very ill clothed. What possessed him, I cannot tell; but a complaint was brought me, that he and his men were stripping the prisoners in the church of their coats, to clothe his own men. I immediately went to the Prince, and an order was sent to stop it. Before the order came, they had got off most of the coats; but they were all immediately returned. This was a week before the battle of Culloden.

I think I can safely say, that, during the whole time we were together, whatever advice I gave, if followed, had success; and this gave the officers and men much confidence in me. I shall only except that night's march, in which I did at first heartily concur, till the men went off, and then I was against it. I was, indeed, very cautious in

offering an opinion, except at a council of war, or when most of the principal officers were together, in his Royal Highness's presence; for I thought it both safest and best, that any thing of great consequence should be agreed so, as the fitness or objections to any measure might be duly considered; and then, even if things did not succeed, there was, at least, the satisfaction, that what was done was for the best, and with the concurrence of the principal officers. I was much for having more frequent councils of war; and this I had pressed as hard as I could. We had but very few, from the time we left Edinburgh. I was, the day before the battle, of the same opinion, with many others, for a night attack; but that was only, of two evils to choose what we thought the least. We thought that was better than to fight upon that plain muir; but at night, when so many of the men went off, we altered our thought. However, as his Royal Highness was still much bent for it, we did make a fair trial; but at last it was found impracticable, for it was not possible to surprise the enemy. Could the whole line have marched up as quick as the van, I am persuaded we might have been at Nairn about two in the morning. What would have happened, God only knows. My real sentiment, and the opinion I offered, the day before the battle, was, to retire to the other side of the water of Airn, and take up a strong ground, and, if possible, to delay fighting at least for another day; but the want of provisions, and that the enemy might march to Inverness, was objected to this.

Upon the whole, I shall conclude with saying, if I did not all the good I would, I am sure I did all I could.³⁷

³⁷ Lest it should appear that Lord George, in this narrative, too frequently and too warmly presses his own services upon our attention, it should be recollected, that he wrote to a friend, not to the public; and was conscious of many false imputations being urged against him, by his late companions in arms, which it was natural that he should rebut, by all the means in his power.—ED.

THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN.

BY COLONEL KER OF GRADYNE.³⁸

IN order to judge of the Prince's affairs at the time of the battle of Culloden, it will not be amiss to look back to the time of his coming to Inverness, where the Earl of Loudon commanded before his Highness came there. The Earl of Loudon, hearing of the Prince's coming, and that he was to quarter that night at Moy, (the seat of the Laird of MacIntosh, about seven miles from Inverness,) formed a design to surprise him, and carry him off, as he was to have but a few men with him for his guard. The Earl marched from Inverness with most of the garrison, and was within about two miles of Moy, where accidentally five of the Prince's people, going about their private affairs, met with London's advanced guard, and being under night, called to them; but the five, finding who they were, called out loudly for Lochiel, and the other clans, to advance. Lord Loudon's people, not doubting but they were there, took flight, and returned to Inverness in great confusion, and left it the next day, on the Prince's appearing on the rising ground above the town; returning with his men to the shire of Ross, where they continued till the Earl of Cromarty, with a party, was sent in pursuit of them; upon his approach they retired towards Tain, where we shall leave them for a while, and return to Inverness. The Prince coming before the place summoned the castle to surrender, and on being refused, a battery was raised; but the cannon being but small, had little effect upon it, which obliged the besiegers to have recourse to a sap, which having been brought near the angle of one of the bastions, the castle was surrendered, and the garrison made prisoners. This being done, Brigadier Stapleton, with Lochiel, and Keppoch's regiments, Lord John Drummond's, (which was not complete, a great many of them being made prisoners in their passage to Scotland,) and the French piquets, were sent to besiege Fort Augustus, which surrendered likewise, and the garrison made prisoners; after which, it was thought proper to leave some of Lord John Drummond's there, and to send Lochiel's, and Keppoch's, the French piquets, and some of

³⁸ This narrative is selected from several others in our possession, referring to the same subject, on account of the distinguished military reputation borne by Colonel Ker throughout the whole expedition, which seems to afford a guarantee for the superiority of his observations over that of his associates.—ED.

Lord John Drummond's regiment, (in all, not three hundred men,) with Brigadier Stapleton, to invest Fort William, where we shall leave them, and return to the Earl of Cromarty, in pursuit of the Earl of Loudon, towards Tain. When the said Earl crossed the ferry with his men, and went over to the shire of Sutherland, where we shall again leave them for a while, and return to Inverness, from which most of the Prince's troops, that were not employed as above, were sent to Spey side, under the command of Lord John Drummond, to guard that river against any surprise from the Duke of Cumberland, who, by that time, with his troops, was come to Aberdeen, and had sent some of Kingston's horse, and some of the Argyleshire men, to Keith, (a small village about six miles from the river Spey,) where they were all surprised, and made prisoners. As it was assured that the Duke of Cumberland was to stay at Aberdeen (where he had thrown up some works to prevent surprise) till all the forces he expected should join him, the Prince, on his part, took his measures, and in order to secure a retreat, in case he had no mind to fight, till he should get all his men together, or to march into Perthshire, if needful, for the better support of his army, was advised to endeavour the recovery of Blair Castle, (which he would not allow to be burned when he passed that way,) which was then possessed by Sir Andrew Agnew, with some regular troops under his command, as were most of the principal parts in Atholl by the Campbells. Whilst the six thousand Hessians, and St George's dragoons, lay at Crieff, and places adjacent, Lord George Murray was ordered to march, with the Atholl men, to Badenoch, to join the MacPhersons, that lay about Ruthven of Badenoch, (from the time the Prince had passed that way,) to guard the passes leading to and from Atholl, and to get intelligence on that side.

As soon as Lord George Murray had joined the MacPhersons, they marched with such expedition into Atholl, that they surprised a great many of the Campbells at Blairfettie, Kenochan, and other parts possessed by them, and made most of them prisoners. But Sir Andrew Agnew, being alarmed by his out sentinels, retired into the castle, in which he was shut up for seventeen days, some part of which time he was battered with two pieces of cannon, one of three, the other of four pounds, which made but little impression on the walls, though they ruined the roof. During this time, the Hessians marched to relieve the castle, and some of the Atholl men being advanced as far down as Dunkeld, to get intelligence, and to guard that, and other passes on the river, there were frequent skirmishes between them and the Hessian huzzars, and some of St George's dragoons, who had come to reconnoitre, some days before the foot

came up; but when they were come up, the Atholl men were obliged to retire (as they could not be supported at such a distance) to Pittlochrie, near the pass of Killicrankie, where, with some others that were sent from Blair, they continued eight days, (the MacPherson's and the Atholl men keeping Sir Andrew Agnew and his men still shut up in the castle,) always skirmishing with the dragoons and the huzzars, till their foot came up, which obliged the Atholl men to retire into the said pass, where they continued that day; but as they were few in number, Lord George called a council of the officers, who were of opinion that that pass was not tenable, since it could be surrounded on all hands by such a vastly superior number. It was, therefore, resolved to abandon both it and the castle, which was accordingly done that night; and having sent the cannon away, they marched to Ruthven of Badenoch, without interruption from the enemy. Here were the MacPhersons left as formerly, and the Atholl men ordered to the Spey-side. Lord George went on to Inverness, and, upon his arrival there, intelligence was brought that Lord Loudon had repassed with his troops from Sutherland to Tain. He was ordered with some troops to join the Earl of Cromarty, and to give Lord Loudon battle if he would stay for it; but he, hearing of Lord George's march, returned to Sutherland again. Lord George giving the necessary orders to Cromarty, (who continued to command in that county,) returned to Inverness, when it was resolved the Duke of Perth should be sent to take upon him the command, and, if possible, to get as many boats together as would ferry over his men, and to drive Lord Loudon out of Sutherland, if he would not stay to fight. The boats were got together, and the Duke of Perth, with his men, passed over without being perceived, and surprised Lord Loudon's people, obliging them to capitulate, and made them prisoners. Lord Loudon, and the President of the Session, made their escape; after which the Duke of Perth seized some ships that lay in the Firth of Tain, on board of which were all the valuable effects that were shipped on board at Inverness before Lord Loudon left it, the military chest excepted, which had been conveyed on board a frigate, which lay in the bay; this done, the Duke of Perth returned to Inverness, leaving the command to the Earl of Cromarty. About this time, the Hazard sloop returned from France with money, ammunition, and arms, with several French and Spanish officers on board, was chased on shore by an English man-of-war, in Lord Rae's country, where they landed their cargo, and, apprehending no danger from the country people, they provided themselves with a guide to conduct them and their cargo to the Earl of Cromarty; but as they were on their march, they were set upon by Lord Rae's people, who,

after a good resistance, made them prisoners, and carried off the cargo, which was thought could not have been done without the treachery of the guide, who disappeared before the action began. This news being brought to Inverness, orders were sent to the Earl of Cromarty to send a party into Lord Rae's country to demand satisfaction; but his Lordship being somewhat dilatory in executing his orders, Lord Rae's people gathered together with some of Lord Loudon's officers at their head. About this time, advice was brought to Inverness that the Duke of Cumberland, being joined by all the forces he expected, had begun his march from Aberdeen northwards, and had ordered the ships that attended him with provisions for his army, to coast along, in sight of him, to Inverness; upon which orders were despatched to the Earl of Cromarty to call in his detachments, and to march with all expedition to join the Prince. He gave his orders accordingly, and went himself with of his officers to Dunrobin Castle, to bid adieu to the Countess of Sutherland, and to thank her for the civilities they had received from her; whilst they were there amusing themselves, the castle was surrounded by Lord Sutherland and Lord Rae's people, who, having had intelligence of their being there, made them all prisoners. Orders were sent likewise at this time to the MacPhersons, and to those that were at Fort William, and Fort Augustus, to join the Prince as soon as possible. Those from Fort Augustus and the French piquets, joined on Saturday, and Lochiel, from Fort William, on Sunday. Advice was brought on Monday that the Duke of Cumberland was coming to the Spey, and that Lord John Drummond, with the troops under his command, was retiring, upon which the Prince ordered the drums to beat, and the pipers to play to arms. The men in the town assembled as fast as they could; the cannon was ordered to march, and the Prince mounted on horseback, and went out, at their head, to Culloden House, the place of rendezvous, and Lord George Murray was left in the town to bring up those that were quartered in the neighbourhood of Inverness, which made it pretty late before he joined the Prince at Culloden. Orders likewise were sent to Lord John Drummond to assemble there likewise, which he did the next day, being Tuesday.

Tuesday, being April 15th, the whole army marched up to the muir, about a mile to the eastward of Culloden House, where they were all drawn up in order of battle, to wait the Duke of Cumberland's coming. Keppoch's men joined in the field, from Fort William, and the whole was reviewed by the Prince, who was very well pleased to see them in so good spirits, though they had eaten nothing that day but one single biscuit a man, provisions being very scarce, and money too. The Prince (being informed that the Duke of Cumberland had

halted that day at Nairn, to refresh his men, and that the ships with the provisions were coming into the bay of Inverness, that evening) called a council of war; and, after great debates, (although that neither the Earl of Cromarty, who by this time was prisoner, though not known, nor the MacPhersons, nor a great many of the Frazers was come up,) it was resolved to march, and endeavour to surprise the Duke in his camp at Nairn, about twelve miles distance. Accordingly, the march was begun betwixt seven and eight o'clock at night; the first column commanded by Lord George Murray, the second by the Prince. The night being dark, occasioned several halts to be made, for bringing up the rear. When about halfway, Lord George Murray ordered Colonel Ker, one of the Prince's aids-de-camp, to go from front to rear, and to give orders to the respective officers to order their men to make the attack, sword in hand; which was thought better, as it would not alarm the enemy soon, and that their fire arms would be of use to them afterwards. When he returned to the front, to inform Lord George Murray of his having executed his orders, he found they were halted a little to the eastward of Kilravock House, deliberating whether or not they should proceed, (having then but four miles to march to Nairn, where the enemy was encamped,) or return to Culloden, as they had not at most, or thereabouts, one hour to daylight; and if they could not be there before that time, the surprise would be rendered impracticable, and the more so, as it was not to be doubted that the enemy would be under arms before day-light, as they were to march that morning, to give the Prince battle. The Duke of Perth, and his brother, Lord John Drummond, who had been sent to advise the Prince, returned to Lord George Murray. Lochiel and others, that were in the front, hearing that there was a great interval betwixt the two lines, which would take up most of the time to day-light to join, it was resolved to return to Culloden, which was accordingly done, which, some say, was contrary to the Prince's inclination. They marched the shortest way back, by the church of Croy, which, though but scarce two miles from the place where the halt was made, yet it was clear day-light before the front arrived there; which makes it clear there was no possibility of surprising the enemy before day-light, as was designed. The march was continued to Culloden, from whence a great many, both officers and soldiers, went to Inverness, and other places, in quest of provisions, which were very much wanted. The Prince, with great difficulty, having got some bread and whiskey at Culloden, where reposing himself a little, after having marched all that night on foot, had intelligence brought, that the enemy were in sight; whereupon those about Culloden were ordered to arms, and several officers sent

to Inverness and places adjacent, to bring up what men they could meet with. While those about Culloden were marching to the muir above the house, where they were joined with about three hundred of the Frazers, just then coming up, Colonel Ker went out to reconnoitre the enemy. When he came back, he told the Prince and Lord George Murray, that their foot were marching in three columns, with their cavalry on their left; so that they could form their line of battle in an instant. The Prince ordered his men to draw up in two lines, and the few horse he had in the rear towards the wings, and the cannon to be dispersed in the front, which was brought up with great difficulty, for want of horses. As there was no time to march to the ground they were on the day before, they were drawn up a mile farther westward, with a stone enclosure on the right of the first line, and the second at a proper distance behind. After having reconnoitred the enclosure, which ran down to the water of Nairn, on the right, so that no body of men could pass without throwing down the walls; and to guard against any attempts that might be made on this side, there were two battalions placed, facing outwards, which covered the right of two lines, and to observe the motions of the enemy, if they should make any attempt that way. The Duke of Cumberland formed his line at a great distance, and marched in battle order till he came within cannon shot, where he halted, and placed his cannon in different places, at some distance, in the front, which outwinged the Prince's, both to right and left, without his cavalry, which were mostly on the left, some few excepted that were sent to cover the right.

As soon as the Duke's cannon were placed, he began cannonading, which was answered by the Prince's, who rode along the lines to encourage his men, and posted himself in the most convenient place, (where one of his servants was killed by his side,) to see what passed, not doubting but the Duke would begin the attack, as he had both the wind and the weather on his back—snow and hail falling very thick at the same time. Here it is to be observed, that neither those that had been with the Earl of Cromarty, (he, with his son and some officers, being only made prisoners, his men having marched on before,) nor the MacPhersons, nor between two and three thousand men that had been on the field the day before, were come up. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the Duke's cannon playing with great execution, Lord George Murray, who commanded the right, sent Colonel Ker to know if he should begin the attack, which the Prince accordingly ordered. As the right was farther advanced than the left, Colonel Ker went to the left, and ordered the Duke of Perth, who commanded there, to begin the attack, and rode along the line till he came to the right, where Lord George Murray was, who attacked, at

the head of the Atholl men, (who had the right of the army that day,) with all the bravery imaginable, as indeed did the whole line—breaking the Duke’s line in several places, and making themselves masters of two pieces of the enemy’s cannon. Though they were both fronted and flanked by them, they, notwithstanding, marched up, under a close firing from right to left, to the very points of their bayonets, which they could not see till they were upon them, for the smoke. At the beginning of the attack, the Campbells threw down a great deal of the wall of the enclosure, for the dragoons on the Duke’s left to pass to the rear of the Prince’s army, which they were suffered to do, without receiving one shot from the two battalions that were placed to observe their motions. This being observed, and the constant fire kept up by the Duke’s foot in the front, put the Prince’s people in disorder, and rendered the defeat of his army complete. The Prince retired in good order, with some few of his men, and crossed the water of Nairn at the ford, on the highway between Inverness and Corribreigh, without being pursued by the enemy, where he parted with them, taking only a few of Fitzjames’s horse and some gentlemen along with him up that river, the rest taking the highway to Ruthven of Badenoch, where they stayed some days, expecting an answer of a letter that was sent to the Prince;³⁹ but it not coming in the time expected, they all separated, every man to do the best for himself he could. Most of the clans had gone from the field of battle towards their respective countries.

The public has been no ways favourable to Lord George Murray; but if they had been witnesses of his zeal and activity, from the time he joined in that affair to the last of it—his exposing his person wherever occasion offered, and in particular at the battle of Culloden, where he went on with the first and came not off till the last, they would have done him more justice: and whatever sentiments they have been pleased to say the Prince had of him, they are hardly to be credited, and for this reason,—because, when, after the battle,

³⁹ In a letter of the late Right Reverend Donald Macintosh, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, we find the following interesting anecdote: —

“James Stewart, of Fair, told me that the day after Culloden, great part of the Prince’s men met at Ruthven, in Badenoch, among whom was the Duke of Perth. His standard-bearer, Macgrudar, also came and displayed the Duke’s colours, at which the Duke said, ‘ Poor as I am, I would rather than a thousand pounds that my colours are safe.’”

Colonel Ker went to acquaint the Prince how affairs were going, his Highness inquired particularly about Lord George Murray; and being told he had been thrown from his horse in the time of the action, but was no way hurt, the Prince, in presence of all that were there, desired Colonel Ker to find him out, and take particular care of him, which it is to be presumed he would not have done, if he had the least suspicion of what has been laid to his charge by his enemies.

THE PRINCE'S HOUSEHOLD BOOK.⁴⁰

1745.

October y^e 30,⁴¹ At y^e Abbay of Holyrood house, Wednesday—

	Sterling
Paid for 46 pound bife at 2d. 2f.	0 9 7
To 4 quarters mutton	0 7 0
To a dozen hens	0 10 0
to 2 dozen chickens	0 9 0
to 6 dozen eggs	0 1 9
to 16 pound butter	0 10 8
to a whit irine spicerie box	0 6 0
to two padeloks	0 1 10
	£2 15 0

31 At Pinky House in the march to England, Thursday—

To bread and alle	0 12 0
To onions and greens	0 0 10
to 2 dozen peers	0 0 6
to a woman in y ^e Citchen	0 1 0
	£0 14 4

November the 1st, At Dalkeith, Friday—

For 4 quarters mutton	0 6 0
to flower, eggs, and salt	0 1 3

⁴⁰ This very curious document was faithfully transcribed by Bishop Forbes, as he himself states, from the original accounts, which were placed under his notice by James Gib, the Prince's Master of Household ED.

⁴¹ Compare with Mr. Goodwillie's Journal, f. 1095 —F.

to 6 Limons and a bottle brandy	0 2 4
	<hr/>
	£0 9 7
	<hr/>
to 12 loafs bread	0 6 0
	<hr/>
	£0 15 7
	<hr/>

2 At Dalkeith, Saturday—

To 56 pound bife at 2d.	0 9 4
to 6 quarters mutton	0 9 0
to 2 quarters veale	0 4 0
to 22 pound butter at 7d.	0 12 10
to spiceries	0 7 0
to oysters and fish 2 days	1 5 6
to 4 Doz Loafs	1 4 0
more for bread	0 4 0
more for butter, 19 pd	0 11 1
to 29½ pd English chease at 4d.	0 9 10
for ale	0 16 0
for a sheep	0 6 0
from Edr 6 geese	0 9 0
2 dozen chickens	0 9 0
1 dozen hens	0 10 0
1 Doz Ducks	0 10 0
3½ doz Limons	0 8 0
3 bottles vinegar	0 1 8
2 bottles brandy	0 2 8
postage from Edr	0 3 0
Packe thrid	0 1 0
Paid tome, y ^e Cook, to Accompt of waggess	1 2 6

to Hugh, y ^e cook, for Do.	1 0 0
to Gibson, to acct	3 0 0
to John, y ^e Cook, to acct	1 4 0
Novr. 3 at Lauder, Sunday—	
To 15 pd candels at 8d.	0 10 0
to bread	0 6 4
to alle	0 12 4
4 went to Kelso, Monday.	
5 at Kelso, Tuesday—	
paid for a bacon ham, weight 16 pd, at 8d. per pd	0 10 6
to 2 mutton hames and a pice of smoackt bife	0 6 0
150 skivers	0 0 6
paid for 2 touns	0 3 0
6 at night at Jedburgh, Wednesday.	
7 at Heyicke, Thursday—	
To a barile of Alle	0 4 6
to 2 pound candles	0 1 0
more for candles	0 1 0
8 At Langham, in Scotland, about 13 or 14 miles from Mourouss, Friday.	
9 At Mourouss, in England, 2 or 3 miles westward of Carlisle, Saturday,	
for alle	0 11 0
for 6 pd candles	0 3 0
for cheess	0 5 0
for 18 pd suggar at 10d.	0 15 0
10 At Blacklehall, Sunday—	

for alle	0 12 0
for Candles	0 2 6
11 At Bramptoun, Monday ⁴² —	
for papper	0 4 3
to herbs and rootts	0 3 0
12 At Bramptoun, Tuesday—	
To 4½ stone bife at 2d.	0 12 0
to one sheepe	0 6 0
to 11¼ stone bife at 2d.	1 10 0
to 2 sheepe	0 14 0
to 10 poulets	0 3 6
to two Geess	0 2 2
to five Ducks	0 3 4
butter and Eggs	0 1 0½
Novr. 13 At Brampton, Wednesday—Carlisle besieged by the Duke of Perth and his regiment.	
14 At Brampton, Thursday—	
3 cickens	0 1 0
12 Do.	0 3 0
4 Ducks	0 2 8
2 hens	0 2 8
2 Ducks	0 1 4
5 hens	0 1 8
5 cickens	0 1 8
3 Ducks	0 2 0

⁴² When the Prince was at Brampton he went one day to Squire Warwick's house and dined there.

3 hens	0 2 0
9 hens	0 6 0
paid for 77½ pd butter at 4d.	1 5 10
paid for 17 pd Do. at 4½d.	0 6 4½
paid for Egges	0 3 2
paid for Rootts and herbs	
paid for washing	
paid for bread from y ^e 11 to y ^e 15	
paid for Alle	
foul forgott	0 0 5
3 pd Candles forgott	0 0 18

15 Friday, Carlisle surrendred to y^e
Duke of Perth and his Regiment,
who would not be relieved.

16/17 The Prince still at Brampton. Saturday and Sunday.

18 At Carlisle, Monday—

paid for 4 turkies	0 10 0
paid for 2 Geess	0 2 0
for 4 Ducks	0 2 0
for 10 Cickens	0 5 0
for 2 piggs	0 5 0
for 12 pd freshe butter at 4½d.	0 4 6
for herbs and rootts	0 5 8
for eggs flowre and salt	0 6 0
for 4 Cheesses at 14 pence pr piece	0 4 8
for 6 Chickens at 8d.	0 8 0

for apples	0 1 8
for 8 hens at 8d.	0 4 8
for a Cheess	0 1 6
for alle 30 Gallons	2 0 0
to a Cheare woman i: e: washing y ^e Kitchin	0 0 9

19 At Carlisle, Tuesday—

To 6 pd butter at 6d.	0 8 0
to 2 quarters veall	0 4 6
to 14 chickens	0 7 0
to Mark y ^e cook	1 0 0
for 15 pd of English Chees at 3d.	0 3 9
to a bottle Whit vine	0 3 0
to 7 pd saccages at 8d. a pd	0 4 8
to one Doz: Limons	0 2 6
to bread for 2 days	1 17 7
to Egges	0 1 6

20 At Carlisle, Wednesday—

to a haire	0 0 8
to 30 head of poultrie	0 15 0
to 12 pd fresh butter	0 6 0
to 2 hind quarters veal	0 6 0
to bread	0 0 1
to Saccegges	0 14 0
to 6 vine Glasses	0 1 6
to washing table Linning	0 4 8

21 At Carlisle, Thursday⁴³—

for Sacegges	0 2 0
paid to a chearwoman	0 1 6
to washing	0 2 0

N.B.—The Prince, staying at Carlisle four days, Mr. Hymer, Attorney, received twenty guineas for the use of his house, though he furnished nothing, not so much as coal or candle; and every day he had two dishes of meat at dinner and as many at supper for himself and his wife at the Prince's charges. When the Prince happened to be a night or so in any gentleman's house, the ordinary custom was to give five guineas (at least) of drink money to the servants.

22 At Pireth, Friday—

for bread	0 8 0
for 12 pd Candles	0 6 6
for 2 pd Barly	0 1 0
for papper	0 1 0
for 18 yards cource cloath for touels for y ^e Citchin	0 18 6
for 15 pd Chees at 3d. lib.	0 3 9
for fishe	0 2 0
to 43 pd bife at 2½d.	
to 2 Sheep	
to more Candles 6 pd	0 3 0

23 Saturday, 24 Sunday, at Kendal

25 At Lancaster, Monday.

26 At Presston, Tuesday.

paid for wild fowl	0 5 0
paid for bread	0 5 0
pack thrid and peper	0 1 6
paid Hugh y ^e Cooke	1 5 0

⁴³ See f. 1098.

27 At Preston, Wednesday—

for fish	0 7 2
for wild foull	0 7 6
for chickens	0 8 0
for fruit	0 8 0
for Skivers	0 0 11
for capers	0 0 4
flower and Egges	0 4 0

28th At wiggan, Thursday—

to a bottle of brandy	0 3 0
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N.B.—For one night at Wiggan a woman received ten guineas for the use of her house, the landlord (a squire) having gone from home.

29th At Manchester, Friday.

30 At Manchester, Saturday —

to veall 27 pd at 2½d.	0 5 7½
to 2 Rabbets	0 0 8
to 2 Geese	0 4 0
to a pigge and potted widcocks	0 9 0
to 20 chickens and hens	0 6 8
to 6 pd saccegges	0 2 6
to 4 pair piggons	0 3 4
to Egges flower and apples	0 5 6
to wilde fowels	0 4 0
to trips of bife	0 2 3
to apples	0 3 0

to 10 pd butter	0 5 0
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to 18 pd Candles	0 9 0
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Decbr 1, At Macclesfield, Sunday —

to 2 tounges	0 1 6
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to a Rabbet	0 0 4½
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to 6 quarts of alle	0 2 0
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to bread at several times	
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2nd, At Macclesfield, Monday—

to 60 pd beef at 2½d.	0 12 6
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to 2 touns	0 1 6
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more to 110 pd Do.	1 7 0½
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to 4 Geess	0 8 0
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to 12 chickens	0 4 0
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to 15 Gallons alle	1 0 0
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to 16 pd butter	0 8 0
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to 2 Ducks	0 1 4
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to 6 henns	0 3 0
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to 26 pd bife at 2½d.	0 5 5
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to a Side of veall	0 6 0
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to Rootes and herbes	0 1 6
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to flower and egges and Salt	0 1 4
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3 At Leek, Tuesday—

4 At Acheborne, Wednesday —

5 Thursday, 6 Friday at Derby, and marched no farther into England.

paid for bread	0 17 0
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paid for alle	0 13 4
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for Limons, Eggs, floure, and Root, for veal	0 3 0
for pertriges, foul & fish	0 15 0
to brandy & Rume	
to 8 pd butter at 6d.	0 4 0
to eggs	0 1 2
to 4 bottles Beere	0 1 0
7 At Leek in the retreat, Saturday —	
paid for Salt beef 45 at 2½d.	0 9 4½
for a Gooss	0 2 0
for pettates	0 2 0
to a bottle Rume	0 3 0
8 At Macclefield, Sunday —	
Paid for 110 pd beefe at 2½d.	1 2 11
to nuttmuggs	0 0 8
to Cinemon	0 1 0
9 At Manchester, Monday —	
to 2 woodcocks & a pertrige	0 2 6
to a Gooss	0 2 0
to apples	0 1 3
to 2 comon Cheesses	0 2 0
to one Doz Limons	0 3 0
10 At wigen, Tuesday —	
to 2 bottles brandy & 2 Rum	0 9 6
to 2 Limons	0 0 8
to charecoall	0 0 6
11 Wednesday, 12 Thursday at Preston —	
To 4 wood cocks	0 3 0

to 2 pair rabbets	0 2 8
to a gooss	0 2 0
to a leage of veall	0 2 8
to apples and salad	
to egges	0 3 6
to 4 pd suggar	0 3 0
to 4 hens	0 2 8
to a dozen Limons	0 3 0
to 2 piggs	0 5 0
to 2 turkies	0 7 0
to 6 henns	0 5 0
to a legg of veall	0 6 0

13 Friday, 14 Saturday, at Lancaster

15 Sunday, 16 Monday at Kendal.

17 At Shape, Tuesday—

to ale wine and other provisions	4 17 0
the landlady for the use of her house	2 2 0

N.B.—The landlady a sad wife for imposing.

18 At Penreth, Wednesday—Skirmish by the Macphersons, etc.

to bread	0 9 0
to apples	0 1 0
to 2 piggs	0 4 0
to 3 bottles cherie brandy	0 7 6
to a quarter veall	0 3 0

19 At Carlisle, Thursday—

to a Cheess, weight 24	0 7 0
to 2 piggs	0 6 0
to poultrie	0 8 0

to 6 Limons	0 1 6
to flower, Salt, and Eggs	0 4 8
to 10 pd butter	0 5 0
port of bife	0 1 0
20 At Carlisle, Friday. ⁴⁴	
21 At Annan, Saturday—	
paid for 108 pd Sald bife	0 18 0
to 2 muton hams and tonge	0 4 0
to Bread	0 18 0
to alle	0 15 0
to 2 Doz vine	2 8 0
22 At Dumfrich, Sunday—	
to Egges flowre and roots	0 7 3
to a Seed cake	0 18 8
to 40 pints alle at 3d	0 10 1
20 At Drumlenrick, Monday	
24 At Dugless, Tuesday	
25 At Hamilton, Wednesday's night—	
paid for a turkie	0 3 0
to 2 Doz alle	0 4 0
to 3 tounes	0 3 0
26 Thursday, 27 Friday at Hamilton.	
<i>N.B.</i> —Upon y ^e 26 th , in place of taking rest, the Prince went hunting at Hamilton.	
28 At Glasgow, Saturday—	
to 5 Dozen Egges	0 2 1
to a Doz Limons	0 2 0
to Spiceries	0 10 4

⁴⁴ See f. 1101.

Limon-pill	0 2 6
to 2 knives for y ^e Citchin	0 2 8
to 14 pd suggar at 9d. per pd	0 10 6
to poltrie	0 15 0
to 32 pd Candles	0 16 0
to 13 Doz Eggs	0 5 5
to fish	0 4 0
to pickled oysters	0 4 0
to a pecke of flower	
to 24 pd butter	0 12 0
to Cocombers	. . . g
to Gooss Gibbets	0 0 6
to Rosin	0 0 2
to 4 Piggs	0 6 0
to tripes	0 1 4
to 3 pd fresh butter	0 1 6
to milke	0 0 4
to 23 pd Cheess at 3½d.	0 6 8

29 At Glasgow, Sunday.

30 At Glasgow, Monday

to 2 Geess	0 5 0
to 10 Doz apples	0 5 0
to milk	0 0 6
to 2 pd Risse	0 0 8
to Rosem	0 0 2
to 2 pigges	0 6 0
to bread	0 2 0

31 At Glasgow, Tuesday.

to 8 pd butter	0 4 0
to Candles	
to Milk	0 0 8

1746.

N.B.—The Prince dressed more elegantly,
when in Glasgow than he did in any
other place whatsoever.

Janr. 1, At Glasgow, Wednesday—

to 16 pd butter	0 6 8
to Sacegges	0 2 11
to nout feet	0 0 4
to one dozen Limons	0 2 0
to 24 dozen Egges	
to tripes	0 1 4
to 4 Galons ale	
to Candles	
to 2 pd barley	0 0 6
to milke	0 0 8

2 At Glasgow, Thursday—

To poltrie	0 3 0
to a pr pertriges	0 1 0
to paper pack thrid	
to flower and Salt	
to 8 fowls	0 6 0
to 3 wood cocks	0 2 6
to vinegar	0 0 8
to milk	0 0 6
to Salt and Vinegar	0 1 4

to 2 hens and 3 Ducks	0 3 11
3 At Glasgow, Friday. ⁴⁵	
4 At Glasgow, Saturday.	
<i>N.B.</i> —In the above two days I made up my accompts.	
5 At Kilsyth, Sunday.	
6 At Bannackburn, Monday—	
to 23 pd butter at Id.	0 13 5
to 2 chesses	0 12 0
to 4 pecks flower	0 5 0
to 30 hens at 8d.	1 0 0
to egges	0 7 0
to 6 sheep and a half	1 19 9
to 2 coues	5 0 0
to one do.	2 10 0
to 6½ stone butter	3 3 0
to 2 stone Candles	0 14 8
to 14 hens	0 9 4
to half a cowe	0 15 0
to a veale	0 9 0
to 42 hens	1 7 0
to a turkie	0 3 0
to 2 duckes	0 1 8
7 At Bannockburn, Tuesday.	
8 At Bannockburn, Wednesday. y ^e Day some of the clans marched into Stirling.	
9 At Bannockburn, Thursday.	
to oynons	0 0 6

⁴⁵ Sec f. 1101.

to cinemond	0 5 0
to a pd of mustard	0 2 0
to pepper and pack thrid	0 8 0
to Candles	
to foules	

10 At Bannockburn, Friday.

11 At Bannockburn, Saturday.

12 At Bannockburn, Sunday.

13 At Bannockburn, Monday.¹

14 At Bannockburn, Tuesday.

15 At Bannockburn, Wednesday.

16 At Bannockburn, Thursday.

17 This night, Friday, the Prince slept in Falkirk, the battle of Falkirk having been fought about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Prince's army routed General Hawley and his army. Had this victory been properly improved it would have made a very great alteration in affairs; for Hawley had the flower of the English army under his command. But, to tell the truth, it was not an easy matter to pursue the victory, as dark night was coming on. Besides, the Red Coats so soon gave way and fled with such precipitation that the Highland generals had reason to suspect a design in it of leading them into an ambuscade, which may be assigned as the principal reason why the Prince's army did not continue the pursuit. Had the Highlanders given a hearty chace to the Red Coats, it is believed very few of them would have escaped into Edinburgh. In this event it would not have been in the power of the Government to bring such another army to the field.

In this battle Major Donald MacDonald,⁴⁶ of Keppoch's regiment, had the misfortune of being made prisoner by a fatal mistake. He happened to pursue the enemy

⁴⁶ This narrative I had verbatim more than once from Major MacDonell's own mouth, when in the castle of Edinburgh. His other fellow prisoners likewise remember the several particulars of it well as narrated by himself. It is a common error (and in print too) that his being taken was his mounting a dragoon horse which was said to run away with him. To contradict this mistake is the reason why I have so circumstantially given the above account.—R. F.

further than any other person, and after he had walked about a quarter of an hour up and down amongst the enemy's field pieces, a man came up to him and asked what he was doing there? He answered, "I am diverting myself looking at these pieces of cannon." To which the foresaid man replied, "I would have you, Sir, to take care of yourself, for the Campbells and others are rallying at the back of Falkirk to return to the battle." Upon this the Major thought proper to return to his own corps, and in his way happening to spy a body of men at some distance in a hollow ground he, through the dusk of the evening, imagined them to be Lord John Drummond's regiment and the French picquets. He briskly made up to them with his sword still drawn and passionately spoke these words, "Gentlemen, what are ye doing standing here? Why don't ye follow after the dogs and pursue them?" Scarce had he spoke these words when he discovered his mistake and saw the body of men to be Barrel's regiment which had never been engaged, as indeed they had not seen the Highlanders at all, there being a rising ground betwixt the Highland army and the said regiment.

When the Major, through the fatal mistake, had rushed in among them a cry was soon raised, "Here is a rebel! Here is a rebel!" The Major having advanced so far that he could not retreat, endeavoured to screen himself by saying he was one of their own Campbells, his white cockade being so dirty with the heavy rain that had fallen and with the smoke of the firing in time of the action that there was no discovering the colour of it. However the Major did not succeed in the stratagem of passing for a Campbell, for General Husk (being in Barrel's regiment) swore it was easy to discover what he was by his sword—the blade of which happened to be covered over with blood and hair. Husk immediately cried out to shoot the dog instantly; upon which seven or eight musketeers presented their pieces to the major's breast to dispatch him. But Lord Robert Ker generously interposed and saved his life by beating down the muskets, of which the Major entertained a most grateful sense. At last the Major, being obliged to surrender his arms, said as he himself was an officer, he would chuse to deliver up his arms to General Husk, because he appeared to be an officer of dignity; but Husk swore he would not do

the Major that honour. Upon which Lord Robert Ker politely stepped forwards to receive the Major's arms. When the Major was pulling off his pistol from his belt he happened to do it with such an air that Husk swore the dog was going to shoot him. To which the Major replied, "I am more of a gentleman, Sir, than to do any such thing, I am only pulling off my pistol to deliver it up." When the Major at any time spoke to a friend about delivering up his good claymore and his fine pistol, he used to sigh and to mention Lord Robert Ker with great affection for his generous and singular civilities.

January 18, Saturday, the Prince at Falkirk, whither he ordered the corpses of Sir Robert Monro, of Colonel Whitney, and of some other officers of Hawley's army, to be brought and to be buried in the churchyard. The Prince remained all night in Falkirk. The said day the Duke of Perth sent a summons to General Blakeney to surrender the Castle of Stirling.

19 Sunday. The Prince returned to Bannockburn.

20 Monday, At Bannockburn.

21 Tuesday, At Bannockburn.

Jan. 22 Wednesday, At Banockburn. Begun with Mr. Hay.⁴⁷

Paid for a veal	0 12 0
to hens 34 at 8d	1 2 8
to Egges	0 8 0
to a Stone common Candles	0 8 0
to 24½ Lumpe Suggar	1 0 5
to oynons	0 2 0
to 2 pd Razins	0 1 2
to 2 veals	1 0 0

⁴⁷ Here I asked at Mr. Gib what he meant by these words. He told me that he was accountable to Colonel Strickland for debursements, but upon notice of the Colonel's death at Carlisle he was ordered to give in his accompts to Mr. John Hay of Restalrig. He likewise told me that from the 9th to the 22nd of January he had set down his accompts upon a sheet of paper so that none of these were in his pocket-book, and that he himself was still at Bannockburn, January 17th, when the Prince was in Falkirk, but on 18th of January he was at Falkirk with the Prince. — R. F.

23 Thursday, At Bannockburn—

to 8 henes at 8d.	0 5 8
to one Do.	0 0 8
to one pd butter	0 0 7
to Egges	0 1 0
to 2 hens	0 1 4
to 18 Sheep at 6s.	5 8 10
to 18 Gallons beer	1 4 0
to 9 Gall. ale	0 9 0
to 2 ston Candles	0 16 8
to oynons and apples	0 4 6
to gray pepper	0 1 4
to 24 pd Comon Cheess at 4	0 8 0
to a quarter pd paper	0 0 8
to 3 pecks Salt	0 1 6
	<hr/>
	£1 12 8

24 Friday, At Bannockburn —

to a cowe	3 3 0
to 4 hens	0 2 8
to 4 pecks oate meal	0 3 0
to 2 dozen egges	0 1 8
to pepper and raizens	0 1 10
to 25 pd barly	0 4 0
	<hr/>
	£3 16 2

25 Saturday, At Bannockburn—

to 3 sides of beef from Sachie	3 16 8
to 2 hens	0 1 4

to 27 Gallons ale	1 16 0
to 9 Gallons do.	0 12 0
to 2 Bolls oate meal	1 4 0
to 4 hens and a dozen eggs	0 3 2
to a pecke of flower	0 1 8
to a Seed cake	0 8 6
to a Stone Comon Candles	0 8 0
to a Carier for a week's work	0 3 0
to 2 bolls flower	2 5 4

26 Sunday, At Bannockburn.

27 Monday, At Bannockburn—

to 14 hens at 8d.	0 9 4
2 pd fresh butter	0 1 2
to 6 dozen Eggs	0 2 0
to charges	0 12 6
to wines from Glasgow	7 5 9
to sundrie things from Do.	4 17 6
to Sundrys from Alloway and charges	1 4 7
to a boll of meall	0 12 0
to Mr. Don for win	17 10 0
<i>N.B.</i> —Mr. Don from first to last got upwards of fifty £ sterl. for wine	50 0 0
A man at Airth got eighteen £ sterling for a Hogshead of Claret	18 0 0

28 Tuesday, At Bannockburn—

to 2 Cowes from Sachie	5 15 0
to hens	
to 14 Dozen Egges	0 4 8

to 100 weight Barly & port	0 17 0
to 4 pd butter	0 2 4
to a Copper Laddle	0 2 0
to 5 Stone Candles from Kilsyth	2 1 6
to sundries from Stirling	1 17 0
to barme	0 7 6

29 At Bannockburn, Wednesday.⁴⁸

30 Thursday, At Bannockburn—

to 2 days' bread from Stirling	0 10 0
to one Boll of meall	0 12 0
to 6 turkies and 6 Geess and Charges from Alloa	1 7 0
to a veall	0 13 0
to six Doz Limons	0 12 0
to James Watt for baking	1 0 0
to 20 hens	0 13 4

31 Friday, At Bannockburn—

to 3 Sides of bife from Sachie	3 15 0
to 3 Ston butter	1 6 0
to 49½ Gall. of ale	3 6 0
to 35 Doz egges	0 11 8
to 27 hens and 4 Cickens	
to 3 pecks Salt	0 1 6

⁴⁸ This day (early in the morning) the cannonading against Stirling Castle both began and ceased, there having been discharged from the battery only 20 or 21 cannon shot. The siege was very poorly managed. There was only one man killed in the garrison, and there were very few wounded. The Prince lost (at least) 60 or 70 men in the trenches by the firing from the castle. When the Red Coats came to Stirling they went to the trenches, and, digging up some of the corpses, did very shocking things to them. — R. F.

to bread from Stir.	0 5 0
to sundries from Glasgow	5 15 3½
to washing	0 15 0
to a boll of meall	0 12 0
to expenses to Glasgow and Stirling	0 14 6

February 1, Saturday. Early in the morning the Prince and his army begin their retreat from Stirling, Bannockburn, etc. By an accident the Church of St. Ninians was blown up, there being a quantity of powder lodged in it. Some country people and some Highlanders were killed by the blowing up of the church. At night the Prince lodged in Drummond Castle, the Duke of Perth's country seat.

2 Sunday. The Prince at Fairnton, Lord John Drummond's seat. This day the Duke of Cumberland entered Stirling about one o'clock, and rode up to the Castle and took a view of the works from which he had received a royal salute upon his approach. A detachment of his army had marched into Stirling the night before. He gave orders to rebuild with wood the arch of Stirling Bridge, which General Blakeney had broke down.

3 Monday. The Prince at Fairnton.

4 Tuesday. The Prince at Castle Weem, Sir Robert Menzies's house. This day some prisoners in the Castle of Stirling were, by Cumberland's orders, sent off under a command to the Castle of Edinburgh. They were taken out of the Castle of Stirling at nine o'clock in the morning, and kept standing on the street of Stirling till betwixt 2 and 3 in the afternoon, as so many spectacles to be gazed at, though not one of them had been taken upon or near a field of battle. Lord Albemarle, coming up to Captain Hamilton of Hamilton's dragoons, who commanded the party, asked him who these were that were placed behind the front ranks? The Captain answered they were prisoners. Then Albemarle, with a volley of oaths, asked why they were not tied with ropes. The Captain replied they were gentlemen. "Gentlemen," said Albemarle, "damn them for rebels.⁴⁹ Get ropes, and rope them immediately." Captain Hamilton begged leave to inform him that they were taken up only upon suspicion, and added he could venture to say there was not anything to be laid to their charge. Albemarle still cried to have them roped, and swore if one of them should happen to escape Captain Hamilton should pay dear for him. Accordingly they were tied two and two by the arms, the gentlemen laughing at the farce, and excusing Captain Hamilton, who declared his being ashamed of such a piece of duty. While Albemarle was bullying and roaring, one of the gentlemen spoke these words: "It is exceedingly like a Dutchman." Cornet Forth (one of the command) said he was persuaded it was orders. How soon the gentlemen were out of Stirling, Captain Hamilton desired them to throw away the ropes!

February 5, Wednesday.⁵⁰ The Prince at Castle Weem, and went out a hunting.

6 Thursday.

7 Friday.

⁴⁹ This account about the prisoners I wrote from my own eyesight and experience. — R. F.

⁵⁰ Here Mr. Gib is mistaken in his account of days and places. — R. F.

8 Saturday.

9 Sunday.

10 Monday.

11 Tuesday.

12 Wednesday, and

13 Thursday, at the Castle of Blair, one of the Duke of Athole's seats. During the time of the Prince's abode at Blair Castle, he spent one day in hunting.

14 Friday. At Dalnacardoch, a public house on Wade's road.

15 Saturday.

16 Sunday.

17 Monday.

18 Tuesday.

19 Wednesday.

20 Thursday, and

21 Friday. At Ruthven of Badenoch.

22 Saturday. At the house of Mr. Grant of Dalrachny.

23 Sunday. At Moy Hall, the Laird of Macintosh's house.

N.B.—Before setting out from Dalrachny, Mr. Gib, finding himself run short of bread, ordered his servants to bake some; but Lady Dalrachny put a stop to them, and said she would not allow any such thing to be done in her house upon a Sunday. Mr. Gib yielded the point and would not contend with her. This Lady spoke some imprudent and impertinent things to Mr. Gib, viz., "What a pack ye are. God lat me never hae the like of you in my house again." Mr. Gib told her it was the greatest honour she could come by to have such company in her house, etc.

24 Monday. At Moy hall.⁵¹

N.B.—This is the day in the morning of which Lord Loudon thought to have surprized the Prince, and to have taken him prisoner in his bed at Moy or Moy-hall. Old Lady Macintosh, living in Inverness, and getting notice of Lord Loudon's design, dispatched a boy (Lachlan Macintosh) about fifteen years of age, to try if he could get past Lord Loudon's men, and to make all the haste he could to Moy to warn the Prince of what was intended against him. The boy attempted to pass by Lord Loudon and his command, but found he could not do it without running the risque of a discovery; and therefore, as he said, he lay down at a dyke's side, till all Lord Loudon's men past him, and, taking a different road, came to Moy about five o'clock in the morning. And though the morning was exceedingly cold, the boy was in a top sweat, having made very good use of his time. He said that Lord Loudon and his men (to use his own words) were within five quarters of a mile of Moyhall. Immediately the Prince was awaked, and having but about thirty men for a guard, he marched two miles down the country by the side of a loch, till his men should convene. There was not the least suspicion entertained of

⁵¹ This article is wrong. It ought to be thus: February 17th, Monday—At Moy Hall, and so accordingly in the others, some preceding and some subsequent to this article. See above.—R. F.

any danger, otherwise there would have been a much stronger guard about the Prince's person; and there is no doubt to be made but that Lord Loudon had got certain information⁵² of the small number of men who were to mount guard upon the Prince that night, which had induced him to try the experiment. Lady Macintosh (junior) was in great pain to have the Prince safe off from Moy when she heard of the alarm. The Prince returned the same night (Monday) to Moy and slept there. Mr. Gib, upon the alarm, having been sleeping in his cloaths, stept out with his pistols under his arm, and in the close he saw the Prince walking with his bonnet above his nightcap, and his shoes down in the heels; and Lady Macintosh in her smock petticoat running through the close, speaking loudly and expressing her anxiety about the Prince's safety. Mr. Gib went along with the Prince down the side of the Loch, and left several covered waggons and other baggage at Moy, about which Lady Macintosh forbid Mr. Gib to be in the least anxious, for that she would do her best to take care of them. And indeed she was as good as her word; for upon the Prince's return to Moy, Mr. Gib found all his things in great safety, the most of them having been carried off by Lady Macintosh's orders into a wood, where they would not readily have been discovered, though Lord Loudon and his men had proceeded to Moy. But they were most providentially stopt in their march, which happened thus. A blacksmith and other four, with loaded muskets in their hands, were keeping watch upon a muir at some distance from Moy towards Inverness. As they were walking up and down, they happened to *fol.* 992. spy a body of men marching towards them, upon which the blacksmith fired his piece, and the other four followed his example. The Laird of MacLeod's piper (reputed the best of his business in all Scotland) was shot dead on the spot. Then the blacksmith (Fraser) and his trusty companions raised a cry (calling some particular regiments by their names) to the Prince's army to advance, as if they had been at hand, which so far imposed upon Lord Loudon and his command (a pretty considerable one), and struck them with such a panick, that instantly they beat a retreat, and made their way back to Inverness in great disorder, imagining the Prince's whole army to be at their heels. This gallant and resolute behaviour of the five, which speaks an uncommon presence of mind, happened much about the same time when the boy (Lauchlan Macintosh) arrived at Moy to give the 24 Feb. alarm.

fol. 991

When the Prince came first to Moyhall (Sunday, February 23rd), Lady Macintosh (junior) told Mr. Gib to be at no trouble at all about supper, for that she was resolved to compliment the Prince and his household with a supper that night, so that his cooks had the play for one night. Mr. Gib *fol.* 993. took care to represent to her ladyship that he behoved to provide for the servants (the household consisting of about seventy at least), and therefore he would employ his cooks to dress supper for the servants. But Lady Macintosh would not allow that to be done, for she gave supper to the whole household. There were always ten covers upon the Prince's own table, and eight covers upon another table in the same room for the aid de camps. Lady Macintosh's supper was exceedingly genteel and plentiful!

Lady Mary Menzies did the Prince the same compliment of a supper to the whole household

⁵² Monday's forenoon, June 27th, 1748, talking a second time with Mr. Gib upon this subject, I asked him if he had ever heard who the person was suspected to be that had given Lord Loudon information about the Prince. Mr. Gib said that Grant of Dalrachny was strongly suspected to have sent information from his own house to Lord Loudon about the slender guard the Prince kept upon his own person. — R. F.

when at Castle Weem, as also the Dutchess of Perth did the same at Drummond Castle.

25 Tuesday.⁵³ The Prince at Castlehill, his army the same day entring the town of Inverness, Lord Loudon⁵⁴ and his men having abandoned the town when they saw the Highlanders marching

⁵³ This article is wrong. It ought to be thus: February 18th, Tuesday—The Prince at Castlehill, his army the same day entring the town of Inverness, &c.—R. F.

⁵⁴ In comparing Mr. Gib's account of days and of names of places with the account in the *Scots Magazine* of February 1746, page 91, 2nd column, I find a considerable difference betwixt them, no less than a full week. In the Magazine it is said that in a letter from Lord Loudon to the Duke, dated February 22nd, an account had been given of the rebels being within eight miles on Inverness on Sunday, the 16th, that his Lordship had attempted with 1500 men to beat up their quarters, but that he had been disappointed in his design by some of his command firing about thirty shot at four men, etc.; that upon this it was necessary to march back to Inverness, and that at last he was obliged to abandon the town, the rebels entering in at the one end of it, when he and his men were going out at the other, on Tuesday the 18th, etc. And also that the Castle of Inverness, Fort George, surrendered to the rebels on the 20th, Thursday. Mr. Gib's account makes the Prince come to Moy or Moyhall on Sunday, February 23rd, in the evening of which Lord Loudon formed the design of surprizing the Prince (Moy being about eight miles from Inverness), and the Prince's army to enter Inverness, and Lord Loudon to abandon it on Tuesday the 25th, etc. The articles in the *Scots Magazine* are taken from the *London Gazette*. Mr. Gib had noted down no dates or names of places in his pocket-book from the 31st of January to the 3rd of March; and therefore I writ from his memory on some blank pages of his pocket-book all these omitted dates and names of places, in giving of which he was very distinct, and was pretty positive that his memory served him exactly enough, mentioning now and then a token as an evidence of his remembring well where they were at this or the other time, viz., he said he was sure they were at Blair Castle about a week, at Ruthven in Badenoch a week at least, and that they came from Dalrachny upon a Sunday, because Lady Dalrachny would not allow the servants to bake some bread in her house, tho' they had run scarce, for this single reason that it was Sunday. However, I must remember to represent to Mr. Gib this remarkable difference betwixt his account and that given in the *Scots Magazine*, to put particular questions to him about it, and carefully to remark the terms he expresses upon the subject when I have an opportunity of conversing with him.

On Mondays forenoon, June 27th, 1748, I was with Mr. Gib in the New Stage Coach office in Edinburgh, when (among other things) I took occasion to represent to him, according to my above resolution, the remarkable difference I had observed betwixt his account of days and of names of places, and the account given in the *Scots Magazine*, etc. I mentioned all the particulars as narrated in the Magazine, that the account was taken from a letter of Lord Loudon to the Duke, dated February 22nd, which letter (or part of it) was printed in the *London Gazette*, etc. etc. And then I asked Mr. Gib if he could be sure that the Prince was about a week at Blair Castle, and another week at Ruthven, for that upon his ascertaining these points (provided he could be certain) depended the truth of his account. Mr. Gib's answer was, "I am positive that the Prince was about a week at Blair Castle, and a week at least at Ruthven; for a day or two of odds in either of these places would never make of difference a full week betwixt my account and that in the Magazine." These words Mr. Gib repeated to me again and again. Mr. Gib likewise desired me to remark that tho' Lady Dalrachny would not allow the baking of bread in her house upon the Sunday's forenoon before their marching for Moyhall, yet she weighed out meal on the said Sunday, selling it to the

towards it.

February 26, Wednesday, At Castlehill.

27⁵⁵ At Castlehill, Thursday—Inverness Castle, surrendered.

28 At Culloden House, Friday.

Received from y^e baker at Inverness, 3 pecks flower.

N.B.—The above article taken from the end of Mr. Gibs pocket-book in a place by itself, etc. February the 28th.

March 1 At Culloden House, Saturday.

2 At Culloden House, Sunday.

N.B.—For the above three days at Culloden House ten £ sterling of drink money to Mr. Stewart, the President's master household, 10 0 0

3 At Inverness, Monday.—The Prince taking up his quarters in the house of his benefactrix, old Lady Macintosh.

to 8 Doz: Egges	0 1 4
to herrens	0 0 6
to port[age] of firing	0 5 9
to 4 Salmon	0 8 6
to Greens	0 10 0
To extinguishing a Chimney on fire and Cleaning it	0 2 0
to Lord Lovet servant	0 2 0
to herbes and Rootts	0 3 0
to poltrie	0 2 5
to Egges	0 2 0
to breead	0 14 0
to oatt bread	0 6 2
to milk	0 0 3
to Salt	0 1 0

Highlanders and receiving ready money for it.— R. F.

⁵⁵ This article is wrong. It ought to be thus: February 20. At Castlehill. Thursday, Inverness Castle surrendered.—R. F.

to Cinemont	0 3 4
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4 Tuesday, at Inverness—

to poltrie and Egges	0 5 0
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to 2 Salmond	0 3 0
--------------	-------

to herbes and Roots	0 6 0
---------------------	-------

to portage of firewood	0 2 10
------------------------	--------

to one pd Riss	0 0 4½
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to 2 doz Duple rum	2 2 0
--------------------	-------

to 2000 oysters	0 10 0
-----------------	--------

to bread and oatt Do.	0 11 0
-----------------------	--------

	£3 15 8
--	---------

5 Wednesday, At Inverness—

paid for fire wood	0 0 6
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to mend the hampers	0 0 6
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to a Salmond	0 1 6
--------------	-------

to 2 Casks of brandy	4 0 0
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to candles since in town	2 0 0
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to 5 hens	0 2 1
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to 3 moor foul	0 1 0
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to bread	0 0 6
----------	-------

to oatt bread	0 4 6
---------------	-------

	<hr/> £6 16 1
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6 Thursday, at Inverness—

to a Salmond	0 5 0
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to 3 barels for butter	0 3 6
------------------------	-------

to Salt and Riss	0 2 4
------------------	-------

to oingons and Roots	0 1 0
----------------------	-------

to bread and oatt Do.	0 7 0
to 1000 oysters	0 5 0
	£1 3 10

7 Friday, at Inverness—

to fresh pork	0 6 0
to 35 hens	0 17 6
to a Salmond	0 2 6
to Riss and pruns	0 1 2
to herbes and Roots	0 1 4
to bread and oatt Do.	0 10 6
	<hr/>
	£1 19 0

8 Saturday, At Inverness—

to whit fish	0 2 6
to Egges	0 1 8
to poltrie	0 4 0
to a Load of pitts	0 1 0
to firing	0 0 8
to Do. by women	0 1 7
to 4 moorfoull	0 2 0
to 8 dozen Limons	1 4 0
to 8 Load of pitts	0 5 0
to bread 2 days	0 12 0
to oatt bread	0 12 0
to 2 Sheep	0 14 0

9 Sunday, At Inverness—

10 Monday, At Inverness— /o/. 998.

to 3 Salmond	0 6 0
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to whit fishe	0 2 0
to Egges	0 2 0
to fresh pork	0 14 0
to poltrie	0 7 6
to Roots oyinons	0 5 8
to 2 pecks Salt	0 2 0
to 2 Sheep	0 14 0
to bread	0 6 0
to oatt bread	0 4 6
to 3 haire	0 2 8

11 Tuesday, Inverness—

to 3 Salmond	0 6 0
to poltrie	0 8 0
to Egges	0 0 10
to Candles	1 5 0
to herbes	0 0 10
to 25 pd barley	0 4 0
to 4 bottles vinegar	0 2 8
to 5 dozen Limons	0 15 0
to 12 Load of pitts	0 8 0
to portage of Coals	0 4 0
to bread and oat do.	0 10 6
to a pigge	0 0 6

March 11 Received from y^e baker at Inverness,
 viz., 5½ pecks flower.
 4½ Do. flower.
 3 Do. flower.
 7 Do. flower.
 2 Do. flower.

N.B.—The above small accompts of flower taken from the end of Mr. Gibs pocket book in a

place by itself, having the 11th of March for its date.

*N.B—*On Tuesday the 11th of March the Prince set out from Inverness for Elgin, and falling sick in Elgin, was absent /o/. 999. from Inverness eleven days, including the day of his departure from and the day of his return to Inverness; Mr. Gib being at Inverness all that time, where like- wise the greatest part of the household remained. The Prince was at Gordon Castle before he returned to Inverness.

12 Wednesday, Inverness—

to 15 Sheep at 7s.	5 5 0
to 9 pints milk	0 1 6
to Greens and oynons	0 8 0
to bread and oat do.	0 10 6
to 6 doz. oranges	0 18 0
to 8 Load of pitt	0 5 4
to port of bife	0 1 0

13 Thursday, Inverness—

to a Salmond	0 2 6
to hens and Egges	0 7 6
to Salt and greens	0 2 0
to bread and oatt Do.	0 7 0
to 700 oysters	0 2 4
to peper	0 0 8

14 Friday, Inverness—

to 7 loads of pitts	0 4 8
to 3 turkies	0 8 0
to herens and fish	0 2 0
to hens	0 4 0
to oysters	0 8 0
to portage of watter	0 4 0
to Egges	0 0 7½

to a pd of Riss	0 0 4½
to Salmond	0 4 6
to a Side of bife	0 16 0
to 6 Shipe	1 18 0
to bread and oatt	0 10 6

15 Saturday, Inverness— w. 1000.

to 10 Loads of pits	0 6 0
to 1000 oysters	0 4 2
to 10 hens	0 4 2
to a Lambe	0 5 0
to 2 hens	0 1 0
to 2 pd Riss	0 0 9
to Roots and greens	0 1 4
to 20 pd hogs Lard	0 13 4
to bread and oat [do.]	0 18 0
to a Colored pigg	0 5 0

16 Sunday, Inverness—

Sent to Mr. Murray, Secretary at Elgin, and not paid yet to Mr. Gib, 3¼ figgs	0 3 3
hearts Horn	0 5 0

N.B.—The above small accompt due by Mr. Murray taken from the end of Mr. Gib's pocket-book, in a place by itself, and having no date.

17 Monday, Inverness—

to a bulock	3 5 0
to 24 hens	0 12 0
to 18 Doz egges	0 3 0
to 21 Load of pits	0 14 4

to 1000 oysters	0 4 2
to 14 Doz oynions	0 3 6

18 Tuesday, Inverness—

to a Salmon	0 4 0
to Egges	0 2 6
to a hen	0 0 5
to peper	0 0 7½
to Gray paper	0 1 1½

19 Wednesday, Inverness—

to fish and oysters	0 10 8
to poltrie	0 7 3
Egges	0 2 4
oynions and herbs	0 3 0
to barly	0 0 4
to whit bread	0 10 0
to oatt bread	0 6 8

20 Thursday, Inverness

to 20 Load of pitts	0 13 4
to a Salmond	0 1 6
to poltrie and Eggs	0 5 3
to ½ pd herts horn	0 2 6
to Rasens and Curens	0 1 0
to 2 Sauce pans	0 7 0
to tining of three	0 5 0
to wine glasses and watter Do. and a cruets	0 10 6
to 3 pecks Saltt	0 3 0
to whit bread and oatt	0 17 6

 £3 6 7

21 Friday, Inverness, y^e Prince returned from Elgin.

to poltrie and Egges	0 18 0
to 2 piggs	0 1 0
to 2 Geess and 2 Ducks	0 5 3
to 16 load pitts	0 10 6
to 6 pd Riss	0 3 0
to Cinemond and Coriander	0 3 10
to a Salmond	0 1 0
to 5 pints milk	0 1 3
to a veall	0 16 4
to portage of watter	0 2 0
to whitt bread and oat	1 5 0
	<hr/>
	£4 7 8
	<hr/>

22 Saturday, at Inverness

to poltrie and eggs	0 6 8
to 1600 oysters	0 6 8
to whitt fish	0 2 0
to whit bread and oat	0 15 6
to Greens and Roots	0 2 3

23 Sunday, at Inverness.

24 Monday, at Inverness

to 14 Load of pitts	0 9 4
to Lady M ^o entosh Sarvant	0 2 0
to Drink money for ale	0 2 6
to 22 Sheep	5 1 0
to 4 pints milk	0 1 0

to bread and oatt bread	0 12 6
to Salt and Greens	0 1 10
to Eggs	0 1 8
	<hr/>
	£6 11 10
	<hr/>

25 Tuesday, at Inverness

to poltrie and Eggs	0 7 11
to a Salmond	0 1 6
to whit bread	0 13 0
to oatt bread	0 3 0
to 4 kitchen knives and Sharpin table D:	0 4 0
more to hens	0 4 0
	<hr/>
	£1 18 5
	<hr/>
Paid for Candles since in Inverness	5 1 0
more paid for Do.	1 1 4
	<hr/>
	£6 2 4
	<hr/>

26 Wednesday, at Inverness

to poltrie and Eggs	0 7 6
to a hogge	0 16 0
to fresh fish	0 4 0
to 1600 oysters	0 6 0
to 2 pecks Salt	0 2 0
to 3 loads pitts	0 2 0
to portage of fountan water	0 1 6
to 2 pigges	0 1 6
	<hr/>
	£2 0 6
	<hr/>

27 Thursday, at Inverness

to a Lambe	0 3 0
to 2 Salmond	0 3 2
to 5 Loads of pitts	0 3 4
to poltrie and Eggs	0 5 8
to Rootts and herbes	0 1 7
to bread and oatt bread	0 14 0
to 5 Sheep	1 10 0
	<hr/>
	£3 0 9
	<hr/>

28 Friday, at Inverness

to 4 Salmond	0 7 6
to 3 pigges	0 1 8
to 3 haires	0 1 6
to 3 moorfouls	0 1 6
to poltrie and eggs	0 4 2
to fish and mussells	0 0 10
to 8 Load of pitts	0 5 4
	<hr/>
	£1 2 6
	<hr/>

29 Saturday, at Inverness

to Lady M ^r entoch Servant	0 2 0
to a Salmond	0 1 8
to 1600 oysters	0 8 4
to fresh fish	0 0 9
to portage of watter	0 5 6
to bread and oatt bread	1 10 8
to poltrie and Egges	0 2 6½
to Rootts and herbes	0 1 0
to 10 Sheepe	3 0 0

to a bottle of oyle	0 3 0
to a bled to a knife	0 1 0
forgott the 28.	
to a Lambe	0 8 0
to 2 quarters weall	0 8 0
to bread and oatt bread	0 16 0
to Roots and herbs	0 1 0
	<hr/>
	1 8 0
brought to this	1 2 6
	<hr/>
	£2 10 6
	<hr/>

30 Sunday, at Inverness

to a Salmond	0 2 4
to a colored pigge	0 3 0

31 Monday, at Inverness

to poltrie and Eggs.	
to 8 Load of pitts	0 5 4
to Lady Seforths Servant	0 3 0
to the huntsmen	0 8 6
to Roots and herbes	0 1 4
to Spicerics	0 6 5
to Salt	0 1 0

April 1 Tuesday, at Inverness

to poltrie	0 7 5
to Egges	0 3 1½
to 1300 oysters	0 5 6
to fresh fish	0 1 6
to 18 Loads of pitts	0 12 0

to whit bread and other	0 18 6
to Rootts and herbes	0 2 7
to 2 Cowes	4 10 0

2 Wednesday, at Inverness

to poltrie and Eggs	0 11 4
to 15 Loads of pitts	0 10 0
to 6 Sheep	1 16 0
to 2 Lambes	0 6 6
to whit bread and oat	0 15 6
to Rootts and herbs	0 8 2

3 Thursday, at Inverness

to poltrie and Egges	0 9 5
to 2 Salmond	0 4 4
to Rootes and herbes	0 1 8
to 12 Load of pitts	0 8 0
to a handle for a Lampe	0 1 0
to a Cowe	2 10 0
to 5 Sheep	1 15 0
to a Lambe	0 3 0
to 1500 oysters	0 6 3
to whit fish	0 3 6
to Spiritts of vin	0 2 0
to whit bread and other	0 18 6

4 Friday, at Inverness

to poltrie and Eggs	0 14 3
to 2 piggs	0 1 3
to 11 Load of pitts	0 7 0

to Rootts and herbes	0 3 0
to whitt bread and	0 15 6
to milk	0 2 0
to 2 Sheep	0 14 0
5 Saturday, at Inverness	
to 15 Load of pitts	0 10 0
to whitt bread and oat	1 16 8
to 1800 oysters	0 7 6
to fish and Salt	0 2 6
to 4 bottle vinegar	0 2 8
to 7 Sheep	2 2 0
to a Lambe	0 3 0
to Rootts and Greens	0 2 3
to poltrie and Eggs	0 3 4
to a hair	0 0 9
to a Cowe	2 2 0
to bread Sent to Fort Agustus	1 10 0

6 Sunday, at Inverness.

7 Monday, at Inverness

to a cowe	2 14 0
to poltrie and Eggs	0 9 0
to peper	0 2 0
Rootts and herbes	0 1 5
to whit bread and oatt	0 18 6
mor to poltrie	0 3 6
Accompt of Edmiston's Cloass	
to 7 ells tartan	0 7 7
to making and Lining	0 8 4
to 5 yards Lining for Shirts and making	0 6 4
	<u>1 2 3</u>
A coat to y ^e English boy	0 6 0

to 7 els of course cloath	0 9 4
to 7½ eles Chaker Linine	0 10 6
to a Goun and peticoat to the Citchen Girle	0 13 5
to 2 Shifts	0 5 5
	<hr/>
	2 4 8
	<hr/>
	1 2 3
	<hr/>
	3 6 11

N.B.—The above small accompt of Edmunstouns Cloaths, etc. etc., taken, from a page towards the end of Mr. Gib's pocket-book, bearing no date.

8. Tuesday, at Inverness

to a Lambe	0 3 6
to poltrie and Eggs	0 5 8
to Roots and herbes	0 1 8
to portage of fountan watter	0 1 6
to Lovets Servant	0 1 0
to 12 Load of pitts	0 8 0
to pepper	0 1 2
to fish	0 2 5
to 1600 oysters	0 6 8
to 11 Sheep	3 6 0
to whit bread and oat	0 18 6
to 15 Capons at 9	0 10 9

9 Wednesday, at Inverness—

to 12 Load of pitts	0 8 0
to poltrie and Eggs	0 9 4
to herbes and Rootts	0 2 3
to winegar and Salt	0 1 8
to 6 Sheep at 5s. 6d.	1 13 0
to whit bread and oat	0 18 6

10 Thursday, at Inverness

to 10 Load of pitts	0 6 8
to a bullock	1 12 0
to 2 Salmond	0 4 4
to Greens and Roots	0 1 9
to 4 pens to windows	0 4 0
to 600 oysters	0 2 6

to milk 6 days	0 3 0
to poltrie and Egges	0 2 6
to fresh butter	0 0 6
to whit bread and oat	0 18 6
to Candles since y ^e 1 st of April	1 16 0
<hr/>	
11 Friday, at Inverness	
to fresh Code	0 1 6
to poltrie and Eggs	0 17 4
to a Cowe	4 50
to a Lambe	0 3 0
to 2 veals	1 16 0
to 18 Load of pits	0 18 0
to peper and Cloves	0 4 0
to another Lambe	0 3 0
to whit bread and oatt	0 18 6
12 Saturday, at Inverness	
to 13 Load of pitts	0 8 3
to poltrie and Eggs	0 7 5½
to Greens, Roott, &c.	0 2 3
to 1800 oysters	0 7 6
to Ladys kilracs Servant and Mrs. Donin's Do.	0 2 0
to a hair	0 0 9
to port of River watter	0 5 7
to 18 Load of pitts	0 12 0
to whit and oat bread	1 17 0
to Candles	1 0 0
13 Sunday, at Inverness.	

14 Monday, at Inverness

to 12 Load of pitts	0 8 0
to 3 pecks Salt	0 3 0
to Rootts and herbes	0 1 10
to a Glass and 2 padloks	0 2 4

N.B.—In the evening the Prince marched to Culloden house.

15 Tuesday, at Culloden House.

N.B.—At night the Prince and his army marched towards Nairn to surprize the Duke of Cumberland in his camp, which design misgave.

16 Wednesday, at Culloden House.

N.B.—This day the battle of Culloden was fought upon Drummoissie Muir, where the Prince and his army *were totally routed.*

Received at different times from Mr.	Lib.
Lumsdale viz.,	21 0 0
	10 0 0
	10 0 0
	<hr/> 42 0 0
	10 15 0
	<hr/> 52 15 0
	10 0 0
	10 0 0
	<hr/> 72 15 0
	12 12 0
	<hr/> 85 7 0
From Mr. Charles Stuart	24 12 0
	<hr/> 97 7 0
	72 15 0
	12 12 0
	<hr/> 85 7 0

24 12 0

6 6 0

2 2 0

 £118 0 7

N:B: The above accompt of Cash taken from a page towards the End of Mr Gib's pocket-book, having no Date.

Here follows an account how I came by Mr Gib's pocket-book containing his accompts, as also an account of several conversations I had with Mr Gib at different times.—R. F.

Thursday, June 9th, (betwixt eight and nine in the morning,) 1748, I was with Bishop Keith, in his own house, Canongate, when he told me, he had been accidentally in company, in the new stage coach office, Edinburgh, with one Mr Gib, whom he discovered to have served the Prince in station of Mr Houshold? and of provisor for the Prince's own table. In course of the conversation, Bishop Keith said, Mr Gib informed him, that he had been so lucky, amidst all misfortunes, as still to preserve his pocket-book, wherein he had writ his accompts. Upon this, Bishop Keith observed to me, that as I had been wanting much to have an exact journal of the Prince's march to and from England, so now I could be well served with one; "for, (added he,) "Mr Gib's count-book will bear faith in any court, or before any judge in the world." I told the Bishop that I had often heard of Mr Gib, and had likewise seen him, but then I had always reckoned that he had left all his papers, seeing I well knew of his being a prisoner for a long time; and therefore it was, that I had never entertained any thought of asking questions about such things at him, or of being particularly introduced to him, which now I would be exceedingly fond of. For this purpose, Bishop Keith appointed me to meet him at eleven o'clock, in the new stage coach office. Accordingly, we met in the place appointed, and I was there introduced to Mr Gib. After conversing with him a little, I told him I was much pleased to hear that he had preserved his pocket-book, and then I begged to know if I might see it. Mr Gib said the pocket-book was in his room, and he would immediately go and fetch it, which he did. He brought it to me, wrapt about with his white cockade, the end of which was well fixed with two seals, so that y^e book could not be opened without breaking the seals, or cutting the ribband. He broke the seals, and, taking away the white ribband, he delivered the book to me. I told Mr Gib that I had nothing to do with the articles of his accompts, for all I wanted was, to take an exact transcript of the

dates, and of the names of the places contained in his pocket-book, as a journal of the Prince's march to and from England,—a thing I had been seeking much after for a long time, but did never meet with any thing, till now, that could satisfy me in that point. After looking into the book, I observed to Mr Gib that there were several blanks in it of dates, and of names of places, and desired to know if his memory could serve him so well as to fill these up. To this Mr Gib answered, that he very seldom used to set down dates and names of places, but when and where he had bought some provisions, which point he explained to me more particularly at another meeting I had with him, as will appear hereafter. Meantime, he assured me, he could easily supply all the blanks I should observe in the pocket-book, some of which I instantly filled up from his memory, particularly from January 31st, 1746, to the 3d of March, &c. In looking carefully (afterwards) through the pocket-book, I could observe only three dates and names of places without any article of an accompt annexed to them, viz: —

“1745. Novr

“y^e 23 & 24 at kendel

“Drumlerrick y^e 23 Decbr

“Dugless y^e 24 Do:”

I parted with Mr Gib about twelve o'clock, and told him I would take other opportunities of conversing with him. After returning home, I began to reflect how many wicked and malicious persons had industriously spread a report, (affirming it as a grand truth,) that the young Pretender and his army had dealt very much in, and had lived altogether by, pillaging and plundering; and, therefore, as Mr Gib's pocket-book was an evident and indisputable proof of the contrary, I resolved, upon second thoughts, to transcribe exactly and faithfully every single article of his accompts, as I found them in the book, (all in his own hand writing,) without so much as altering the spelling of a word, &c. and to communicate this, my intention, to Mr Gib, before I should put pen to paper.

Agreeably to the forementioned false report, the common cry of the mob was, “*Charlie, king of the robbers! Charlie, prince of the robbers!*” which cry I have had frequently bawled after me when walking through Leith. And, indeed, it is not to be wondered at, that the populace should take up such a cry, and should be led to believe a lie, when, with great solemnity, they were frequently taught their lesson from the pulpit; for the cant of the Presbyterian teachers in their sermons, both before and after the battle of Culloden, when

they happened at any time to mention the Prince and his army, was in the following, and the like terms, viz:—"injustice and oppression—rapine and plunder—bloodshed and murder—direful misery and destruction—shocking barbarities—innocents robbed, slain, massacred—fire and sword—lawless starving banditti—bloody house of Stewarts—merciless race—robberies—thieves and murderers—wild ravages and devastations," &c. &c. &c. See plenty of such epithets in the substance of two sermons preached by Mr Alexr. Webster, Edr. and printed 1746. This remarkable and extraordinary performance is just now lying before me, when writing these remarks.

These gentlemen, when harranguing their credulous hearers in such terms as *banditti*, *thieves*, *robbers*, &c. might have had the good manners to have excepted some of the best blood in the nation, such as *the Duke of Atholl*, *the Duke of Perth*, *Earl of Kilmarnock*, *Viscount of Strathallan*, *Lord Pitsligo*, *Lord Nairn*, *Lord George Murray*, *Lord John Dummond*, and many others that might be named, who appeared in that cause; but all of them, from the highest to the lowest, behoved to be stained with the same blots of malice and falsehood, as indeed decency is quite out of the question, when the sacred rules of truth are trifled with, and the consecrated places of God's holy worship are prostituted to the vilest of purposes.

The clergy of the Church of England, as established by law, and the dissenting preachers in that kingdom, did not come short of our Scots Presbyterian teachers, for their printed sermons smell rank of falsehood, blood, and cruelty, &c. The printed⁵⁶ discourse of one Wood, a dissenting preacher in Darlington, is a master-piece, and truly a monster of its kind.

He has the daring effrontery to put words into the mouth of God Almighty, and to teach Omnipotence what to say to the Duke of Cumberland, in which speech there are some glaring untruths; pages 7 and 8.

Even the learned and celebrated Dr Young could prostitute his wit to fling a jargon of defaming epithets at the Prince and his brave followers, in the conclusion of his Night Thoughts, viz.:—"Pope-bred princeling—replete with venom—guiltless of a sting—whistle cut-throats—sucked in malice with his milk—brother-robber—ragged ruffians of the north—savage mountaineers" &c. &c. Poor stuff! not more silly and mean, than false and calumniating, quite unbecoming such a superior genius, and no

⁵⁶ Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1746.

less unfit to have a place in one of the finest pieces of poetry that ever appeared. No man will call in question the fine parts and excellent genius of Dr Young; but I must beg leave to doubt much if he has been master of common sense and good manners. See *Scots Magazine* for Septr. 1747, pages 419, 420, &c.

Notwithstanding all the scandalous and groundless reflections that have been, and still are, so plentifully thrown out against the Prince and his followers, the plain truth is, that never was there an army of volunteers in any country, or at any time, that behaved with so much good order and discretion, as the Prince's army did; insomuch, that let any one run a comparison (according to truth and justice) betwixt the Prince and his Highlanders, and the Duke of Cumberland and his red-coats, and he will soon have reason to look upon the former as the regular, well-disciplined army, under the influence and command of a mild and humane general: and upon the latter as a gang of irregular, undisciplined, volunteering cut-throats, under the direction of a butcher or a bear. Let the places through which both armies marched, witness the truth of this assertion. Let the houses that were pillaged and plundered, even before the battle of Culloden, be evidences of that mildness and wisdom, which some lying sycophants see shining so conspicuously in the character of their *adored Cumberland*. When he was in Perth with his army, orders were issued out for pillaging and plundering the house of Machany, the country seat of the Viscount of Strathallan, the house of Oliphant of Gask, the house of Graham of Garrock, &c. which orders were most strictly put in execution; for the parties spared not the body clothes of the ladies, and they destroyed such provisions as they could not either consume or carry off with them, breaking the bottles, and other vessels, full of liquor, &c. as if they intended that the poor ladies, their children, and servants, should be all starved to death for want of clothes, meat, and drink. Party after party came to the said houses, and took away such gleanings as had not been observed by the former party, or any small stock of provisions the ladies had procured after the first rummaging bout. Several of Cumberland's principal officers lived upon free cost in their marching northwards, as some families in Perth, in Aberdeen, &c. can well vouch to their sad experience. These officers would most impudently ask what was for dinner or supper, and order what dishes, and of what kind they pleased, as if they had been to pay for the whole; and would have brought in with them what other officers they thought fit, to dine and to sup with them, and the landlord of the house behoved to have plenty of wine, and of other liquors, at their command. But all these are only little doings in comparison, and serve as a prelude to others,

more daring and bold, that will immortalize the memory of a William the Cruel, and of his whole army, to the latest ages of posterity.

Was it ever before heard of, in a Christian country, that the wounded on the field of battle should, next day, be knocked in the head, by orders; that some who had got into barns and other houses near the field, should have their throats cut in the places where they were found; or should be taken out, and be set up to a park wall, to be shot at, as so many marks of sport and diversion! that the ranging parties, (both soldiers and sailors,) should put poor people to the rack and torture, and should butcher old men, and women, and children, that could have no hand in the troubles, &c. &c.! My hand trembles when I write these words; and yet these are the laurels that adorn the temples of the illustrious leader, the illustrious prince, the generous hero, &c. Cumberland; who has been often blasphemously styled, by some furious preachers, saviour! Will it not be looked on as a romance, in after ages, that Englishmen and Christians should have been employed in burning and destroying chapels and meeting-houses, in which their own prayer-book was used every Sunday throughout the year; and not only so, but likewise, that they made the bibles and prayer-books accompany one another in the flames! Great and loud were the outcries, both in the pulpits and on the streets, of the danger we were in of being deprived of our bibles, by the young *pretender* and his *banditti*; but let fatal experience now teach us against whom these outcries ought to have been pointed. See page 24th of Mr Webster's forementioned noted and singular performance.

From those few sketches, that can be well vouched, let any one draw the pictures of the Prince and of Cumberland; and, I dare say, he will find the picture of the latter more than sufficient to furnish shadowings for that of the former.

For proof of what I have asserted about burning bibles and prayer-books, I had a letter from the Rev. Mr James Willox, dated at Keam, near Elgin, September 18th, 1746, in which, among other things, are the following remarkable words:—"Upon receiving this Letter, I wrote to Mr Keith to endeavour to raise that small Sum at the Navy-office, and out of it to buy me some Books at London, wch I must want, because the Earle of Ancram had, at the Head of his Regiment of Dragoons, come 3 miles off his common road to cause pillage my house, & burn my poor undeserving Books, not sparing three Bibles, and several common Prayer-Books.

Sic subr. JA: WILLOX."

The original letter, in Mr Willox's own hand-writing, out of which I

have transcribed the preceding paragraph, verbatim, is to be found among my papers.

Tuesday's forenoon, June 14th, 1748 I had a second meeting with Mr Gib, in the new stage coach office, Edinburgh, and was with him from ten to twelve o'clock; when I informed him that, upon second thoughts, I had resolved to transcribe every single article of his accounts. Mr Gib, very gravely, asked me what I meant. After I had told him my reason, at some length, (as narrated above,) for resolving to do so, he said he was glad to hear of my design; for that, he could assure me, the Prince paid well for every thing he got; and that he always ordered drink-money to be given liberally where he lodged. He desired me to remark, that his pocket-book contained only the smaller articles of accompts, it having been a common practice with him, when he was so lucky as to meet with any person that could furnish him with a stock of provisions, to cause such a person draw out a discharged accmpt for money received, which discharged accmpt vouched for Mr Gib; and the articles of a discharged accmpt he never set down in his pocket-book. He likewise told me, when he came to any place where he could have a butcher, he sent for the butcher, and bargained with him for a stock of provisions, always directing the butcher to draw out a discharged accmpt for the cash. Mr Gib said, these two remarks served to account for all, or most, of the blanks in his pocket-book, of dates and of names of places. It was no small relief to him, he said, when he happened to get in discharged accompts, for that he had very little time to spare for writing, as he was engaged in such a continued hurry of business, that he was afraid it would have killed him. I asked Mr Gib what had become of his accompts preceding October 30th, the first date in his pocket-book? To this he answered, that, when in the abbey of Holyrood House, (where he engaged in the Prince's service,) he set down all his accompts on loose pieces of paper, and never thought of having a book, till he heard that the Prince had resolved to march into England, and then it became necessary for him to have a book.

I then filled up, from Mr Gib's memory, some more blanks of dates, and of names of places, I had spied out, in taking a more leisurely look of his accompts, and likewise examined what blanks I had filled up at our former meeting, particularly from January 31st to the 3d of March. I also writ, from Mr Gib's own mouth, the greatest part of the *nota benes*, as interspersed throughout my copy of his accompts, particularly these relating to Mr Hymer's house in Carlisle, to Lady Dalrachny's conduct, and to Lord Loudon's plot of seizing upon the Prince's person at Moy Hall. Some of those *nota benes* I writ upon blank pages of Mr Gib's pocket-book, and others of them upon loose

pieces of paper. At this second meeting with Mr Gib, I asked him the following questions, which I had noted down in a memorandum, before I went up to Edinburgh: —

Question

- 1st. What day Carlisle was besieged, and by whom?
- 2d. What day Carlisle surrendered?
- 3d. When the Prince was at Brampton, did he not go one day and dine at Squire Warwick's house?
- 4th. What time Clifton was fought?

(The answers to these questions are inserted in their proper places, in the fore-cited pages.)

Tuesday's afternoon, June 21st, 1748.—I had a third meeting with Mr Gib, in the new stage coach office, Edinburgh, and was with him from three to seven o'clock, when I went through every single article of his accounts with him, the better to prevent any mistakes in making out my transcript of them; for I had discovered several words and figures so hastily writ, that I could not well make them out, till I consulted him about them. Mr Gib said, I might easily understand the hurry he was obliged to, in writing his accompts, when he could assure me that, from the time of leaving Edinburgh till he returned to Glasgow, he had never thrown off his clothes when he was going to sleep, but only once at Manchester, when he happened in the morning to be a little too dilatory in answering the Prince when he called; and when he came into the Prince's presence, the Prince told him, he should do as he did, "never strip at all," and then he would be the sooner ready to answer. In going through the several articles in the accompts with Mr Gib, I writ down some more *nota benes*, from his mouth, as interspersed throughout my copy of his accompts. At this third meeting with Mr Gib, I writ the following particulars, from his mouth: —

Mr Gib was on the field of battle, [Drummossie Muir,] near the Prince's person, in time of the action, and says, that the enemy's cannon played smartly upon the spot of ground where the Prince took his station; and that he himself saw one of the Prince's own grooms (Thomas Ca) killed, by the Prince's side, with a cannon bullet.

After the defeat, Mr Gib rode along with Fitzjames's horse, keeping sight of the Prince, to the water of Nairn, which they crossed, about three miles from the field of battle; and then the horse were desired to go to Ruthven, of Badenoch, the Prince stepping aside to the right,

and halting there till he saw them all go off. Then the Prince went up the water, about a mile, attended by Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, John Hay, of Restalrig, and Alexander MacLeod, (one of the aids-de-camp,) and their several servants; among whom Mr Gib remembered, particularly, to have seen Ned Burk, of whom he speaks excellent things, as a most faithful and useful servant. When they had travelled about a mile, Mr John Hay, stepping back a little, came to Mr Gib, and desired him to go off, and to shift for himself, in the best manner he could. Mr Gib told Mr Hay that, being quite a stranger in the country, he did not know what to do, or where to go, and that he would not quit sight of the Prince, so long as he could keep him in view. To this Mr Hay replied, "you see, Mr Gib, I myself am not to go with the Prince; and, therefore, your best is to go to Ruthven, the place of rendezvous, where you shall either see me, or hear from me." Mr Gib accordingly went to Ruthven; but never saw the Prince or Mr Hay again, nor heard any thing about them. On the Friday, (April 18th,) Mr Gib was making ready to leave Ruthven; but Colonel John Roy Stewart persuaded him to stay till to-morrow, assuring him that, against next morning, they would certainly receive some accounts from or about the Prince. However, they received no accounts whatsoever about the Prince; and then Colonel Roy Stewart said, it was high time for every one of them to do the best he could for himself.

On Saturday's morning, (April 19th,) Mr Gib left Ruthven, and made down the country to Braemar, where (on Monday, April 21st) he luckily met with Richard Morison, one of the Prince's valets-de-chambre. They kept close together; and, travelling down the country at great leisure and with much caution they came safe to the town of Leven upon the coast of Fyffe, Thursday, May 15th, but had the misfortune to be made prisoners next day (Friday) by a gauger, two tidewaiters, and some of the mob,—their own landlady having given information against them. The people that seized them searched their pockets in presence of the baillie of Leven, and took everything they found in them, particularly they took from Mr. Gib sixteen pounds and eighteen shillings sterling; but when he was in the Canongate prison he got his money again by the interest of the Justice Clerk (as will appear hereafter) except seven guineas, which the people in Leven kept back from him under a pretence of charges in taking him prisoner and guarding him to Kirkcaldy prison.

Upon Mr. Gib's telling me how roughly he was used and how strictly he was searched by the people of Leven, I asked him what method he had fallen upon to save his pocket-book. To this he answered that in coming down the country he and Morison had been

some days in the Kirktown of Alford (in Aberdeenshire), where they became happy in the acquaintance of one William Burnet at Breadhaugh, near the Kirktown, an honest, valuable man, in whose house they were entertained with much kindness and discretion. This William Burnet is brother to the Laird of Camphill. Mr. Gib being much afraid of the worst asked the said Mr. Burnet if he would be so good as to take his pocket-book and preserve it for him, to which Mr. Burnet very frankly agreed, and Mr. Gib, wrapping his white cockade round the book and putting two seals upon it, delivered it into Mr. Burnet's own hands. When Mr. Gib was at his freedom and things becoming more settled he writ north for the book, and had it safely sent to him. Here Mr. Gib said he then little imagined that his pocket-book would ever be of so much use, as that it would be thought worth while to take a copy of it; for had he in the least foreseen such a thing, he should have had it much more exact, and many more things and remarks in it.

When Gib and Morison were made prisoners at Leven, they begged to be allowed the favour of horses, and that they might not be marched through the town as spectacles to be gazed at; but they were obliged to walk on foot to Kirkaldy, and through all the public places, being all the way insulted and abused by the mob. They were confined in the prison of Kirkaldy from the day they were taken, Friday, May 16th, to Monday, May 19th, when they were fetched over in a boat from Kirkaldy to Leith prison, where Mr Gib was confined to Thursday, August 14th, on which day he was removed to the Canongate prison, where he remained till Friday, May 8th, 1747, when he was set at liberty by an order from the Justice Clerk, Provost Coutts having given bail for him, that he should not leave the town of Edinburgh for six months to come after the set 8th of May.

Here I asked Mr Gib, how he happened to escape being carried to Carlisle, especially as his companion, Richard Morison, was sent up there and condemned? To this he answered, that he escaped being sent to Carlisle by a great accident, which fell out thus: When the second division of prisoners was to be carried from the Canongate to Carlisle, *James Gib*, being in the list, was called again and again, and the prison-rooms were searched for him, till at last one said, he believed that man, *James Gib*, behoved to be in Leith prison, (which indeed was the case,) and that an express should be sent for him directly; but the officer of the command said, he would not wait so long, seeing his men behoved to stand all the time under arms upon the open street; and, therefore, that man, *James Gib*, might be sent to Carlisle by the next command. However, for Mr Gib's good luck, his name happened never to be in any future list, or else his fate would

have been either death or banishment.

At this third meeting Mr Gib likewise told me, that the Prince when in Falkirk, lodged in the house of one Mr Menzies, a private unmarried gentleman, whose servant lad (he had forgot his name visited Mr Gib in the Canongate prison, and informed him that the Duke of Cumberland lodged also in Mr Menzies' house in his march to Stirling, and that Cumberland appeared to be excessively afraid of himself, examining all the doors of the house, and ordering sentries to be placed at every one of them. Cumberland ordered the said man-servant to sit up all night in the dining-room adjoining to the bed-chamber, where he (Cumberland) slept, with two candles and a book to keep him (the servant) from sleeping, with express orders to the said man-servant to awake Cumberland precisely at four o'clock. Sentries were posted at the door of the dining-room, where the man-servant sat up all night. When Cumberland was going off, he ordered two guineas for the house, asking, in the meantime, at the man-servant, how much the young Pretender had left when he slept there? The servant told Cumberland that the Pretender had left five guineas. Moreover, the man-servant told Mr Gib, that Cumberland asked him several questions about his master, (Menzies,) alleging he was a rebel. The servant answered, he had served Mr Menzies about a dozen of years, and had never seen any thing about him but that he was an honest man. Cumberland then asked the servant, if his master had ever seen the young Pretender? The servant replied, he could not tell whether his master had seen him or not; for that he had not a room in his own house when the young Pretender was in it.

Monday's forenoon, June 27th, 1748, I had a fourth meeting with Mr Gib, in the new stage coach office, Edinburgh, and was with him from a little after ten to twelve o'clock, when I put questions to him about the following particulars, which I had noted down in a memorandum in my own room:—

Question

- 1st. To ask Mr Gib about Lady Dalrachny's impertinent talk, which he had slightly mentioned to me in a former conversation.
- 2d. Who was suspected to be the person that had given information about the Prince to Lord Loudon, when he formed the design of taking the Prince?
- 3d. If the Prince dressed more elegantly at Glasgow than any other place?
- 4th. What day Inverness Castle surrendered?

5th. If Mr Gib ever recovered any of his money from the people of Leven, and by whose interest?

6th. By whom was Mr Gib set free, and how came it about, seeing he got out of prison before the act of indemnity?

7th. To ask Mr Gib about the difference 'twixt his account of time, &c. and that in the Scots Magazine for 1746, page 91?

The answers to the preceding seven questions are inserted in their proper places, in the fore- cited pages.

8th. What bed and table linen did Mr Gib receive for the use of the Prince, seeing Mrs Murray of Broughton had, upon that account, got several valuable presents of such from some ladies in and about Edinburgh?

Answer. Mr Gib received nine dozen of table-napkins, and nine table-cloths, and six pairs of sheets, from Colonel Strickland, at the Abbey of Holyrood- house.

Among the table linen there was one dozen of napkins, and the table-cloth sewed up in an old napkin, and particularly recommended to Mr Gib's care by Mr Andrew Lumisdane, at the express desire of Mrs Murray. Mr Gib said, he had never the curiosity to look into them, (the sewed up dozen,) and added, he had reason to think, that all the foresaid bed and table linen were taken by the enemy after the Battle of Culloden, as he (Mr Gib) had them, among other things, along with him upon the field of battle in a covered wagon, which he was forced to leave behind him in the open air, near the field. Here Mr Gib desired me to remark, that in the same hamper with the foresaid linen, there were likewise contained a large silver soup-spoon, two silver ragout-spoons, a large silver lamp for keeping a dish of meat warm upon the table, and the Prince's hunting equipage in a shagreen case, consisting of six silver goblets, doubly gilt, going into one another, two knives, two forks, and two spoons, all silver, and doubly gilt. Mr Gib regrets the loss of the hunting equipage more than that of all the rest; for, he says, it was one of the most curious things he had ever seen in any place. The Prince brought it with him from France. Mr Gib told me he had heard it rumoured, that the Prince's hunting equipage should have fallen into the Duke of Cumberland's hands, and that he had despatched it from Inverness to London as a great curiosity; but what truth there might be in this report, Mr Gib said he would not affirm.

At this meeting Mr Gib likewise informed me, that, some time in the first week of January, 1747, he was brought before the Justice Clerk, who appeared to be exceedingly kind and smooth to him,

asking, if Mr Gib had yet recovered the money which the people in Leven had taken from him; and when Mr Gib assured his Lordship that he had never yet got back any of that money, the Justice Clerk said he would order his money to be returned, which accordingly he did; but the people of Leven thought fit to keep back seven guineas of it, as before narrated. Mr Gib soon found out the reason of all this kindness; for the Justice Clerk began to ask him many particular questions about the young Pretender and his followers, particularly when at Bannockburn, and when Mr Gib would not answer directly, the Justice Clerk huffed and stormed at him. The Justice Clerk, in asking the questions, used to preface them thus,—“Certainly you know this; you cannot fail to know it.” And when Gib refused, that he knew any thing about these matters, the Justice Clerk used to say, with some emotion,—“What! will you not answer this?—will you not do the government such a small favour as this?”

Mr Gib assured me he found the Justice Clerk had got too good intelligence about many things.

I must here remark, that, in making out my transcript of Mr Gib’s accompts, I thought fit to note down the days of the week, which were not in Mr Gib’s pocket-book. The reason that induced me to do so was, not only the better to ascertain the several dates, but likewise, it proceeded from an experiment I tried in filling up the blanks of dates, and of the names of places in Mr Gib’s pocket-book; for, when I found Mr Gib at a loss to remember exactly what day of the month they came to such a place, or what day they left such a place, I used to ask him if he could remember the day of the week, and then I could easily fix upon the day of the month. Upon trial I found him never at a loss to recollect the days of the week, which served to make matters distinct and clear. To give a particular instance,—When Mr Gib affirmed, that the Prince was about a week at Blair Castle, and a week at least at Ruthven, I found him at a loss to remember the particular days of the month when they left Blair Castle, when they came to Ruthven, and when they left Ruthven. Upon this I desired to know, if he could fix upon the precise days of the week; which he very soon did, assuring me, that, in marching from Blair Castle, they were only one night at Dalnachardich, and next day came to Ruthven, which he remembered well to be a Saturday, that they left Ruthven upon a Saturday, slept that night in Dalrachny’s house, where next day the lady would not permit the baking of bread, because it was a Sunday; that the said Sunday’s night they slept at Moyhall, and that next morning (Monday) they were alarmed with the accounts of Lord Loudon’s design upon the Prince’s person. This account of the days of the week, with a little thought, served to give me the days of the

month exactly.

Wednesday's evening, 6 o'clock, July 13th, 1748, I had the favour of a visit from Mr Gib, when I delivered back to him his pocket-book, desiring him to preserve it carefully.

At this fifth meeting with Mr Gib, I told him that, when he broke the seals of his pocket-book, (on Thursday, June 9th,) in order to deliver it to me, I had observed him to open the book, and to take out of it some loose pieces of paper, and I begged to know if they were accompts; for, if they were, I would gladly take copies of them, if he would allow me, as I studied much to observe the utmost exactness in making up my collection of papers, &c. To this Mr Gib answered, that they were accompts, which he was very desirous to preserve carefully, because some of them were not yet paid; and he hoped the time would come yet, when payment would be made of them. He took them out of his pocket, (six in number,) and told me I had all freedom to take copies of them. As Mr Gib was about going off soon for Ireland, in the way of merchandizing, he desired me, after I had taken copies of them, to seal up the accompts in a piece of paper, addressed to him, and to deposit them, so sealed, in the hands of one Mrs Mackenzie in Edinburgh, near the new stage coach office, which I promised faithfully to observe.

Here follow exact copies of the foresaid six accompts, which accompts (one single article only excepted, as will appear hereafter) are not in James Gib's own handwriting.

Acompet of Smith Worke wrought be Alexander Burn in Banockburn to Princ Charls wagons, 1746.

Janry 8. for 5 Iorn pleats to a wagon	£0 03 00
also two bands to a wagon	0 00 08
one Iorn carpin and two steps	0 00 06
for 3 cleeks	0 00 06
for one paire of Iorn liedars to hems	
and mending a paire of hems	0 01 04
for 6 new shouses to wagon horses	0 03 00
for 3 sheep heads ⁵⁷ singing	0 00 1½

⁵⁷ This article was dashed out in the original accompt, but so as that I could read it.—R. F.

	0 00 09 ¹ / ₂
at Inverness for mending y ^e wagon ⁵⁸	0 02 6
	<hr/> 0 11 6 ¹ / ₂ <hr/>

2d.

Andr. Fraser.⁵⁹ Dr. to Mr. Gib.

To 4 bolls meale @ 10sh. 8d. per boll	£2 2 8
To 23 pecks flower @1sh. 4d. per peck	1 10 8
	<hr/> 3 13 4 <hr/>

3d.

Accompt of Liquors sent to his Royal Highness Lodgeings by Al. Fraser. 1746.

February 22 nd . ⁶⁰ To 3 dozens Claret	£3 0 0
To ½ dozen Lisbone wine	0 10 0
To ½ dozen Sherry Do.	0 10 0
	<hr/> £4 00 0 <hr/>

Inverness, 19th March 1746.—Then received payment of the above Account.

(Sic Subscribitur) ALEX. FRASER.

4th.

Accompt, Mr. James Gib, Butler, Master Housald to His Royiall Hyness,

⁵⁸ This is the single article that was in Mr. Gib's own handwriting.

⁵⁹ I asked Mr. Gib what was the meaning of this small accompt? His answer was that when at Inverness, the meal and the flour became so scarce, that he behoved to furnish the baxter, Andrew Fraser, with so much, for which he was accountable to Mr. Gib. — R. F.

⁶⁰ I wish I had seen this accompt sooner, for the date of it is a plain proof to me that Mr. Gib is mistaken as to his account of dates and of names of places in the Prince's marching from Castle Weem to Inverness, and that the account in the *Scots Magazine* for 1746, page 91, must be right, because the Prince certainly has been in Inverness when the above wines were sent to his lodgings, whereas Mr. Gib's account of days, &c. makes the Prince to be only at Dalrachny on Saturday, February 22nd. I did not advert to the date of the above accompt when looking over the six accompts in Mr. Gib's presence, otherwise I would have taken notice of it to him as a proof that his memory had failed him. It is likewise worth remarking that the following accompt is of the same date (February 22nd), which is a second proof of Mr. Gib's mistake, and that the account of this matter in the *Scots Magazine* must be right.— R. F.

Prince Charles, to Tho. Fraser, Pessterie Cook.

To accompt from February y ^e 22 to February y ^e 27 th	£2 05 06
Merch y ^e 1 st . To on herin passtie	0 03 06
Merch y ^e 3 rd . To 2 cakes short bread	0 06 00
To on salmon pastie	0 04 06
To 13 tairts of several sorts	0 07 00
Merch y ^e 5 th . To on plain custard	0 01 00
To short bread	0 03 06
To on custard	0 01 04
To on side cake	0 07 06
To on custard	0 01 00
To short bread	0 03 00
To on orange pudine	0 05 00
To short bread	0 03 06
To on rice pudine	0 02 06
To 7 minched pyes of mutton	0 03 06
To on custard	0 01 06
To short bread	0 03 06
	<hr/>
	£05 03 04
	<hr/>
	1 17 8
	1 5 6
	<hr/>
	8 6 6
	<hr/>

5th.

Accompt, Mr. Gib, Master Housalld, etc., to his Royiall Hyness,
Prince Charles, D.G.: To Tho. Fraser, Pesstrie Cook.

Merch y^e 18th, 1746.

To short bread	0 03 06
To short bread on caike and 2 Wesstells	0 04 06
To on Weilldfoull passtie	0 05 00
To on side caick	0 07 06
To on Venison passtie of hairs bonned	0 05 06
	<hr/>
	£1 05 06
	<hr/>

6th.

Accompt, Mr. Gib, Princabill Buttler, etc., to his Royill Hyness, Der. to Tho. Fraser, Pessterie Cook.

March ye 30 th . To 2 kaiks short bread	0 04 06
April 1st. To on side kaick	0 07 06
To on mourffoull passtie	0 4 00
15 th . To 2 sid kaicks	0 15 00
To fying and attending 80 dishes	0 06 08
	<hr/>
	£1 17 08
	<hr/>

At the foresaid fifth meeting with Mr. Gib in my own room, he told me he could inform me of a remarkable instance of William Burnet (the same person with whom he had left his pocket-book in the North) his honesty and exactness, if I thought it worth while to write it down. Here follows an account of it, as Mr. Gib narrated it to me.

May Sometime in the month of May 1748, Mr. Gib happened to be in company with Deacon William Clerk, taylor in Edinburgh, when John Hay of Restalrig was some how or other spoke of, at the mentioning of whose name Mr. Gib asked if Mr. Hay's eldest daughter was in Edinburgh, or any of Mr. Hay's near relations, for that he (Gib) could give an account of a large portmanteau in the North belonging to Mr. Hay. Deacon Clerk assured him that Mr. Hay's eldest daughter was living in Edinburgh with the ladies of March, and that he (Clerk) could carry any message from Mr. Gib to ye young lady. Upon this Mr. Gib told Deacon Clerk that when Mr. Hay, at the Water of Nairn, desired Gib to part from the Prince and to shift for himself, he recommended to Gib's care his groom and the said portmanteau, containing Mr. Hay's fine Cloaths. Mr. Gib assured Mr. Hay he would take the same care of the groom and portmanteau that he would do of himself. In coming down the country from Ruthven, Mr. Gib began to be afraid lest he should fall into the hands of some party, and therefore he left Mr. Hays

portmanteau (the more valuable, said Gib, that it has in it a plaid which the Prince wore for some time) in the custody of William Burnet at Breadhaugh, near the Kirktown of Alford in Aberdeenshire, who, he was sure, would deliver it safe and in good order, provided his house has not been plundered and pillaged or searched. Mr. Gib told Deacon Clerk that for the greater exactness, they had opened the portmanteau, and took a note of everything in it, Burnet keeping one copy and Gib another; but Gib said he had destroyed his copy of said note after being made prisoner at Leven. However he still remembred well the contents of the portmanteau, and could condescend particularly upon every piece in it. Deacon Clerk informed Miss Hay of all this affair, and came again to Mr. Gib, bringing along with him a young man, whom Mr. Hay had bred as a writer or clerk, in order to be informed by Mr. Gib how the portmanteau could be recovered. Mr. Gib told Deacon Clerk and the young man that he (Gib) would write a letter to Mr. Burnet, provided they would give him assurance that the letter should be carefully delivered into Mr. Burnets own hands, because otherwise he (Gib) and others might be brought to much trouble: and therefore he desired Deacon Clerk and the young man to go and get counsel about the matter, which accordingly they did, and returned to Mr. Gib, assuring him they had found out a very right person going to Aberdeen, who had undertaken to send the letter carefully from Aberdeen to Mr. Burnet by a proper hand. Upon this Mr. Gib writ a letter to the said William Burnet, desiring him to deliver such a portmanteau to the bearer, according to the note of the cloaths contained in it, which each of them had taken in presence of one another. The portmanteau was brought to Edinburgh; and Mr. Gib told me that Deacon Clerk and the young man had come to him assuring him that everything was safe in it, and had been kept in good order. The portmanteau had been in Mr. Burnet's keeping more than two years.

At the same time Mr. Gib told me that the Highlanders were the most surprizing men he had ever seen. For after making very long marches, and coming to their quarters, they would have got up to the dancing as nimbly as if they had not been marching at all, whenever they heard the pipes begin to play; which made him frequently say, "I believe the devil is in their legs."

Monday, July 18th, 1748. I returned the six accompts (sealed and addressed as agreed upon,) by James Mackay, who happened to meet with Mr. Gib in Edinburgh, and delivered them into his own hands.

Tuesday's afternoon, August 23d, 1748. I met accidentally with Deacon William Clerk, taylor, upon the High Street in Edinburgh, when I asked him about Mr. John Hay's portmanteau, which had been left in the hands of one William Burnet in the North, etc. The Deacon told me that the portmanteau was brought to Edinburgh, with everything in it safe and sound, &c.

EXTRAORDINARY CONDUCT

OF THE

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND AND GENERAL HAWLEY AT
ABERDEEN.⁶¹

*Copy of a Letter to the Right Reverend Mr ANDREW GERARD,
Aberdeen.*

RIGHT REV. DEAR SIR,

There is a story that I have heard narrated (oftener than once) as a fact, the truth or falsehood of which it is in your Reverence's power to ascertain to me, and it is this:—That the Duke of Cumberland, during his abode in Aberdeen for six weeks, lived in the house of Mr Alexander Thomson, advocate, and made use of every kind of provisions he found in the house, coals, candles, and the milk of the cow not excepted; that when he was about marching from Aberdeen, he left two guineas of drink-money to the servants of the house, without paying one farthing to Mr Thomson for the use of his house, or for the provisions (the property of Mr Thomson) which he and his followers had consumed; that upon his marching from Aberdeen, the said Mr Thomson should have found in one of his drawers a bag containing an hundred guineas, which the Duke of Cumberland, or some of his domestics, had forgot to take along; that immediately Mr

⁶¹ Bishop Forbes enters the following papers into his collection, in the same manner as he enters hundreds of others, which, to modern eyes, might seem less questionable. We also find several of the individuals concerned in this correspondence addressing the Bishop, many years later, as among the circle of his ordinary friends: Mr Thomas Bowdler, for instance, carries on a correspondence with the right reverend gentleman, throughout the decade between 1760 and 1770. When we connect these circumstances with the notable carefulness of Bishop Forbes, as to the authenticity of his materials—a carefulness which appears in many instances, and is exerted as often in favour of the enemy as otherwise—we can see no reason for doubting the truth of the charges against the Duke and his General.

It is proper to mention, that the Major Wolfe, here alluded to, could hardly be the same person with the amiable hero of Quebec. Of this the editor has been satisfied by the polite attention of Mr Southey, who, it is well known, has made collections for a life of General Wolfe. —ED.

Thomson despatched one of his own servants with the bag, (express;) that the servant delivered the bag safe and sound to a principal officer in presence of the Duke of Cumberland; and that the servant got not one farthing of drink-money for his pains.

I want much to have an exact account of the skirmish at Inverary. I am persuaded that my old friend, Mr Daunie, (to whom and his wife I beg to be kindly remembered,) is one of the fittest to gratify me in this particular, as he was engaged in that action. It is my wish to have every narrative as minute and circumstantial as possible.

I have been, for some time past, making up a collection of facts within a certain memorable period of time, and have succeeded so well as to be already possessed of about one hundred sheets, and I hope still to increase my stock of materials. I never yet attempted a correspondence in any corner of the country, but I happily (God be thanked!) made it out, and accomplished my design, and frequently, too, with persons whom I never looked in the face.

My wife joins with me in best wishes to your Reverence and Mrs Gerard.

I beg to be favoured with your benediction and prayers, as I have the honour to be, right reverend sir, your Reverence's most affectionate son, and very humble servant,

ROBERT FORBES.

LEITH, *June 3, 1740.*

Copy of a Letter from the RIGHT REV. BISHOP GERARD in Aberdeen, to me ROBERT FORBES.

REV. DEAR SIR,

In answer to your last, please know, that the truth of the story you have often heard is, that the Duke of Cumberland, during his six weeks' stay here, lived in the house of Mr Thomsons, advocate; that his retinue, or servants, made use of every kind of provisions they found in the house, coals, candles, ale, or other liquors in the cellars, and the milk of his cow; bed and table linen, which were (you may be sure) very much spoiled and abused; that they broke up a press in which Mrs Thomsons had lodged a considerable quantity of sugars, and whereof they took every grain weight; that when about to march from Aberdeen, he left six guineas to the three servants of the house, a boy and two women, one whereof had washed and dressed the Duke's linen while he stayed; but did not make the least compliment or requital to Mr Thomsons for the so long and free use of his house, furniture, and provisions, nor so much as call for his landlord or

landlady to give them thanks. This you may depend on as the true matter of fact, known to every body in Aberdeen. The story of the bag with an hundred guineas is, that it was left in one of the drawers in Sir Everard Faulkner's room, which he had the use of whilst he stayed, and after his going away, found there by one of Mr Thomsons's maids, which she gave to her master, and he immediately sent her with it to Judge Advocate Bruce, to carry and deliver it to Sir Everard, whom he was about to follow; and the maid got two guineas from Bruce for her honesty and care. Upon missing the money, the under secretary wrote back from Banff to Mr Thomsons about it, who, in answer, informed him how his servant had found the bag, and by his order given it to Bruce. This is the true fact. I have not yet seen John Downie, but when he comes to town, I shall acquaint him of what you desire and expect from him. I am persuaded there are several persons in or about Leith or Edinburgh, who can inform you sufficiently about the Inverury affair. However, I shall put John upon gratifying you, how soon I can see him. It is lucky that Providence has so favoured you in your laudable design, wherein, and in all your public spirited attempts, I heartily wish you the most desirable success. I am, reverend dear sir, very affectionately yours, &c.

ABERDEEN, *June 20*, 1749.

N. B.—The original of the above is to be found among my papers.

The treatment Mr Thomson and his wife met with is the more remarkable, as Mr Thomson is a Whig, and was always firmly attached to the present establishment.

ROBERT FORBES, A. M.

Leith, Nov. 27, 1759.—Several papers were delivered to me from the Reverend Mr Robert Lyon, in Lady Cotton's family in London, which papers he had got from Thomas Bowdler, Esq. at Ashley, near Bath, (brother-german to the after mentioned Mrs Gordon of Hallhead,) to be transmitted to me. Here follow true and faithful copies of said papers.

N. B.—The three following paragraphs are taken from the holograph of said Mr Bowdler, as written to the said Mr Lyon, without date, subscription, or address.

I herewith send you a copy of a letter from my Sister Gordon to my Sister Jane Bowdler, also a copy of what I took down from her own mouth relating to her affair, and an inventory of what she lost, so far as she could recollect the particulars.

I believe I told you the paper was signed by her, but if I said so, it

was a mistake; for I now recollect, that when I read over what I had wrote down from her mouth, I found the language so incorrect, that I resolved to alter it at my leisure, and then to give it to her to sign, when put into a more perfect form. This, however, I delayed too long; for it pleased God to take her before I had done any thing towards it: so you can only now have what I may call a rough draft.

Mrs Jackson, a lady who had been long acquainted with Mrs Gordon, and who knew the china, having seen it at Mr Gordon's house in London, going one day along the streets, saw some of this china in the window of a china shop, and had the curiosity to go into the shop to ask the man of whom he bought it, and he said he had it from a woman of the town, who told him it was given her by the Duke of Cumberland.

Copy of the forementioned Letter to SISTER JANE
BOWDLER.

THAT you, my dear Mrs Bowdler, Miss Hariott, and my brother, have been all very much astonished at not having for so long a time heard from me, (especially as I have had several kind letters from you all,) I verily believe; but what is worse, the reading of this will give you, and all my friends great concern, and surprise you very much; when I shall tell you, that the day before the Duke of Cumberland came here, which was the 23d of February, Col. Watson, one of General Hawley's aid-de-camps, my neighbour Mr Thomson, and Provost Robinson, came to me, and said that the College, which was designed for the Duke, was not found convenient, and that my house and Mr Thomson's was what they must have. It was no difficulty for Mr Thomson to find a place to go to, because all his and his wife's relations live here, but that was not my case; however, these gentlemen told me that when I had found a place to put myself in, all the difficulty was over; for that as to every thing that was in the house, greater care would be taken of it than of any other; for I might, and ought to depend on it, that as I lent my house for their conveniency, they would not let me be a sufferer in any respect; that as to my china and linen, I must lock it up, and put my kitchen furniture in the cellar, that it might not be in their way, and lock them, only leaving them a place for their coals, and two maids in the house to do any thing for them, and make myself quite easy; for they would not stay above two or three days here. I did not know where to go, or what to do, for every body's house was filled. Whilst I was in this anxiety, Sir Arthur came in, and said I might send the child to his house in the country, which was a great relief to me. I then sent to ask my evening friend if he could lodge me and my maid, which he very

obligingly did, by putting part of his family to shift for themselves. When I had provided myself with a lodging, the next was to set all things by as I was desired, and really thought that I had done every thing in so right a manner, that there was no room to doubt but that what had been said to me would prove true; but, as you will find by what follows, it did not; for the very morning after they came, before I was out of my bed, General Hawley sent two messengers, to command me to send him every key I had, and so I did, still thinking that when he had satisfied his curiosity he would send them to me again; but about six o'clock in the afternoon, he sent one of his aid-de-camps to me, (whose name is Wolf,) who, after telling me rudely enough, that he had a great deal of trouble to find me out, said, that he was come to let me know, that by the Duke and General Hawley's orders, I was deprived of every thing I had but the clothes on my back. Do not wonder that I thought this an uncommon hard sentence, for I am very sure that I never either said or did any thing that could offend any of them, or any of the inhabitants of the place. The gentleman told me, that indeed the General had been very strict in his inquiries about me, but could not find any thing to lay to my charge. The next day, there was a petition read to the Duke, setting forth the cruelty of this sentence, and desiring that at least I might have my clothes belonging to myself and child, with my provisions, with what I could make plainly appear belonged entirely to me, or other people. It was said, he seemed quite amazed at it, and said he would take care that I should not be robbed; and indeed the same gentleman came to me again, and said the Duke had ordered that my things should not be taken from me, so I thought I might depend on this message; but General Hawley, who lived in my house, took care to prevent that, for he packed up every bit of china I had, which I am sure would not be bought for two hundred pounds, all my bedding and table linen, every book, my repeating clock, which stood by the bed in which he lay every night, my worked screen, every rag of Mr Gordon's clothes, the very hat, breeches, nightgown, shoes, and what shirts there was of the child's, twelve tea-spoons, strainer, and tongs, the japanned board on which the chocolate and coffee-cups stood, and put them on board a ship in the night time, directed to himself at Holyrood House, at Edinburgh. The flutes, music, and my cane, he made presents of. I had five pound and half of tea, seven loaves of fine sugar, half a hundred of lump, seven pound of chocolate, a great stock of salt beef, pickled pork, hams, pease, butter, coals, peats, ale, verme-jelly, rice, and spice, some cheese, brandy, rum, sago, hartshorn, Salop, sweetmeats, Narbonne honey, two dozen washballs, with many things which 'tis impossible to mention, all

which he kept for himself, nor would he give me any share of them, even my empty bottles he took. The morning he went away, which was on Tuesday the 8th, he took the blankets and pillows off the beds, even the larding pins, iron screws, the fish kettle, and marble mortar, and yet sent me word by his own serjeant, but the day before, that Mr Bruce, who is their judge advocate, had made it appear to him that my case was very hard, therefore he would replace every thing that was in my house; in short, he has left nothing behind him but the beds without coverings. The chairs and tables, my writing tables, the corner cupboard, and Mr Gordon's desk, he has broke as much as can be, and though he had the keys, he has taken off the locks, and taken the part of it that was at the bottom for holding his accompt books, to pack part of the china in; in short, a bouse so plundered, I believe was never heard of. It is not six hundred pounds that would make up my loss; nor have I at this time a single tablecloth, napkin, or towel, tea cup, glass, or any one conveniency. You may think what effect the low condition he has reduced me to has had on my health and spirits, better than I can express it, especially as you know my affairs were not in a flourishing condition before, and that my furniture was what I chiefly depended on to enable me to do justice to those that had demands on me. There were ten dishes, forty plates, and three dozen of plates that were sent in to me by two merchants to see if I would buy them; he knew they did not belong to me, yet he took them, and I have ten pounds to pay for them. The chief of my own clothes I brought away with me, merely by the accident of the trunk in which they were not standing in the room without looking like a litter, or else they would have been gone too, for what was left I have lost. I have sent to my landlord to desire him to take his house off my hands, for it is left in such a way that it is impossible for me to go into it again; nor am I any longer in a condition to keep it. I am putting away Bob's master, and Appy; then my family will consist of myself, Bob, and two maids, which I should be very much puzzled how to dispose of, but that my friend I am now with pities me so much, that he is fitting up a room for my accommodation, and will let me stay with him till you and my brother give me your advice what I should do, for I am in great distress, and do not know which way to turn myself; and the only two that would serve me are gone to England, viz. Sir Arthur and Mr Duff, who, with his wife, I believe, you will see, (and if you do, pray tell him how much I own myself obliged to him, for indeed he tried very much to have been of use to me,) for they talked of being at Bath, though they have sent all their furniture to London; nor is here any body left that can get away, which is what they think I ought to do, but, alas! my affairs are so entangled, that I

cannot tell how to behave, and I know nobody into whose hands to put them, for those that used to assist me are gone, and other people have behaved to me as lately did. As to myself, whilst things are in this uncertain situation, believe I may be of some use to stay here a little; but the child's being here frights me terribly, for in some events I have too much reason to think he would not be safe, and can I get any opportunity of sending him to England, should be very glad to do it; if they will let him stay at Stretton, my brother would be so kind to make him mind his writing and book, so would hope he could not be very troublesome in the family. I know you and Miss Hariott cannot take him, nor is the place where you are proper for him, (besides, do not know how soon I may be obliged to come a-begging to you myself;) I am not able to pay for his board, or I would not have mentioned his being there. The contents of this epistle, I desire you will let my brother know, and give him my thanks for telling me he had got a son, of which I wish his wife and him much joy, and if I can, will write to him soon; but I thought it proper to write this to you. The only worldly comfort I have had under my misfortunes has been, that my friends did not know the ill usage I have met with, for as they were at so great a distance to help me, I thought it a happiness that they were not feeling with me; and, till the Duke and General were gone, and I found that they really had taken every thing that was possible to carry away, I hoped it would not have been quite so bad as I find it is; but now I cannot help letting you know it, though I am sure it will give you great uneasiness. Mr Gordon does not know what I have suffered, nor do I know where he is; but be that where it will, I hope he has had more peace of mind than I have lately known. After receiving this, if you should read in the newspapers that a handsome recompense was left by the gentleman, &c. to make up any loss that might have happened, by the carelessness of his servants, to the goods of the person in whose house he stayed six weeks, perhaps you may wonder at it; but I have lately read such things in the papers, that I should not be at all surprised at it: though he did not give either of the maids a farthing, the Duke gave them four guineas. All the Episcopal meetings are pulled down; the altars, pulpits, and seats, were employed to heat the ovens. I am sorry to have wrote you so long a letter, without having been able to say any thing that would be agreeable, but I hope that will not always be my case, &c. I expect Bob from the country this night, [when follows some love and kindness to me, which is nothing to the purpose; afterwards she says,] Letters come very safe at present, but as I have changed my habitation, so pray direct to me at Dr Ross's, physician at Aberdeen. When you have opportunity, pray let my friends in London know what has happened

to me, particularly Mrs Martin, &c.

ABERDEEN, *April* 11.

Copy, taken from the hand-writing of the forementioned THOMAS BOWDLER, ESQ. of what he wrote from the mouth of his sister, the foresaid MRS GORDON.

In the month of February, 1745-6, George Middleton of Seton, Esq. came to me, at my house in Aberdeen, and asked me what spare rooms I had in the house; for the English army was come, and some of them must be quartered in it. I told him I had but one room to spare, and that I would lie in that myself, and give up my own chamber, if he pleased. He then said he would bring Colonel George Watson to be in my house; that the Colonel was an old friend of his father's and his, and would protect me from any insult. At night Mr Duff came to me, and brought Colonel Watson with him, who supped with me, and lay in the house that night. Next morning the Colonel went out early, and returned in the forenoon, with Provost Robinson, and my next door neighbour, Mr Thomson. They then told me the Colonel had been to see the apartment that was designed for the Duke of Cumberland, in the College; but did not think it would do: and had, therefore, fixed on my house for him. Upon my telling him, it would be very inconvenient to me to go out of the house, because, as the army would fill the town, I could not tell where to get a lodging, he said that, if I could any way find a lodging, he would take care that nobody should be quartered in the house I went to. I told him that I was not able to find linen and other necessaries for so many people as were to come with the Duke of Cumberland. He said, that they would bring every thing with them; that I should lock up every thing I had; that my kitchen furniture must be put by, for they would bring their own; that I might put it into some of the cellars, not any of which need to be left open, except one for them to put coals into; that I might lock up my linen, &c. in a closet; and that I must leave two maids, to do the work of the house. He added, that they would not come till the next night; that they would not stay above two days, or three at the most; and that I might make myself very easy, for every thing would be more safe than if I was to stay in the house myself, and if any damage was done to any thing, it should be made good to me. After this, Provost Robinson and many other of my friends did, during that day, congratulate me on this affair, as they thought the Duke of Cumberland's being in my house would be a protection to me. The next morning, which was Thursday, the Duke of Cumberland came to my house, attended by General Hawley and several others. The General lay in my bed; and, very early on Friday morning, sent a messenger to the house where I was, demanding all my keys. My answer was, that my maid was gone to market, and that, as soon as she returned, she should carry them to him; but, before she did

return, I received a second message, that he would have them that minute, or he would break open all the locks. I then sent him the keys, by his messenger. That evening, one Major Wolfe came to me; and, after asking me if I was Mrs Gordon, and desiring a gentleman who was with me to go out of the room, he said, that he was come to tell me that, by the Duke of Cumberland and General Hawley's order, I was deprived of every thing I had, except the clothes upon my back. After delivering this message, he said, that General Hawley having inquired into my character of several persons, who had all spoke very well of me, and had told him I had had no hand in the Rebellion, and that I was a stranger there, without any relations in that country, he, the General, therefore, would make interest with the Duke of Cumberland, that I might have any particular thing that I had a mind to, and could say was my own. I then desired to have my tea; but the Major told me it was very good, and that tea was scarce in the army; so he did not believe I could have it. The same answer was made me when I asked for my chocolate. I mentioned several other things, particularly my china. That, he told me, was, a great deal of it, very pretty, and that they were very fond of china themselves; but, as they had no ladies travelled with them, I might, perhaps, have some of it. I then desired to have my pictures. He said he supposed I would not wish to have them all. I replied, that I did not pretend to name any, except my son's. He asked me, if I had a son, where he was? I said I had sent him into the country, to make room for them. To what place? said he. I answered, to Sir Arthur Forbes's. He asked, how old my son was? I said, about fourteen. Said he, Then he is not a child, and you will be made to produce him; and thus we parted. This Major Wolfe was aid-de-camp to General Hawley.

The next day a petition was drawn up, and was read to the Duke of Cumberland, at his Levee, by Captain Forbes, who was also aid-de-camp to General Hawley; and I was told the Duke said, he would take care I should not be robbed. That day Major Wolfe came to me again, and told me that the Duke of Cumberland had sent him to let me know, that my petition had been read to him, and that he would take care that every thing should be restored to me. Notwithstanding this, when I sent to the house, to ask for any thing, as, in particular, I did for a pair of breeches for my son, for a little tea for myself, for a bottle of ale, for some flour to make bread, because there was none to be bought in the town, all was refused me.

Afterwards, hearing that many of my things were packed up, I wrote a letter to General Hawley, and enclosed it in one to Sir Everard Faulkner, to which Sir Everard sent me this answer,—That he could not deliver my letter to General Hawley; but that he had

read it to the Duke, who said, he would take care I should have every thing again.

The Duke of Cumberland, General Hawley, &c. staid in my house about six weeks; and the day before General Hawley went away, a person came to me, who told me he was the General's own serjeant, and was come, by his order, to say to me that, as my case was very hard, he would take care that every thing that belonged to me should be put into the hands of Mr Bruce, the Judge Advocate, and that I should find every thing as I had left it. But, notwithstanding all these repeated messages, the best of my things were packed up, and actually shipped off, a fortnight before they left my house; and the very morning that General Hawley went away, he had the blankets on which he lay, and several other things, packed up, and took them with him. That day I received a letter in the following words, viz.—"Madam, I shall begin my letter by returning you thanks for the conveniency your house has been to me of, and in particular for the use of your young gentleman's room; but I must make you an apology, at the same time, for what necessity obliges me to do. It has not been in my power to find such accommodations for a field bed as my present circumstances require. I am thereby forced to occasion you, perhaps, some little inconveniency, by taking with me part of the bedding of your son, viz. the quilt, two blankets, and the pillow, all which I have had valued by Ramsay, who has fixed the price at £1, 14s. Wherefore, I herein enclose two Portugal eighteen-shillings pieces, choosing rather to exceed than fall short of what may be your due. I wish some opportunity may offer, wherein I may be of use to you, as I am, with truth, madam, your most humble and most obedient servant, Edward Mason." Who this Mr Mason is, or what post he had, I don't know.

I should have mentioned above, that Major Wolfe did one day bring me my son's picture, but without the frame; and he then told me, that General Hawley did with his own hands take it out of the frame, which was a gilt one, and very handsome. This frame the General left behind him, and I afterwards found it in the house.

I have hereto annexed a list of many of the things that were taken from me.

Alexander Scott, the carpenter, who packed up my things for General Hawley, told me, that he desired the General not to spoil the mahogany bureau, by making use of it to pack china in, and offered to make him a box for that purpose; but the General refused it.

The beds and tables, &c. that were left behind them, I found very much broke and damaged; and upon the whole, six hundred pounds

would not repair my loss.

The above mentioned Alexander Scott, the carpenter, told me, that the best tea equipage was packed up in part of the mahogany bureau, and was directed to the Duke of Cumberland at St James's, and that the set of coloured table china was directed in the same manner. The rest of the things were directed to General Hawley, by whose directions the other two boxes were directed to the Duke of Cumberland.

I should have added above, that when they refused to give me some flour, to make some bread, my maid insisted on my having it, or some bread, and said she would stay in the room till the Duke of Cumberland sat down to dinner, and would then speak to him for some bread for me, as there was none to be bought. They at last threw her a piece of the bottom of a loaf, and when she asked if that was all they would give me, they answered it was as much as I could eat, for they believed I had not then a very good stomach.

Copy of a List of what GENERAL HAWLEY took from me when I lent him my house at Aberdeen.

One set coloured table china, viz. ten dishes, a soup dish, and four dozen and ten plates.

One set of blue and white, viz. ten dishes, and forty plates, and three dozen plates. Note.—These were not my own, but were sent to my house to see if I would buy them, and I was forced afterwards to pay for them.

Ten blue and white dishes, a large soup dish.

Three dozen and seven plates of the same sort.

Two dozen of another sort.

Two dozen of another sort.

Ten of another sort.

Twenty-two soup plates of two sorts.

Ten coloured plates.

Twelve fine coloured water saucers.

Six blue and white ditto.

Five coloured bowls of different sizes. A scolloped china bowl.

A blue and white bowl holding seventeen bottles.

Three coloured scolloped shells.

Ten ditto tea cups, saucers, and slop bason.

A blue and white bowl.

Six half-pint basons, four pint basons.

Four blue and white large tea cups, and six saucers.

A small coloured dish.

Twelve common blue and white cups, saucers, and slop bason.

Twelve coloured tea cups, saucers, milk pot, tea jar, sugar dish with a cover and plate, a slop bason and plate, two tea pots, one with a silver spout and scolped plate for it.

Twelve tea spoons, strainer, and sugar tonges, silver.

Nine coloured chocolate cups and saucers.

Six coffee cups.

A coffee pot, slop bason, and sugar dish, with a cover, and a true japanned board on which they stood.

Two blue and white candlesticks.

Four ditto chocolate cups.

Eight ditto coffee cups.

Sago, sallop, coals and peats.

A coloured shaving bason.

A small blue and white mug.

A ditto tea canister.

A red ditto, and tea pot, with many little bits that I cannot remember, for he did not leave a single tea cup or plate.

Two dozen wine glasses, with several decanters.

For my own linen, he took eleven tablecloths of the largest size that are made, ten of them damask, and one bird's eye diaper. Ten small ones, and two kitchen ones, three dozen large damask napkins, one dozen smaller, three dozen bird's eye diaper, and one dozen diaper, a vast many towels, six pair of fine pillowbiers, several pairs of sheets, some very good ones. Many dusting cloths, for he left none. An embroidered fire screen, a repeating clock, with the stand for it, which stood by the bed in which he lay. All the books. Three flutes and music books, two canes with china heads, two maps, a large marble mortar and pestle. A very big copper fish kettle, with a fish drainer in it. Several larding pins, and a dozen of iron scures. Three pillows, and two pair blankets,—these were on the bed in which he lay. Twelve shirts, twenty-four stocks, two pair of quite new black silk stockings, twenty white India dimety waistcoats, a great many thread

stockings and handkerchiefs, a new black velvet waistcoat, and three pair of new velvet breeches, many pairs of gloves, shoes, and three wigs belonging to Mr Gordon, and three pair of breeches, a new hat, (worth £2) and pair of shoes, with several shirts and nightgown of Bob's. He took of my provisions, five pound and a half of very good green tea, seven loafs of fine, half-hundred pound of lump sugar, seven pound of Venello chocolate, two large casks of butter, almost a hundred weight of peas, a vast deal of pickled porks and hams, salt beef, seventeen or eighteen dozen of ale, rice, all sort of spices, pickles, a good deal of narbon honey, sweetmeats, three pound of vermy-jelly, shavings of hartshorn, two dozen of washballs, a pint of lavender water, two quart bottles of Hungary water, six of brandy, and six of rum, which was all I had, and a vast quantity of Chesser cheese, a gross and a half of new bottles to bottle his wine in, and those that were used was sold, a large painted cloth, and two strong chests to pack up what he had taken, and part of a mahogany bureau to put the tea china in. The writing table, bureau, and corner cupboard, though he had every key on asking them, were broke in an uncommon way, and the locks quite spoiled. A codrill box, and japanned saucer for the fish, a new marble iron snuff box in pinchbeck, a mourning sword, a half pound of small wax candles, a copper coffee pot, six new bottle stands, a brass candlestick, three flasks of Florence oil, a small portmanteau, a spit, eight covers for chairs, the bridle belonging to my own saddle, with many other things.

Note.—I have not a catalogue of all the books.

A master of a ship, Keith I think was his name, belonging to Aberdeen, told T. B. that he saw at the custom-house at London, several boxes in which were many of these things, and as he knew them to belong to me, having often been in my house at Aberdeen, he had the curiosity to look on the outside of the boxes to see to whom they were directed, and they were directed to General Hawley, at his house in London. He told T. B. some were directed to the Duke of Cumberland, at St James's House, and some to General Hawley.

Mr Dunlop, the watchmaker in Spring Garden, has owned, that he has since mended this repeating clock for General Hawley. The clock was bought by Mr Gordon of Dunlop, which was the reason of his knowing it again.

N. B.—Leith, January 9, 1760. This day, I despatched all the forementioned papers to Mr Robert Lyon, for Mr Bowdler, by a private hand sailing for London.

ROBERT FORBES, A. M.

BARBARITIES AFTER CULLODEN.

[LORD JOHN RUSSELL, in his History of Modern Europe, has expressed some doubt as to those barbarities which popular report in Scotland has alleged as having been perpetrated by the Duke of Cumberland after his victory at Culloden. It will be found, however, from the following authentic evidence, that those outrages have been in no respect exaggerated. It is rather, indeed, to be anticipated that the extent of violence and cruelty described in the following chapter, will greatly exceed the previous conceptions even of those who have been accustomed to hear the least favourable version of the story.

In thus fixing the historical evidence of so dark a tale, it is to be feared, that some blame will be incurred for reviving, or running the risk of reviving, animosities which it were as well to leave asleep. But, besides the abstract value of truth, there may be some use in shewing how liable an improved system of government, like that of the Brunswick family, is to fall into the worst errors of that which preceded it, and how liable the people are to be disappointed in their most sanguine expectations of political perfection. The cruelties which followed Culloden, and the domineering and unconstitutional violence with which the country in general was then treated, may stand, moreover, as a good offset to the tyrannical barbarity of the latter Stuarts; for, though the former were less infamous in degree and duration, they had also the less excuse from the age in which they took place. It is but just, when the faults of one party are so much insisted upon, that the sins of the other should not be altogether overlooked.

The whole of the ensuing section is from the manuscript of Bishop Forbes—Ed.]

Tuesday Morning, October 4, 1748—I was favoured with a visit of Mr Francis Stuart, son of Bailie John Stuart, of Inverness, whom formerly I had begged the favour of to write down all he knew to be well vouched of the hardships and cruelties, committed in and about Inverness, upon and after the 16th of April, 1746. Accordingly, he delivered into my hands a paper consisting of four 8vo. leaves, all in his own hand-writing, an exact copy of which is as follows:

To recollect and enumerate all the hardships endured and cruelties committed, in and about Inverness, on and after the 16th of April, 1746, is what I cannot pretend to do; and I am certain many things were done that very few, if any, can give any account of. The following

facts you have as I either saw them myself, or was informed of them by others.

It is a fact undeniable, and known almost to every body, that upon Friday the 18th of April, which was the second day after the battle, a party was regularly detached to put to death all the wounded men that were found in and about the field of battle. That such men were accordingly put to death is also undeniable, for it is declared by creditable people, who were eye-witnesses to that most miserable and bloody scene. I myself was told by William Rose, who was then grieve to my Lord President, that twelve wounded men were carried out of his house, and shot in a hollow, which is within very short distance of the place of action; William Rose's wife told this fact to creditable people, from whom I had it, more circumstantially; she said, that the party came to her house, and told the wounded men to get up, that they might bring them to surgeons to have their wounds dressed, upon which she said, the poor men, whom she thought in so miserable a way, that it was impossible they could stir, made a shift to get up, and she said they went along with the party with an air of cheerfulness and joy, being full of the thought that their wounds were to be dressed, but she said when the party had brought them the length of the hollow above mentioned, which is at a very short distance from her house, she being then within the house, heard the firing of several guns, and coming out immediately to know the cause, saw all those brought out of her house, under the pretence of being carried to surgeons, were dead men.

Upon the same day the party was detached to put to death all the wounded men, in and about the field of battle, there was another party detached, under the command of Colonel Cockeen, to bring in the Lady M'Intosh, prisoner, from her house at Moy; though Cockeen himself was reckoned a most discreet civil man, yet he found it impossible to restrain the barbarity of many of his party, who, straggling before, spared neither sex nor age they met with; so that the lady has told many, that she herself counted above fourteen dead bodies of men, women, and children, betwixt Moy and Inverness. There is one woman still alive who is a sufficient document of the barbarity of Cockeen's party; for she, after receiving many cuts of swords on the face, and many stabs of bayonets in other parts of her body, was left for dead on the highway. However, it has pleased Providence that she still lives, to set forth to the world the monstrous cruelty of those miscreants, by a face quite deformed, and many other conspicuous marks of their barbarity.

I had almost forgot to tell you of a most monstrous act of cruelty

committed by the party before mentioned, which was detached to the field of action,—that is, the burning of a house near the field, in which there were above eighteen wounded men. This fact is well vouched by many creditable people. I myself heard one Mrs Taylor, a Wright's wife at Inverness, tell that she went up the day thereafter to the field, to search for the body of a brother-in-law of hers, who was killed, and that she saw in the rubbish the bodies of severals of those that had been scorched to death, in a most miserable mangled way.

The cruelties committed the day of the action are so many, that I cannot pretend at all to enumerate them. That no quarter was given, is a thing certain. There is one instance of this that I cannot omit. A very honest old gentleman of the name of MacLeod, was pursued by two of the light horse, from the place of action to the hill near Inverness, called the Barnhill; and when he came there, and found it impossible to save his life any farther by flight, he went on his knees, and begged quarters of the two that pursued him: but both of them refused his request, and shot him through the head. Several of the inhabitants of Inverness were witnesses to this fact. There was another poor man shot by a soldier, at the door of one Widow MacLean, who lives in the Bridge Street of Inverness, as he was making his way for the bridge. There was a most monstrous act committed in the house of one Widow Davidson, in the afternoon after the action. A gentleman falling sick in town, took a room at her house, being a retired place. He was in a violent fever the day of the action, and unable to make his escape, when he was told the Prince and his army were defeated. Several soldiers coming up in the afternoon to this Widow Davidson's, the maid of the house told them there was a rebel above stairs, upon which they went immediately, rushed into the room wherein the poor gentleman lay, and cut his throat from ear to ear. This I was told by an honest woman, a neighbour of Mrs Davidson's, who went to the room, and saw the gentleman, after his throat was cut.

The proceedings, after his Royal Highness came into town, were, I am certain, unprecedented. Many gentlemen were taken up, and confined amongst the common prisoners, without any reason given them for their being so used; and after being confined, they were for some time denied the use of both bedding and provisions, so that some of them have not to this day recovered the cold they contracted, and the bad usage they met with at that time. The women of Inverness did not escape his Royal Highness's notice. Several of them were made prisoners, and confined to the common guard; amongst whom was the Lady Dowager MacIntosh, who was confined for the space of fourteen days, and contracted so violent a cold during that

time, that she had almost died of it. The usage the prisoners in general met with was so monstrous, that I am certain there are few, if any, histories can parallel the like of it. The allowance of provision for gentle and simple, was half-a-pound meal each per day, and very often not so much water given them as would help them to swallow it. I myself have gone often by the prison at that melancholy time, when I heard the prisoners crying for water in the most pitiful manner. Many died at that time of their wounds, that were never dressed nor looked to, in the utmost agony; and as none of the inhabitants durst take the least concern in them, dead or alive, I have several times seen three or four dead bodies in a day, carried out of the prisons by the beggars, and brought, all naked, through the streets, to be buried in the churchyard.⁶²

Monday's morning, October 31st, 1748.— I was favoured with a visit of Mr Francis Stewart, who narrated to me three particular and remarkable events that I had never heard of before. I desired the favour of him to give me them in his own hand-writing, which he accordingly did on Thursday's morning, November 3d, in six 8vo leaves, an exact copy of which is as follows: —

As you say it will be a favour done you, I give you the particulars of the three events you mentioned, in as far as I saw them myself, or could learn them from others.

1st. As to Murdoch MacRa, the Kintail man, he was, as I was informed, one that had no concern, directly or indirectly, in the late troubles; but being at the house of MacDonald of Leek, about his private affairs, in the middle of May, 1746, he was there seized by a party of Sir Alexander MacDonald's men, and sent with a line from said Alexander to Lord Loudon, who then lay at Fort Augustus. His lordship sent him, under a strong guard, to his Royal Highness the Duke, then at Inverness. He arrived there about eight o'clock in the morning, and was hanged before ten, the same forenoon, on an apple tree which grows at the cross, with a written accusation of his being a spy hung on his breast. I myself happened to be standing by the cross, and to see this poor unlucky man hanged. A little after he was hanged, his body was stripped naked, in which way it hung over the said cross for the space of two days, exposed to the whole inhabitants. His Royal Highness rode by the said cross, on his way to Fort

⁶² The original of the above, in the hand-writing of Mr Francis Stewart, is to be found among my papers. The said Mr Stewart is betwixt nineteen and twenty years of age, and is a modest, sober, sensible youth.—R. F.

Augustus, and the said body thus exposed. It was at last cut down by the beggars, and buried at the back of the church.

2dly. As to MacVee,⁶³ alias Cameron, his history is a singular instance of constancy and great courage. He was taken, as I was credibly informed, in some part of my Lord Seaforth's country, and some letters found about him, writ in French, without either direction or subscription. He was brought to Inverness, where General Blackney then commanded, being in September or October, 1746, and was put into a vault in the bridge of the said town, in order to make him confess who gave him said letters, or to whom he was carrying them; but this proving ineffectual, he was carried to the cross, where, being stripped naked, he was lashed, by the drummers of both the regiments then at Inverness, from heel to head. In the interval betwixt the lashes given by each drummer, he was always asked to confess; but to no purpose, for confess he would not. I myself saw him carried up from the vault he was kept in, a second time, in order to be lashed; but by what accident this second lashing was prevented, I cannot tell. However, it is certain MacVee made no confession, for he was sent back again to prison, where he died miserably, of cold and want, after lying there some weeks. It is remarkable, that while he lay in the prison, in the greatest misery, he was desired by some people to save his own life, by making a confession; but he answered, that his life signified nothing, in comparison of those his confession might destroy.

3dly and lastly. As to Anne MacKay, she's a poor Isle of Sky woman, who happened to be at Inverness, the time of the battle of Culloden, and to live above the cold cellar into which one Robert Nairn and MacDonalld of Bellfinlay (two wounded gentlemen) were put, after the battle. She being a wise, sagacious creature, some of the charitable people in town thought proper to employ her, as the person should convey to the distressed gentlemen the supplies they intended for them. She continued faithfully in this practice from the 18th of April, 1746, till the month of March, (if I don't mistake,) 1747 when a plot was laid by some⁶⁴ charitable ladies, for helping Nairn to

⁶³ This heroic poor countryman, no doubt, has been going either from or to the French ship that landed about Pollew, in Seaforth's country.—R. F.

⁶⁴ Charitable, indeed, with a witness! when the many cruelties and barbarities committed in their hearing and eyesight, could not deter them from risking their own lives. May God bless and reward these compassionate and courageous ladies, and the brave poor Anne

make his escape, (MacDonald not being able to escape, being lame.) Of this plot the poor Highland woman was made principal manager; and, indeed, she managed wonderfully, for, after equipping Nairn in warmest manner he could then be clothed in, she decoyed the sentry off the door of the cellar, into a back close just off it, by which means Nairn slipped out, and made his escape. The guard was not alarmed with this accident till next morning, when all were in an uproar; but particularly one Colonel Leighton, then Lieutenant-Colonel of General Blackney's regiment, who ordered immediately this woman to be seized, and her house ruffled. He caused her first be brought to his own room, and called for one Bailie Frazer, to examine her in the Irish tongue. He first caused ask, who they were used to supply him with food; to which she answered, "I no ken dat: for he no pe shentleman. He no pe a MacLeod, or Mac Donald, or any Mac at all; for he pe Nairn, a fisher: and deil a man's or woman's of dat name in a' dis town." He then put five guineas into her hand, and desired her tell who helped Nairn away; but she said, "I no tak money; I have a pill of my own." And with so saying, she pulled out an old bill she had in her pocket. He then desired she might tell, or he would confine her in the bridge hole; to which she answered, "Lord pless your honour! no put me in the ⁶⁵prig hole." All methods proving ineffectual, he ordered her to be carried to the guard; and, as a punishment for not confessing, he ordered her to be kept on her feet, without allowing her to sit or lie. By this punishment she contracted a swelling in her legs, of which she is not yet recovered. While she was in the guard, in this situation, there was an Irishwoman, a soldier's wife, sent to the guard, with some strong liquors, in order to intoxicate her, that then she might confess. The wife came to her accordingly, and offered her a hot pot, or some possat, and said she would drink Prince Charles's health; but she answered, "I no pe trink Sharly health. I like de Duke, for I pe a⁶⁶ Mac Leod, and Mac Leods no pe like Sharly; but I no trink hot pot, or possat, for I no ken dat. I pe trink milk and whey." Every method proving ineffectual to extract a confession, she was put into the town's tolbooth, where she was kept for some weeks; and she was to be drubbed through the town, had not interest been made to get it prevented.⁶⁷

MacKay! Amen.— R. F.

⁶⁵ Bridge hole.

⁶⁶ It seems MacKay, (*i e.* the son or child of David,) was only the woman's patronitnic name. So said Mr Stewart to me.—R. F.

⁶⁷ Leith, September 13th, 1755.—Anne MacKay was with me, when I

The poor sentry that was upon Nairn at the hour when he escaped, being discovered, (a strict examination having been made into the matter,) was whipped, and received five hundred lashes.⁶⁸

Upon Saturday's afternoon, January 9th, 1748, Captain Donald MacDonald, alias Donald Roy, brother of Hugh MacDonald of Balishair, (late Captain of Militia,) in North Uist, of the family of Sleat, favoured me with a visit, Captain Alexander MacDonald, and James MacDonald, joiner in Leith, having come along with him, because he was altogether a stranger to me; but though I had never seen him before, yet I had heard much of him from others, particularly about the wounded foot. After the usual compliments, the said Captain Donald Roy MacDonald told me, that he came to visit me at the express desire of Mr MacDonald of Kingsburgh, who had informed him about my endeavouring to make up as complete a collection as possible of papers, &c. relative to the Prince's dangers and distresses, and withal had advised him to give me all he knew about these matters. With this view, he said, in his journey to Edinburgh he had visited MacDonald of Belfinlay, who had given him a remarkable narrative in his own hand-writing, upon the back of an old letter; and, taking the paper out of his pocket-book, he delivered it to me. After reading it, I desired to know if I might have the liberty of transcribing it in my collection. He told me I might dispose of it as I pleased, for that he had got it from Belfinlay on purpose that I might preserve the narrative in Belfinlay's own handwriting. I then begged leave to observe an omission, which was, that Belfinlay had forgot to fix a date to his hand-writing; and, therefore, I desired Captain Roy MacDonald to inform me (if he could) at what time he received the manuscript from Belfinlay. After recollecting himself a little, the Captain answered, that he was in the country of Arisaig about December 20th, 1747, and (to the best of his remembrance,) he was upon that very day with MacDonald of Belfinlay, and saw him write the narrative with his own hand, in the very shape in which he had just now delivered it to me.

read to her the five preceding pages; and she declared all concerning herself was very exactly narrated, only it should be ten, in place of five guineas, offered by Leighton. She told me that, after her getting out of prison, the soldiers so beat and bruised her son, of seventeen years of age, that he died three days after.—R. F.

⁶⁸ The original of the above is to be found among my papers.— R. F.

Here follows an exact copy of the narrative, the original of which, in Belfinlay's hand-writing, is to be found among my papers.

THAT there was a vast number of the Highlanders killed in cold blood the next morning after Culloden battle, is a fact that can't be denied, and that can be likewise attested by Mr Ronald MacDonald of Belfinlay, (a cadet of Clanranald's family,) who was an eyewitness to that tragedy. This gentleman, who was an officer (a captain) in the Highland army, had the misfortune to be shot through the two legs in that action, which rendered him incapable to make his escape. He lay in the field after he received his wounds, and was betwixt the fire of the English army and that of the few French troops that made some resistance after the Highlanders were routed, where showers of balls passed by him. He remained likewise in the field all that night, after he was stript of all his clothes, his very shirt and breeches being taken from him; but as he was young, and of a robust constitution, he lived till next morning, when he saw that cruel command coming to execute their bloody orders, and saw many of his unhappy companions put to death in cold blood. They were just presenting their firelocks to his own breast, when he was saved through the clemency of Lieutenant Hamilton, who, if he remembers, belonged to Cholmondly's regiment,⁶⁹ and who took him to a neighbouring country-house. Next day he was brought along with wounded redcoats to Inverness, they cursing and abusing him all the way, for a damned rebellious rascal. He lay prisoner at Inverness, not being able to be transported with the broken bones in his legs, till the indemnity act set him free. He lives, and can walk about.

By Mr Alexander Leith I received a letter from the Rev. Mr James Hay, at Inverness, a copy of which is as follows:

REV. DEAR SIR,

Silence cannot be my fault, since it's owing, I do assure you, to disappointment. I applied timely to one who has, I am told, a greater stock of materials than any; who then, and several times since, promised what I wanted. The last return I got was, that my orders should be soon obeyed, when you may expect all the return in my power.

Let me know if I can send them with the common post.

All your friends mind you with great esteem.

I ever am yours,

⁶⁹ Here ended Belfinlay's hand-writing, and what follows I took from the mouth of Captain Donald Roy MacDonald.—R. F.

Sic. Subr. UT ANTE.⁷⁰*March 14th, 1749.*

According to the promise contained in the preceding letter, I received, by a private hand, (Mr Patrick Baillie,) a large packet, on Friday, May 12th, 1749. from the foresaid Rev. Mr James Hay, which packet contained fifteen pages quarto, in the hand-writing of said Mr James Hay, and eleven pages folio, in the hand-writing of some other person, whom I know nothing about; but perhaps he may be the one mentioned in the preceding letter.

Here follows an exact copy of the fifteen pages quarto, in Mr Hay's own hand-writing.

One of the Dragoons who came first into Inverness after the battle of Culloden, obliged a servant maid to hold his horse in a close, and then he followed two low-country men into a house, where he hashed them with his broadsword to death. The maid heard their lamentable cries, and when he came out he was all blood. Poor men, they had no arms.

At the same time, some of these Dragoons found a⁷¹ gentleman who was highly distressed with a fever, not able to stir from his bed, and there they cut his throat. He and the other two were some time unburied, for none durst venture to do it. There was a poor beggar killed on the street.

The prisoners were in a most miserable condition, being stripped of their clothes when taken. They were sent to prisons, and some had not wherewith to cover their nakedness. No regard had to the cries of the wounded, or to the groans of the dying; no surgeon allowed to apply proper remedies for their ease or recovery—and where any of these were in the same unhappy circumstances, their instruments were taken from them, that they might give no relief. It was reckoned highly criminal and very dangerous to give them any thing, even water. The servant maids had more than common courage; they did (men and boys being allowed to go to the prisoners, but the guards were charged upon their peril to let any of them out) all that was possible for them, though they were sure of mal-treatment. And⁷² Anna M'Kay, a poor woman descended of very honest, substantial

⁷⁰ The original of the above is to be found among my papers.— R. F.

⁷¹ This is more circumstantially narrated by Mr Francis Stewart.—R. F.

⁷² Bishop Forbes thus comments on the correspondence of this

people in the Isle of Sky, who had her house and effects of a considerable value burnt, as was attested by the best in that island, made it her chief business to get for, and carry to the prisoners every thing that possibly she could, so that she was justly called the prisoners' nurse. When Mr Nairn made his escape, sad and dismal was the treatment she met with: poor woman, what small effects she had got (she being in town some time before) were taken from her, and she was carried to the guard, among a house full of soldiers, and the orders were, that she should not be allowed to sit or lie down, and in that condition she was kept for three days and three nights. The common language she was entertained with, she will not, nor cannot express. She was at five Court Martials, had many promises, and many threatenings, such as scourging, to tell who had a hand in Mr Nairn's escape. She was kept seven weeks thereafter in common prison, and contracted a swelling in her legs that she will never get the better of.

Murdoch Moran was taken in or near Fort Augustus, who had no concern in the Highland army. He was nearest relation to the Chieftain of that name. Being sent prisoner to Inverness, he was not there above one hour, when he was hanged at the cross, on the apple tree. The only thing they alleged against him, that he was a spy, which he positively denied; and when they put the rope about his neck, he believing they did it for their diversion, said, "You have gone far enough if this be jest." He was kept hanging there naked, a night and the most of two days. He appeared all the time as if he had been sleeping, his mouth and eyes being shut close—a very uncommon thing in those who die such a death. Sometimes they covered, at other times they uncovered him; and whipped the dead body for their diversion.

Euwan MacKay was taken in the Highlands by a Whig teacher, with letters in French, or cyphers, and was sent into town, where he was most barbarously and inhumanly treated. Being asked from whom he had, and to whom he was going with the letters, to which he giving no

account with what he had already given from the mouth of Mr Francis Stewart: "The agreement, or sameness of circumstances in the narratives of Mr Hay and Mr Stewart, is the more remarkable, as I never allowed Mr Hay to know that I had got any thing from Mr Stewart, who went from Leith to London, and from London to Carolina; so that Mr Hay and he had no opportunity of comparing notes together. An undeniable proof of the truth of the facts. I take the same fact from ten different bands, if I can have it from so many."

answer, he got five hundred lashes, tied to a stake, and was then sent to prison again; some days after, he got five hundred more, and they threatened to whip him to death if he would not discover what they wanted. None durst go nigh him while in the pit with any necessary; and when they threw down a pound of meal, which was all the allowance given to any one of the prisoners, it was found untouched, he being sickly, full of sores, and most barbarously struck by one of the soldiers, with the butt of his gun in the breast, of which he complained while he lived. At last he was carried to the tolbooth; one there said to him that he was a great fool not to discover what he knew; to which he gave a noble return,—”You are the fool: it signifies nothing what they can do to me, (let them do the worst,) in respect of what could be done to those from whom I had and to whom I was going with the letters: their deaths would be great loss, but mine will be none.” His father and he had considerable effects, and all were taken, and the poor father was begging in the town that very time, but durst not say that he was his son; a charitable person (when he died) sent word that if they would allow his body one hour to be unburied, a coffin and grave clothes would be got; but that was refused being carried to the grave by two or three beggars, a soldier went and thrust his bayonet several times into the body to try (as he said) if the rebel was dead.

George Fraser, then present provost, was taken from dinner by an officer and musqueteers to Cumberland’s stable, where he was ordered to clean it: he said he never cleaned his own; he was obliged to get men to do it, and there stay for some hours until they had done.

Provost Hossack, with the magistrates, having gone to the levee to pay their compliments, hearing orders given to shut the ports that no rebel might escape, and that the meeting-house should be burned, and the man who preached in it, said, he hoped they would mix mercy with judgment; upon which they said, “D—n you, puppy! do you pretend to dictate here?” They ordered him to be kicked down stairs; accordingly, he was tossed to the stairhead, from one to another, and there one of a considerable character gave him a toss that he never touched the stair until he was at the foot of the first flat of it. These two gentlemen were ill⁷³ rewarded, for none could be more attached to the government than they were; but they had compassion on the distressed and oppressed, which was then an

⁷³ Lucky indeed! for I had it from one of Inverness that lists of the disaffected were made up; but this treatment prevented any information of that kind.—R. F.

unpardonable crime of the deepest dye. When the orders about the meeting-house were given by Halley, Husk said that it should be taken down and the timber given for the ovens, which was done.

It is not possible to find out the certainty of the poisoned bread. I was told by a person of credit, that a woman in great want saw them burying bread, which afterwards she took a part of, and she and her two children did eat of it, and all the three were dead within twenty-four hours. One of Cumberland's soldiers said there were some wagons with poisoned bread, and one gentleman belonging to his army told the same; for he would not (he said) meddle with their bread: this is all I can learn about it.

A gentleman, who was long prisoner in Inverness, told me that he saw an officer, winter 1746, when it was excessively cold and the firing so scarce that the inhabitants had the greatest difficulty to get any at the greatest price, when the prisoners many times were crying that they would starve with cold, give half-a-crown to the soldiers to go in a very cold night and extinguish the prisoners' fire and light, which they did accordingly. All the officers of Blackney's regiment, except three, were extremely cruel, but none exceeded Captain Dunlop, who occasioned the prisoners much misery, he being Blackney's adviser, who being a man of a timorous⁷⁴ disposition, was afraid to leave undone what he, Dunlop, thought proper to be done. Colonel Leighton was like an infernal fiend when Mr Nairn made his escape, and was one of poor Anna MacKay's greatest persecutors sometimes offered her several guineas and promised to do great things for her, if she would tell who assisted Mr Nairn, and who were in the knowledge of his escaping; at other times he treated her in a terrible manner with several punishments, partly scourging, but all proved in vain.

When an account was given that there were many wounded in houses on the field of battle, the orders given were, that the houses should be burnt, and all within them, and if any offered to come out, that they should be shot. It is impossible to know what number suffered; there were three tenants' houses, and all their office houses. The first that ventured to go near that place saw most shocking sights, some of their bodies boiling, and others lying with the marks of their ruffles, which, when they touched, they went into ashes.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Not only so, but likewise of a most peevish, tyrannical disposition, to my certain knowledge and experience, of which I may come to give some instances when I have more leisure.—R. F.

⁷⁵ I well remember that Mr Francis Stewart, in conversing with me

Orders were given, on the Friday, to an officer, Hobbie, or such a name, that he should go to the field of battle, and cause carry there all the wounded in the neighbouring houses, at a mile's distance, some more, some less, and kill them upon the field, which orders were obeyed accordingly. When these orders were given at the levee, an officer who was well pleased .told it to his comrades; one of them replied, "D—n him who had taken that orders! He could an inhuman thing; though no mercy should be shown to the rebels."

An officer heard more than once say, that he saw that day seventy-two killed, or, as he termed it, knocked on the head. He was a young captain.

An officer upon his return from seeing the field of battle, told he saw a beautiful young man quite naked and mortally wounded, who begged of him that he might shoot him, which shocked the officer, who said, "God forbid! how can you imagine that?" He replied, that he had seen seventeen shot by an officer, and those who were ordered by him. The officer gave him a dram, which he greedily took, and no wonder, and put like a sack upon a horse, and carried to a house where there were wounded red coats who were most disagreeable neighbours to him; from that he was carried to an hospital, and thereafter to Anna Mackay's house, where there was very poor entertainment, but she did all she possibly could for him; by her care he was preserved, and is now healthy and strong.⁷⁶ When the red

upon these dismal matters, mentioned this circumstance of the ruffles, and their turning into ashes when touched.—R. F.

⁷⁶ Upon reading this paragraph, I plainly saw that MacDonald of Belfinlay behoved to be the person meant in it, and therefore I waited upon Belfinlay in the Canongate, (he being still confined with the sore leg,) at twelve o'clock on Tuesday, May 23. 1749. when I read, in his hearing, the above paragraph, and asked him questions about all the circumstances contained in it. to which he gave me plain and distinct answers. Belfinlay said, that he himself behoved certainly to be the wounded person meant in the said paragraph, but that it was not literally true that he (Belfinlay) desired the officer (Hamilton) positively to shoot him; for that he earnestly begged Hamilton *to have pity upon him, or to despatch him*. To which Hamilton answered, "Be not afraid, I don't believe the soldiers will shoot you." To this Belfinlay replied, "How can I expect that they will spare me more than those whom they are now despatching?" But Belfinlay mentioned not seventeen or any particular number. Then it was that Hamilton gave Belfinlay a cordial dram, (as Belfinlay himself termed

coats' wounds were dressed by a surgeon, one of the Prince's men begged he might dress him, to which he replied that he would willingly do it, but it was to no purpose, for he would be shot the morrow, which made the poor distressed crawl⁷⁷ in the night, on his fours, an incredible distance, by which means he escaped.

It is most surprising, and never can be accounted for, how the wounded, quite naked and without any kind of nourishment, lived so long in the open fields, the season being very cold. One instance is most remarkable, of one⁷⁸— who was disabled in both legs, and sadly wounded in many other places, partly. A soldier struck him on the face with the butt of his gun, which dung out his eye; when the general massacre was, he lay as if dead, and on the Saturday, an officer, viewing the field, cried, Were there any of them in life? to

it,) and interposed for his preservation. After this Belfinlay was put upon a horse, (not like a sack,) but astraddle, and was carried to a tenant's house in the neighbourhood, where there were wounded red coats, &c. From this house he was taken next day in a cart, and on his way to Inverness he fell in with Robert Nairn in another cart, and both of whom were thus driven to the door of the church in Inverness, where there were many prisoners confined; but the sentry would not allow them access, telling that his orders were, to allow access to no person whatsoever. Then they were driven (being still quite naked) to the hospital, where the nurse received them with great tenderness, making a bed for them near the fire, as she looked upon them to be of Cumberland's army; but next day, when the surgeons came their round, and took a note of their names, then the nurse became very surly and ill natured, and repented of her kindness to them. The surgeons reported them to some principal officer, who immediately gave orders to remove them out of the hospital, (where they had been only one night,) and one Captain Sinclair of General Ruth's regiment, who had been in the hospital before them. All the three were carried to a cellar below Anna MacKay's house, and orders given to take the blankets from them which they had gotten in the hospital. In three weeks Sinclair was removed to a room, having only a slight flesh wound.—R. F.

⁷⁷ This I have before heard of by report, and that this particular instance happened on the field of battle, from which the poor wounded man crawled, by favour of the dark night.

⁷⁸ Here, no doubt, is meant the singular instance of John Alexander Fraser, whose story is elsewhere more exactly narrated than above.—R. F.

which he answered: the officer gave him half-a-crown, and ordered him to be carried to a house, where the red coats mocked and ridiculed him, surprised to see such a sad spectacle, and gave him a halfpenny at parting; but the inhuman, ungenerous, most barbarous Campbells robbed him of all he got. After staying some days there, he was carried to his friends, and is now going on crutches.

As it is very wonderful that these men, sadly wounded, lay in the open air without any nourishment for so long a time, it is no less wonderful, that when any of the bodies were covered some days after their death, for none durst do it in a proper time, or carry them away,—I say it is wonderful that one was taken up twenty days after, and another twenty-eight days, and were without any corruption or smell in the least, as if they had died only that day they were taken up. But one exceeds all very much. A countryman, at the distance of two miles from the field, who had no concern with the Prince, was shot standing at his own door, where they were obliged to dig the ground and lay him, for none durst carry him to his burial place. Many months thereafter, his wife was disturbed in her sleep, with a voice crying, “Take up my body and bury it!” This she told to her friends the first and second time, for which they mocked and upbraided her, but the third time she told them she would do it if she should carry the corpse on her back, and about Christmas he was taken up fresh and carried to his grave. This being very strange, thought it proper to acquaint you. She was never disturbed since.

A young gentleman of distinction, mortally wounded, lying on the ground, was inquired at by Cumberland, to whom he belonged? to which he replied, To the Prince. Then he ordered one of his great men to shoot him, which he refused to do; and then another, who said he would not, nor could not do it. Then he applied to a common soldier, who obeyed him.

No doubt you have heard of a woman, in the Highlands, when in labour of child, with nine or ten women. A party acquainted their commander of it, who ordered that the house should be burned, with all who were in it. A Colonel who was there, but had not the command, on telling this, cried and shed tears, that such a barbarous action should be committed by any who were called Christians.

MacGillavry of Delcombie, who was not engaged with the Prince, being at two miles distance from the field of battle, without any arms, was attacked by dragoons, who obliged him to cast off all his clothes, and give them to them, to prevent their dismounting, his clothes being too good for them to part with; and then they shot him dead. If they had had but swords, and he one, he would have given two or

three of them enough of it.

The men of Glenmoriston and Urquhart were advised to go to Inverness, and deliver up their arms, upon solemn promises that they should return safe, with protections; which encouraged also those who were not engaged, to go. How soon they went there, they were put into a church, kept there close prisoners for a few days, and then put into ships for London. The few that lived with their sad treatment, were sent to the plantations. To whom the breach of this promise is owing, lies a secret betwixt the merciful⁷⁹ General and the beloved⁸⁰ Knight; for the one asserted he had allowance to do so, and the other refused: so that every body will be in a strait which of these good men's words they can doubt of.

The horses, cows and calves, ewes and lambs, goats and kids, were taken out of my Lord Lovat's country, the Aird, and Glenmazerin, and kept starving and crying, which was not agreeable to hear or see. The common treatment they met with was, a stroke from the soldiers, with, "D—n your soul, you rebel!" These poor creatures deserved to suffer, being highly criminal; and if any of them were sent with the great flocks from the Highlands, they (like the ill-gotten penny) infected and consumed all their kind in England; and no wonder, for many innocent persons were deprived of their all.

Six or seven weeks after the battle of Culloden, the party commanded by Major Lockhart in Glenmoriston, shot two old and one young man, a son of one of the former, when they were harrowing, and expecting no harm. Grant of Daldrigan, who took no concern with the Highland army, was ordered by Lockhart (his house being surrounded by soldiers) to gather his own and all the cattle in one part of the country, while Lockhart was harrowing and burning the other part; which being impossible for him to do against the time that Lockhart came back, he ordered him to be bound in hand and foot, erecting a gallows, stripped him naked, and carried him to the foot of the gallows, with the three corpses of the men they had killed the day before, like sacks, across on three horses, and hung the three bodies by the feet on the gallows; and they, at the same time, would have killed Daldrigan, had not Captain Grant, in Loudon's regiment, prevented it. They would hardly allow his wife time to take the rings off her fingers; but were going to cut off her fingers, having stripped her of her clothes, her house and effects being burned. And in the

⁷⁹ Here, no doubt, Mr Hay means the Duke of Cumberland.—R. F.

⁸⁰ Here Mr Hay certainly means the Laird of Grant, who is highly blamed in this particular affair.— R. F.

braes of Glenmoriston, a party there * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

by all the party; and Lockhart, in his way to Strathglass, shot a man, wading a water, with the Whig teacher's protection in his hand to shew him, without speaking one word: and the whole party *

* * * * * and left her on the ground almost dead.

All these are certain facts, which may be depended upon, being known by a person of good credit.

Campbell, an officer of militia, who was a chamberlain to Seaforth, with a party, went to Frazer of Kilbokies, who was not with the Highland army, and burned all his houses and effects they could not take with them, and took thirteen score of cattle, with many horses of the best kind. His loss was valued at ten thousand merks; and his wife, beng brought to bed fourteen days before, they forced her to fly, with a daughter in fever, to the open fields, where they lay that whole night, being very cold. For several days, they killed man, wife, and child, many miles from the field of battle. At five miles' distance, an honest poor woman, on the day of battle, who was brought to bed Sunday before, flying with her infant, was attacked by four dragoons, who gave her seven wounds in the head, through one plaid, which was eight fold, and one in the arm. Then one of them took the infant by the thigh, threw it about his hand, and at last to the ground. Her husband, at the same time, was chased into a moss so far, that one of the horses could not come out, where his rider shot him. The young infant who was so roughly maltreated is a fine boy. The mother recovered, and is living.

Three days after the battle, at four miles' distance, the soldiers most barbarously cut a woman in many places of her body, partly in the face. I am promised some more facts in a few days; but I did not incline to lose the opportunity of this bearer.

Though the running naked⁸¹ be commonly reported, I have not got an account of the certainty. I beg you may let me know when this comes to your hands.

[Here end the fifteen pages (4to) in the handwriting of the Rev. Mr

⁸¹ This refers to a story I have heard frequently reported, viz. that the soldiers' wives, and other women in the camp at Fort Augustus, should (quite naked) have run races, sometimes on foot and sometimes mounted, a-straddle, on Highland shelties, for the entertainment of Cumberland and his officers.— See *Scots Magazine* for June, 1746, p. 288, 1st col. —R. F.

James Hay in Inverness.]

Here follows an exact copy of the eleven pages (folio) in the handwriting of some unknown person.

SIR,—It was out of no disregard to your desire that I was so long wanting in performing my promise; but, to tell the truth, partly from laziness, but more from the reluctancy I had to renew my memory with that part of the tragedy I saw acted, on the retreat from the battle of Culloden, towards which place, Seatts, as well as me, were going to be only spectators: and I am quite sure my innocency would have brought me to that sudden death that many came by in the same way, not suspecting that there was a general massacre appointed; for, as I was not concerned on either side, I was under no fear whether to meet the troops or Highlanders, and accordingly I was resolved to go forward; but, luckily, Grant, one of the Prince's principal engineers, with whom I was well acquainted, begged of me to return, as the chase was pretty near; and, as it was by the speed of his horse he came off, that he made his observe when at some distance, and saw them destroy all, and give no quarters; and as this is indisputably true, it is as certain that these orders were only given by their General, when victory was determined on that side, and mercy claimed on the other—an unparalleled instance among the heroes of the very heathens: and yet, to shew that men in a low rank may be possessed with great souls, when dirt and mud wear the star, and that it was by such people of magnanimity and clemency the few that were preserved owed their lives, I cannot but mention one singular and particular instance of it, which I had from one Mackenzie, serving John Grant of Whitera, in Strathspey, (at least stays in the family,) where he has been for twelve or fourteen years, now only fit for herding or running errands, occasioned by an imposthume in his hands, and, as an idler, followed the Prince's army as they passed that country, and staid with them at Inverness till the day of the battle, at which time he was employed in taking care of some people's horses or baggage; but, in the retreat, some of the dragoons came up with him, to whom he cried for mercy and protection, extending his hands: to which one of them answered, "I see, my friend, thou art more an object than a fighting man, therefore, I will preserve your life, as my prisoner; so loose that belt that's about your middle, and run it about your hand, by the buckle;" which, when done, he took hold of the other end, and, leading him in that way a good distance, some of his comrades came up with him in the time, calling him by name, which I might remember, as it is Scottish, "D—n—n! why do you preserve the life of a rebel, contrary to orders?" And when some of them attempted the taking of it, he called that none should, but at

the expense of his, seeing he was his prisoner, and that he would account for his conduct; and, at the same time, telling that he committed no murder that day, for which he thanked his God; but that, when the affair was in dispute, he fought as well as any of them, and that if he was the Duke of Cumberland, he would assume more honour and glory in taking no life but what was killed on the field of battle. Now, as to the Generals, there's a circumstance as odd, with respect to their tyranny, which I had from no worse author than a favourite of the General, and a partisan in that cause, and Quartermaster to Sempil's regiment, that, as he had a command that day upon horseback, he was concerned in the chase: That, about two miles from the field of battle, he came up with a gentleman, staggering in his wounds, to whom he spoke the language of his dress; on which, the poor gentleman took hold of the skirt of his coat, where he shewed me his blood, and then earnestly begged he would protect his life, which, in consequence of his wounds, could not last long, but that he would use that time in recommending his soul to God; but that a certain General came up at the time, nameless, as he termed him, cried out, "D—n you, Shaw! do you mean to preserve the life of a rebel?" Upon which, he found it necessary to give the spur to his horse, and forsake his supplicant, whom he saw, in an instant, cut to pieces. The third day after the battle, I intended to have gone the length of the field; but, on travelling little more than a mile, I was so shocked with the dismal sight I saw, in that distance, of the carnage made on both sexes, that I returned; and, pretty near Stonyfield, I saw a beggar,⁸² with his meal poke about his neck; and, at a half-mile's distance from that, a woman, stripped, and laid in a very indecent posture; some of the other sex, * * * *

On my return, I came by the King's Milns, and discovered some of that people, at whose doors there were twelve or fourteen corpses lying, all stripped, and some of them laid in indecent postures; and when I, under my breath, or with a low voice, said, that it was an ugly sight, I was answered, that it was as much as their lives were worth to disapprove of it. Nor was it but the smallest part of the cruel scene their eyes and ears were disturbed with, for upwards of twenty-four hours; for, as they were eyewitnesses to the massacre made on those unlucky people, they were likewise unhappy in hearing their cries and groans for a whole night, and a good part of the next day, when they could not offer or give the assistance some of them wanted and called for; and that both officers and soldiers desired they should lie there, and die in pain and misery. They, at the same time, told me

⁸² Some word must be omitted here. It was so in the original. —R.F.

that they had a wounded woman in one of their houses, and an infant, whom they found at his mother's breast, when she was dead; and when the soldiers killed her, that they had carried the infant several yards from the dead body, but that it had crawled afterwards to it. I saw, betwixt the King's Milns and John Clark's park, a boy, betwixt ten and twelve years of age, and his head cloven to his teeth. I was told by some of the Strathspey men, or Grant's militia, that, on their way to Inverness, several days after the battle, particularly by Grant of Milntown, that he observed an old beggar, pretty near the water of Nairn, and not far from the common road, his fingers chopped off, and several cuts in his head, lying dead, unstripped, because all the clothes he had were not worth twopence, for any use; and that he believed he was upwards of four score, as he had neither teeth in his head, and little or no hair on it, and that owing to his age, as he believed. He likewise observed a dead woman; and, according to the best of my memory, it was eight days after the battle he observed these corpses.

I was committed to the d—d guard, where I lay eight days; and, even in that bounds, I saw enough of tyranny and oppression, a part of which I think was acted against a widow gentlewoman, a young lady sent from the country to her education, and boarder with this woman, and the servant maid, all three lying in the common guard room for twelve or fourteen days, exposed to all the rudeness these polite people inclined to shew; for * * * *

I was from thence transported to their main guard, and then to the Provo's, where I lay about four weeks, on an information that I was disaffected, and assisting the rebels: but, by the time I was committed to this last prison, they were a good deal fallen from their rage and fury; so that the unlucky people that were quite stripped had got some duds to cover their bodies, such as soldiers' old vests and breeches, which indeed made them very happy, particularly one Lindsay,⁸³ a young man from Perth, who was decked up in a very odd dress, all of his own spinning; for he had not a thread left on him either of wool or linen cloth; so that he very artificially covered himself, from top to toe, with ropes, wrought of straw; and, indeed, I

⁸³ I know this gentleman. His name is James, second son to Lindsay of Dowhill. He was a shoemaker in Perth, and joined Lord Strathallan's corps. He was carried to London, where he was condemned; but at last he obtained a remission, and is now living in London, following the business he was bred to, and he meets with great encouragement.— R. F.

can never think of it without laughing, and no wonder, for those in the most dejected condition could not forbear smiling at the sight of this uncommon dress.

No physician or surgeon were admitted, for some weeks, to any of the jails where the wounded lay; and although Lauder and Rattrie⁸⁴

⁸⁴ John Rattray, brother to Craighall, and surgeon in Edinburgh. After the fatiguing march towards Nairn, and back again to Culloden, Mr Rattray had gone to Inverness, and thrown himself upon the top of a bed, and was asleep when the action began. Some person, upon hearing the cannonading, awaked Mr Rattray, who made all the haste he could towards the field; but in his way he met Sir John MacDonald, (an Irishman,) to whom he said, "Sir John, I need not ask you a question, for I see by your countenance how affairs have gone. If you think I can be of any use, I will go forward to the field of battle." To which Sir John answered, "For God's sake, Mr Rattray, go not; for they are hewing down all before them, and are giving no quarters, and it is not possible you can be safe. You had, therefore, best return with me to Inverness; for, as I am a French officer, I have nothing to fear, and am to give myself up as their prisoner: and, as you attended the army only as a surgeon, you have as little to fear; and, therefore, you may deliver yourself up with me." Mr Rattray did so; and when standing on the street of Inverness, my Lord Cathcart, (Mr Rattray's acquaintance,) passing by, looked at him, and, wagging his head, said, "Mr Rattray, I am sorry to see you here. I am afraid it will go hard with you." This made Mr Rattray lay his account with the worst. Several of the officers came up to Mr Rattray, and upbraided him, saying, "By G—d, sir!" or, "D—n you, sir! we know well what you are,—the Pretender's physician. If any one hang, you shall." At last, he and Mr George Lauder were put into the church of Inverness, where many wounded and naked prisoners were; but all their instruments, and every thing that could be useful to the wounded, were carefully taken from them. This bore hard upon Rattray and Lauder; for they had the mortification to witness the groans and moanings of the wounded, who stared them in the face, and cried for help from them, when it was not in their power to give them the smallest relief. Mr Rattray and Mr Lauder were removed from the church to some other prison in Inverness. When President Forbes came from Skye to Inverness, he made his addresses to Cumberland, in behalf of Mr Rattray. At last, with much difficulty, the President got a present of Mr Rattray, to do with him what he pleased; but Cumberland soon took his word again. Upon Rattray's liberation, Lauder was in excessive distress, to be left behind his companion;

of Edinburgh, were prisoners in the same house with me, where we had some gentlemen miserably wounded, particularly one Cameron of Callard, yet these two gentlemen were, at the peril of their lives, discharged to give the least assistance or direction about the dressing of any man's wound. I was at last sent on board one of the ships, where I saw every one in the most deplorable condition, particularly the commonality, who amounted to about four score or one hundred, all confined to the hold, lying and sitting on the bare stones that were ballast, all of them in a most sickly condition, and some dying every day. There was a ladder to carry up such as were able * * * * *; but there were a great many that could not attempt the ladder with weakness, and severals that did come up had great difficulty to perform the journey through the same infirmity. There was a sentry

which affected Rattray so much, that he would not leave Culloden House till he should see what could be done for Lauder. The President paid his levee a second time, in the way of request, and procured Lauder's liberation.

N.B.—The liberation of Rattray and Lauder was the only favour the President ever received for his extraordinary services; and yet he was soon affronted, even in this matter. Mr Rattray came to Edinburgh on the 18th or 19th of May, 1746, Mr Lauder having come to it some days before him. When Mr Rattray was in Culloden House, the President asked him many questions about the Prince, as to his person, his looks, his manner, &c. At last the President spoke these words, "Well, John, say on, as to his courage?" Mr Rattray, in a surprise, looked at the President, and answered, "Courage, my lord! I never thought his courage could be called in question." Soon after Rattray's and Lauder's arrival at Edinburgh, a messenger was despatched by Cumberland, to make them prisoners once more, and to carry them to London. Accordingly, they set out for London on May 28th, 1746, and continued prisoners, in a messenger's house, till about January 7th thereafter. The President, in his way to Edinburgh, got notice of their being made prisoners a second time, which shocked him not a little. After coming to London, they found they were to be set upon, to become evidences, and agreed between themselves that Rattray should speak all, Lauder being a very free communer. However, the courtiers happening to say it was necessary that there should be evidences, the government could not be served without them, there was nothing in it, &c. George could not hold his tongue. He said, "Ay, very true. It is necessary to have a hangman; but who the devil would be it?"—a most pat saying, and much to the purpose.—R. F.

placed on deck at the mouth of the hold, and when any of the prisoners attempted to come up the ladder to ask any necessary without leave asked and given, or if as much as their nose appeared for the benefit of the air, the sentry made use of his ropes, or, rather term it, cat with nine tails, to such perfection, and with such cruelty, that I have seen them fall from the top on the bare stones, where they would lie for some time moaning, which gave fine diversion to the soldiers and commander; for I have heard him often cry out at the end of the tragedy, “Well done, by G—d!—do your duty!”

When I got aboard, I was ordered to get down to the hold, which indeed frightened me; but upon strong solicitation, I was indulged the forecandle, where a few that were taken up on the same footing with me, were indulged too, and even there we could not keep ourselves free of the vermin that the poor people were overcome with. This and the dismal state they were in with respect to the want of health, and even the necessaries of life, for they had no more than half-pound meal allowed each in the twenty-four hours, for four or five weeks, which the master and mariners declared that they believed not a man of those poor people but would have died if they were kept ten days longer on the same allowance; and that accordingly, he and some of the other shipmasters had represented this, and that likewise they would desert their own ship rather than see so many die through famine; upon which there was half-pound more meal allowed. I assure you there is nothing of this represented by me worse than it was, nor would I believe that they were so very ill if I had not seen it with my eyes. I was not many minutes aboard when I began to inform myself about what treatment I might expect; and when I asked what they did with the bodies of those people that were dying, they told me that I would soon see that; for as there was one man in my sight almost dead and some others dying, that the dead body and living person would probably be tied together and thrown over. I was accordingly asked that evening to see this piece of cruelty; but as I had not the resolution to witness it, I have taken that part on the testimony of some very honest men aboard, such as one John Hossack of Fochabers, &c. who were on board all the time the ships lay here. I forget the master’s name, but the ship where he and I was, was the Thane of Fife.

[Here end the eleven pages in folio.]

N.B.—Both the original of the fifteen pages in quarto, and that of the eleven pages in folio, are to be found among my papers. They have no date or subscription— R. F.

INVERNESS, *24th March*, 1749.

SIR,—When at the same time I indulge you with an answer to your letter concerning the particulars you mention therein, I hope neither you or your friends who may have seen the account I am now to give of these particulars, will impute my conduct to disaffection to the government, or out of resentment to particular persons. I assure you the case is otherwise: I do it to satisfy your curiosity, and furnish you with indisputable facts which I find are greatly aggravated in your good town to the disadvantage of our army in general, and to the reputation of persons of distinction in particular; at the same time, every person who wishes well to our happy constitution, must with regret think the proceedings of our army in this country shocking and unprecedented. I think so myself; and as my station and employment under the government, and my endeavours to support it in the late times of danger, puts it out of the reach of malice to traduce me in the modern way with the name of a Jacobite, which appellation the wrong heads and bad hearts never miss to bestow on those that dare speak truth and differ from them, and give their dissent to all that is oppressive and illegal, I shall therefore proceed and give you a brief account of what you desire to be informed of, so far as consists with my knowledge, and shall begin with the remarkable escape of Alexander John Fraser, commonly called Maclver.

This man was an officer of the Master of Lovat's regiment; he was very early shot through the knee at the battle of Culloden: he was carried off in the heat of the action, and left at a dike side pointing towards Culloden House. Some hours after the defeat of the Highland army, he, with other seventeen wounded officers of that army, (who were either carried or made their escape towards a little plantation of wood near to the place where Fraser lay,) were carried to the close and office-houses of Culloden, where they remained for two days, wallowing in their blood and in great torture, without any aid from a doctor or surgeon, though otherwise kindly entertained by Mr Thomas Stewart, chamberlain and chief housekeeper to the late Lord President; and this he did to some at the hazard of his life. The third day, Fraser and the other seventeen wounded officers were, by a party of soldiers, under the command of a certain officer, put on carts, tied with ropes, and carried a little distance from the house to a park dike, and there planted against the wall, or park dike, when the officer who commanded the party ordered Fraser and the other prisoners to prepare for death, and all who were able bended their knees and began to pray to God for mercy to their souls. In a minute the soldiers who conducted them were ordered to fire, which they did, and being at the distance only of two yards from the breasts of

the unhappy prisoners, most of them all expired in an instant; but such was the humanity of the commanding officer as thinking it right to put an end to so many miserable lives, that he gave orders to the soldiers to club their muskets and dash out the brains of such of them as he observed with life, which accordingly they did; and one of the soldiers observing John Fraser to have the signs of life after receiving a shot, he struck him on the face with the butt of his musket, broke the upper part of his nose and cheekbone, and dashed out one of his eyes, and left him for dead. In this miserable situation, a certain young nobleman, riding out by the house of Culloden and park dike, observed some life in Fraser, and, calling out to him, asked what he was; he told him he was an officer in the master of Lovat's regiment. This young Lord offered him money, saying, he had been acquainted with his colonel; upon which Fraser told him he had no use for money, but begged for God's sake either to cause his servant put an end to his miserable life, or carry him to a cot-house, which he mentioned, at a little distance. This the young Lord had the humanity to do, and Fraser being put in a corn kilnlogie, where he remained for three months, and, with the assistance of his landlord, is so far cured as to be able to step upon two crutches, and is now a living object and witness of what I here relate to you. There is something farther remarkable in this man's case: upon his return to his country, he found his wife and children stripped of all their means and effects by the army, and preparing to beg from house to house, and he received a letter that his wife's brother, who was a surgeon to his trade, had died in France, and by his will, which he had left in the hands of his trustees at London, he, Fraser, in right of his wife, was entitled to upwards of four hundred pounds sterling as her share of her brother's effects; and which sum he accordingly received, in the month of May, 1748, and which, you may easily believe, in some measure supports him in his present miserable state of body, deprived of the use of his limbs, his arm, and one of his eyes. And with respect to what you want to be informed of, concerning the cruelties used the first and second days after the battle of Culloden, on the field of battle, I find there are several things aggravated, even in that particular. It is certain that a resolution was taken, that it was not proper to load or crowd this little town with a multitude of wounded and incurable men of our enemy's; and, therefore, a party was ordered to the field of battle, who gathered all the wounded men from the different corners of the field, to one or two parts; and there, on a little rising hillock or ground properly planted, they were finished, with great despatch: and this, you and every body else must own, was, as to them, performing the greatest act of humanity, as it

put an end to many miserable lives, remaining in the utmost torture, without any hopes of relief. The house you mention was no other than a little cot-house, where goats or sheep used to shelter in cold nights; and to this hut, which is about a quarter of a mile's distance from the field of battle, many of the wounded men crawled in the night time; and being there found by the soldiers, the door of the hut was shut, and a fire put to the different corners of the hut, and every person there, to the number of thirty-two, including some beggars, who flocked to the field of battle for plunder, perished in the flames. I find you have a just account of the usage our two Provosts met with. The one received kicks upon kicks, and the other was forced to execute the servile office of mucking his own stable, for the conveniency of the dragoon horses; and the wags of our town distinguish them by the names of, the Kick and the Muck, or Dirt, Provosts. I am, &c.

N.B.—Saturday afternoon, June 17th, 1749, Mr William Gordon, bookseller in Edindurgh, called for me, when he received from me Dr Burton's performance, in which I pointed out several omissions of circumstances, which the Doctor actually has in his collection; but I refused to fill them up. At the same time, Mr Gordon delivered to me a copy of the preceding letter, from Inverness, he allowing me to take a transcript of it for my own use; and I promising to return his copy as soon as possible, which accordingly I did, on Friday, June 23, by the hands of James Mackay, servant to my Lady Bruce. I know not as yet who is the author of the letter; for Mr Gordon did not mention him to me, and I did not ask him about the author of it R.F.

Copy of a Paragraph of a Letter (dated January 4th, 1748-9) from the Rev. Mr George Innes, in Forres, to me, Robert Forbes, A. M.

Though I doubt not but you will still entertain the same notion of me you expressed formerly, viz. "that I am the most sauntering, dilatory correspondent you ever met with;" yet I cannot allow you to drop me altogether; at least I resolve, if possible, not to drop you. I must, therefore, tell you that, after a number of disappointments, too many to relate here, I have at last drawn up what I think a well vouched narrative of the facts relating to your process, from the time it was brought back to this country to the day when the fatal interlocutor was passed, which I have had by me for some time, waiting in vain for a proper bearer to transmit it to you. But what I chiefly wanted I have never yet been able to procure, viz. a full and particular account of what was done in consequence of that interlocutor. Of this, I say, I have only got a few hints, which, however, I think may be depended upon as genuine. But now, I am

afraid all these will come too late to be of any use to you; and, therefore, unless you bid me, I shall not trouble you with them. Please, then, to signify your mind to me, soon after the receipt of this, as I expect to find a proper bearer in a few weeks.

N.B.—The original of the above is to be found among my papers.—R. F.

Copy of a Paragraph of a Letter, (dated January 16th, 1749,) in return to the preceding Paragraph.

I still retain the old opinion of you, that you are a very dilatory correspondent; but, then, my friend, what is well done is soon done. Pray lose no time in sending me, by some sure hand, what you mention; for it will be most acceptable. Correspondents can never superabound with me, in that point. I must own I liked much your caution and scrupulosity; for every thing should be as well vouched as possible.—R. F.

N.B.—In the end of 1746, or in the beginning of 1747, the foresaid Mr George Innes had (altogether of himself) made a promise to his own cousin, the Rev. Mr George Cheyne, Deacon, that he (Innes) would use his endeavours in making up as exact a narrative, or journal, as possible, of the Prince's affairs in the North, before, at, and after the battle of Culloden, and that he would transmit the said journal to me. As the promise proceeded altogether from Mr Innes's own good will, without any the smallest suggestion from me, I therefore expected the more exact and faithful performance of it. After waiting a long time, to no purpose at all, I at last writ him several short notes, wherein I used him with much freedom and plainness. We made choice of writing in a dark way, calling the matter a process of mine, because letters were frequently opened in the post offices—R. F.

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Mr George Innes, in Forres, to me, R. F.

R. D. B.—As I wrote you some time ago, I expected to have found a bearer from this country whom I could have trusted with a packet for you, viz. your acquaintance, Miss Peggy Gedd, who at that time intended to have been soon in Edinburgh; but, her journey being so often put off, I begin now to think that she will not go before Whitsunday, and, therefore, must defer sending you some of the things you want, till some other cast up. Meantime, I send you two sheets of a narrative, which, when you have perused, I shall be glad to have your opinion of; and would have sent you more, but did not care to risk the whole at once, especially by a bearer that I am not well

acquainted with. Let me know if you think, by the enclosed, that the rest will be worth sending you. I have been much troubled, these several months past, with sore eyes, which renders writing very uneasy to me; therefore beg you will return me these scraps when you can, as I have not a correct copy of them.

There is a little performance, in imitation of Dr Arbuthnot's upon Charteris, said to be done in this country, about the time of the battle of Vall, at which time, indeed, I saw it, which you may call for from Miss Gedd's sister at Edinburgh, to whom she is to send it. I wish you a happy Easter, and ever am, R. D. B. yours very affectionately,

GEO. INNES.

March 15, 1748-9.

Copy of the two sheets of a Narrative, mentioned in the preceding Letter.

When the Prince's retreat from Stirling came to be known at Inverness, Lord Loudon and the President made a show, as if they intended to maintain themselves in that important place. The Laird of MacLeod, and Monroe of Culcairn, had taken up their quarters at Forres, from the time of their defeat at Inverury, and had pretty well recruited their respective corps. Two hundred of Sir Alexander MacDonald's men had likewise joined them; but, upon the news of the Prince's march, they were all called in to Inverness, where, with the Grants, Mackenzies, Gunns, London's regiment, and others, they made up, in all, a body of about two thousand men. The Duke of Cumberland did certainly expect that these would have been sufficient to have done the business in the north, for a letter from him was intercepted at Huntly, telling Loudon that he had dispersed the rebels, and that it was his positive orders to make head against them, in case they should attempt any thing more; but Loudon and the President knew better how the case stood. They did not trust their own men; and had sure enough intelligence that the Prince's army was not so much dispersed as was given out. Therefore, they caused throw up some sham intrenchments on one side of the town; but their main design seems to have been, the surprising of the Prince's person,⁸⁵ which would not only have ruined his cause, but would likewise have entitled them to the £30,000. For this purpose, when he came to MacIntosh's house, within a few miles of them, the whole posse marched out of Inverness, very secretly, in the night; and had it

⁸⁵ The exact agreement in the several accounts of this affair, by persons who could not compare notes with one another, is truly remarkable.—R. F.

not been for the care of his female friends, 'tis very probable they might have succeeded in their attempt. Some of these at Inverness despatched a messenger to inform him of his danger; and at the same time his landlady, without knowing any thing of the design, had ordered one Fraser, a blacksmith, a trusty stout fellow, who lived hard by, and knew all the road, to keep a sharp look-out the whole night, as there were but a very few of the Prince's people with him at her house. Accordingly it happened that Fraser discovered the enemy, upon whom he immediately fired his piece, and had the presence of mind to cry out, as if he had had a party near, to advance, for the dogs were coming up, which so alarmed them that immediately they turned tail, and made the best of their way to Inverness. But though they missed catching the Prince's person, they hurt his health very much by this attempt; for, upon getting the alarm, he ran hastily out of bed to call up his men, and, as it was a keen frost, contracted thereby such a cold as stuck to him very long, and, I may even say, endangered his life, which was one great reason of his staying so much at Inverness afterwards, to the great detriment of his affairs in other places. However, he advanced next day, and no sooner came in sight of Inverness than Loudon and his party retreated in a great hurry, by the ferry of Kessack, to Ross, and afterwards to Sutherland; and in a few days after, Major Grant surrendered the castle, which was of no considerable strength, and was garrisoned only by one company of regular troops, and two or three companies of the above-mentioned militia, who had neither skill nor inclination to defend the place. Yet the governor was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and discharged the service, one of the officers who were evidences against him having sworn what was not only false, but impossible in fact, viz. that he saw the Highlanders drawn up at the market-cross, and would not allow to fire on them, whereas the whole streets, except a little of the Kirk Street, were entirely covered, and not a man upon them could be seen from the fort. Meantime, Lord George Murray came up with the other division of the army by the way of Aberdeen, and a detachment was immediately sent off to besiege Fort-Augustus, which they soon took, and afterwards laid siege to Fort-William, Lochiel and all the Highlanders being very anxious to have the country cleared of garrisons, which would have engaged the clans in those parts, young and old, to turn out. But they were not provided with the necessaries proper for attacking so strong a place, and so were obliged to raise the siege with the loss of several brave men. At the same time the Duke of Perth went in pursuit of Lord Loudon and the President, and having got boats from the Murray side, very narrowly missed

surprising them all at Dornoch, where Major M'Kenzie and some others were taken; but Loudon, the President, M'Leod, and Culcairn, got off, and went most of them to the Isle of Sky, where they remained till after the battle of Culloden. Lord George Murray likewise marched to Athol; but I am not well informed of the particulars of that expedition. It is said that he urged the Prince very much to send him a reinforcement of one thousand Highlanders, promising, on that condition, to give a good account of the Hessians. But that proposal was overruled, it seems, by those at Inverness, who were quite bent upon reducing all in the North, in order to bring out the clans, and leave no enemy behind them. About this time some of Fitz-James's dragoons landed at Aberdeen, and it was said a good many more were then upon the coast, but did not know where to put in, as they expected to have found the Prince in the south of Scotland; and, within a few days thereafter, the Duke of Cumberland arrived there with his army, upon which the parties of the Highland army in that country retreated first to Huntly, and afterwards, upon the coming up of some regiments from Aberdeen, to Fochabers. A small detachment of Kingston's light horse, and of the Campbells, advanced as far as Keith, where they were surprised in the night, some of them killed, and the rest taken prisoners, most of whom were sent to France aboard a small vessel from Findhorn. Meantime money grew very scarce in the Highland army, which obliged them to disperse themselves up and down the country to raise the levy-money, cess, and excise, and to get in grain and meal for their subsistence. The Hazard sloop, which had been sent to France, was unluckily forced ashore by a man-of-war, upon Lord Reay's country, where a few gentlemen landed, with a considerable sum of money, most people say ten thousand pounds, all which, together with those that had the charge of it, was immediately taken by a posse of the M'Kays sent out by Lord Reay for that purpose. The Earl of Cromarty and his son were sent to Caithness to raise what money and friends could be got there; but they never returned, being taken at Dunrobin, in their way back to Inverness, much about the time of the battle of Culloden. And here I cannot but observe, that Lord Cromarty was the only person in the Highland army I ever heard of who caused burn a gentleman's house upon any pretence whatsoever. It belonged to Gordon of Carrol, factor to the Earl of Sutherland, who having promised to pay the levy-money, &c. against a certain day, instead of that went off in a boat to Aberdeen, whereupon Lord Cromarty gave orders to burn his house, which was of no great value, and every thing in it was carefully taken out and put into the office-houses for the owner's behoof. However, this procedure was very much condemned

at Inverness, and I believe is the only instance of that kind can be given. Since writing this I am informed that Carrol lays the whole blame of his house being burned upon Barrisdale.

The Earl of Findlater's factor being likewise ordered to pay his proportion of the levy-money, there came a very arrogant epistle from the Earl himself, then at Aberdeen, directed either to his factor, or to the Presbyterian minister at Cullen, (I do not well remember which,) insulting the whole Highland army, and particularly Lord John Drummond, who then commanded the forces at Spey, and forbidding to pay the levy-money, or any thing else. This letter being published, did so irritate Major Glasgow, that he went with a party and pillaged a good many rooms of Lord Findlater's house. It was at first given out that this was done by Lord John Drummond's orders, by way of reprisal for the innumerable things of that kind that had been, and were daily done, by the Duke of Cumberland's orders, and to try if the finding their own friends treated in the same way would put a stop to such practices for the time to come, but a gentleman of honour assures me that he heard Lord John refuse the having given any such orders, and Glasgow take the whole of it upon himself.

Soon after this the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and was actually at Banff ere any sure intelligence was got of his motions. For he had stayed so long at Aberdeen, and so many false reports of his having marched had been raised formerly, that at last his enemies turned quite secure. As a prelude to what was to happen afterwards, he caused hang a poor innocent man at Banff, and another at Boindy, within a mile of the former, on pretence of their being spies; though such as knew them affirm they had scarce wit enough to do their own country business, far less to play the spy. There likewise the army destroyed a fine chapel belonging to the Episcopal congregation, cutting down the roof, burning the seats, books, pulpit, and altar, and breaking the organ in pieces. And this was their constant practice all the way they marched, with this difference, that in country places they stayed not to take any thing out, but burned houses, Bibles, Prayer-books and all; as at New Durn, Clynhill, Keam of Duffus, and many others. And many, both officers and soldiers, have since declared, that all this was done at the instigation of the Presbyterians, and was indeed a genuine new edition of their father Knox's first reformation. The houses of a great many gentlemen that were with the Prince were likewise pillaged with the greatest rigour; and indeed facts of this kind were so many and notorious, that it were quite superfluous to condescend on particular instances. From Banff the Duke marched to Cullen, where, I am assured, he was lodged by the worthy Countess in the room of

the house that had suffered most, to shew their distress, and plead pity; and next day he crossed the river Spey without the least opposition, to the great amazement of every body who knew how deep and rapid that river was; for though it was fordable even by the foot, yet it is certain a very little opposition must have put his army into great confusion.

Let us therefore take a view of the other army, that we may the better judge whence this misconduct happened, and certain it is that the unfortunate Prince laboured under innumerable difficulties at that time, many of which were alone sufficient to have ruined his affairs; for, not to mention the private dissensions that had unhappily arisen among some of the great folks about him, he was in great want both of money and intelligence. Several Aberdeenshire gentlemen, who were confident that it was impossible for the Duke to move through their country without their being informed of it, were nevertheless within an ace of being surprised drinking in a gentleman's house in the Enzie, by the enemy's advanced guard, which was within a few miles of them ere they had the least notice of what was doing. This want of intelligence was of very bad consequence; for they who guarded the pass of Spey, under the command of the Duke of Perth and his brother, were obliged to march off in such a hurry that it both frightened and fatigued the men very much; and the Athol brigade, with Roy Stuart's regiment, who were posted farther up the river towards the Grants' country, had scarce time enough to get clear off. There was indeed a design of bringing the whole Highland army towards Spey in order either to attack that body of the enemy which lay at Huntly, or to dispute the passage of the river with them, should their whole army advance, and a part of the Frazers were actually on their march for that purpose. But the Duke of Cumberland had so good intelligence from his friends in Murray, that, before the scattered parties of the clans could be got together, he made a quick march, passed the Spey, as I have already told, on the Saturday, marched to Alves on the Sunday, and from that to Nairn on the Monday, where he rested Tuesday the 15th. There he gave an uncommon proof of his merciful disposition, for a poor fellow having been hanged up as a spy, upon assurances of his innocency, and at the solicitation of the Presbyterian minister,⁸⁶ he graciously ordered him to be cut down time enough to save his life.

⁸⁶ Mr Rose (when in Edinburgh at the General Assembly in 1748) owned the truth of this fact in all its parts to several persons who asked him about it.— R. F.

Meantime those under the Duke of Perth being joined by the other parties who were cantoned in Moray, made a considerable body at Nairn upon Monday, and stayed there till the Duke's army came pretty near, but wanting the clans, in whom their chief confidence lay. They continued their march in good order towards the house of Culloden, having Fitz-James's horses, the guards, and the hussars, covering their rear, and skirmishing sometimes with the Campbells' light horse, and dragoons, who had been sent to harass them. Notwithstanding the many expresses that had been sent to hasten their joining the Prince at Inverness, the clans were at that time so scattered that it was Monday night the 14th ere the Camerons arrived at the camp, and of them came only about half the number that had appeared at Falkirk, it being impossible to get such of them as lived in the neighbourhood of Fort-William to turn out till that place should be reduced. On Tuesday Keppoch's Macdonalds came up, as much reduced in proportion as the former. Clanranald had but a mere handful of his people. Cluny was still in Badenoch with about eight hundred men. The MacKenzies were with Lord Cromarty in Sutherland; as were the MacGregors, the MacKinnons, and a party of the MacDonalds, with Barrisdale; and the half of the Frazers were only on their march with their young chief, at the very time of the engagement: so that 'tis certain the Prince wanted upwards of two thousand of his very best Highlanders, even upon Tuesday evening, when his army was at the best. However, upon Monday night, he ordered them to form, and rest on their arms in and about Culloden parks, while the artillery and ammunition was brought out of Inverness. Upon Tuesday morning, the whole army was drawn up to Culloden Muir, and there formed in order of battle, consisting of a front and second lines, with a small reserve. All the men seemed to be in great spirits, expecting the enemy every moment. The Prince (who was dressed in a tartan jacket and buff vest) rode with his aid-de-camps from right to left, and addressed each different corps with a cheerful smile and salute, which they returned with loud huzzas, especially when any of the scouts came in with an alarm; and the alarm was given several times, on purpose to animate them. Thus passed the Tuesday, till towards the evening, when a general council of war was called, in which, after some disputes, it was resolved to march all night, and attack the enemy in their camp at Nairn, which was at about ten miles distance. It was agreed upon that the army should be divided into two columns—the one, consisting of the Clans, commanded by Lord George Murray, was to advance about a quarter of a mile before the other, in order to surround the town of Nairn, and form their attack on the east and north sides of the Duke's camp;

whilst the other column, consisting of the French and Lowland regiments, commanded by the Duke of Perth, was to attack them upon the south and west sides, all at one time. The night was dark, and somewhat foggy, which, no doubt, gave great numbers an opportunity to desert; and the ground through which they marched was very rough and uneven. However, they went on, till the first column was almost at a place called Kildrummie, within two miles of the Duke's camp, when, all of a sudden, they were ordered to wheel about and return to Culloden. Who, or what it was, that occasioned this unlucky retreat, I shall not pretend, with any certainty, to determine; but common report, and even the best authority I have yet met with, fixes it upon Lord George Murray. Some allege that the column he commanded had gone a little out of the way, and that being afraid he should not be able to reach the enemy before day-light, he advised with the gentlemen who commanded under him, and gave it as his opinion that they should retreat, to which, it is said, they unanimously agreed. It is likewise said that they heard the dragoons at Auldearn, two miles eastward of Nairn, beating their drums for saddles and bridles, which they took to be an alarm in the Duke's camp. Others give out that Lochiel was the first who proposed their marching back, on account of the great desertion he found among his men. But, be that as it will, certain it is the Prince was not consulted; and, though master of his temper beyond thousands, it is impossible to express the concern he was in upon meeting the Duke of Perth's regiment in their way back. Some positively say that he cried out, "I am betrayed; what need I give orders, when my orders are disobeyed?" He called for the Duke of Perth, who soon came up to him, and informed him that the other column had retreated, and that Lord George had sent orders to him, viz, the Duke of Perth, to return to Culloden.

He was very keen for sending orders to Lord George to return, but being told that Lord George was already so far on his way back, that it would be impossible to bring up the army time enough to execute the intended plan, he said, with an audible voice, "'Tis no matter then; we shall meet them, and behave like brave fellows." So back they marched, and arrived at Culloden about seven o'clock in the morning. The fatigue of this night's march, joined to the want of sleep for several nights before, and the want of food, occasioned a prodigious murmuring among the private men, many of them exclaiming bitterly even in the Prince's hearing, which affected him very much. Many of them fell asleep in the parks of Culloden, and other places near the road, and never wakened till they found the enemy cutting their throats. Great numbers of them went to Inverness, and other

adjacent places, to look for some refreshment; so that when certain intelligence was brought of the enemy's being hard at hand, I am assured there were not above a thousand men ready to appear on the field of battle: and this obliged them to draw up about a quarter of a mile farther back than they had done the day before, and on a much less convenient spot of ground. Such as were at a distance acted as their different inclinations led them; many of them no doubt endeavoured to provide for their safety by slipping off as fast as they could, whilst the rest hurried to the field of battle. About twelve o'clock the lines were brought to some confused form. On the right of the front line were the Athole brigade, Camerons and Stuarts, commanded by Lord George Murray; in the centre were the MacIntoshes, Farquharsons, MacLeans, MacLachlans, and Chisholms, commanded by Lord John Drummond; and on the left were the Frasers, and MacDonalds of Keppoch and Clanranald, commanded by the Duke of Perth. The second line, commanded by Roy Stuart, was made up of Lowlanders, French, Perth's and Glenbucket's regiments, and the reserve of Ogilvie's. The right wing was flanked by the life-guards, and the left by the hussars, which, except forty or fifty French dragoons ill-mounted, was all the Highland cavalry. But quite different was their appearance this day from what it had been the day before. The men were nodding with sleep in their ranks, and at least fifteen hundred fewer in number. Even the Prince himself, in spite of all his endeavours to the contrary, was not able to conceal that damp which his last night's disappointment had cast upon his spirits. And it is said, that he strongly suspected his designs had miscarried through treachery. On the other hand, the Duke's army posted themselves on an advantageous ground, making three lines, covered with cannon in the front, and dragoons on the right and left. They had likewise a reserve of dragoons, and some of these, with the Campbells, had taken possession of a park upon the Highlanders' right, in order to flank them either when they should advance or retreat. Some of Stoniewood's regiment assert, that Colonel Baggot had advised to post them along the outside of that park-dyke, which probably would have prevented a good deal of mischief these Campbells and dragoons afterwards did; but that Lord George Murray would not hear of it.

Both armies being now within cannon-shot of one another, the Highlanders took off their bonnets, and gave a great shout, which the enemy answered with a huzza. Then the Prince's cannon fired twice from right to left before the Duke's, but did little or no execution, only the dragoons on the left were observed to reel a little. Immediately

after that, the Duke's cannon began, and fired without intermission the whole time of the action. And though many of the balls went quite over the Highland lines, yet there is no doubt but such a long and uninterrupted fire killed a good many, especially after the cannon were loaded with grape shot, which was done upon the Highlanders advancing nearer. Matters looking thus but very gloomy, the Prince called a short general council of war, in which some proposed to retreat a little to the hills, till Cluny, the MacDonalds of Glengarry and Barrisdale, the MacKenzies, Frasers, and the other absent Highlanders should convene, these being a great part of the flower of the Prince's army. It was argued, that engaging with regulars so advantageously posted and completely formed, and so far superior in numbers, was a very desperate and unadvisable attempt; that there were not above five thousand of the Highland army on the field; whereas the other army, consisting of fifteen regiments of foot, and — of horse, besides a part of Loudon's regiment, the Campbells, and other volunteers, could not be much under ten thousand, and was given out to be fifteen thousand strong: that their whole cause depended on the issue of this battle, and therefore that they ought not to engage without some probability of success. It was likewise proposed to continue the cannonading for some time, until a detachment, which Roy Stuart offered to lead, should march privately about by the water of Nairn, and attack the enemy in the rear, whilst the main body advanced and attacked them in front: that this would not only distract the enemy, and be apt to throw them into confusion, but would likewise deprive them in some measure of the great advantage they then had, by having the wind and weather in their backs, which at that very time was exceeding stormy.

But, notwithstanding all these overtures and arguments, it was carried, to attack without hesitation, to leave their cannon behind, and to rush in sword in hand, as the only chance they had to discomfit the regulars, whom they had so often defeated in that way. The Prince was quite against fighting,⁸⁷ and the only time it was that ever he appeared to be of that opinion. But he behaved to yield, and accordingly orders were given to the respective officers, to cause the men keep up their fire till they could do certain execution; and then upon the first fire to throw away their guns, and attack sword in hand. The Highlanders were yet at a considerable distance, and the enemy's cannon playing upon them all the time, with ball: but when they came within three hundred yards, the regulars loaded their cannon with grape-shot, and kept a continued running fire of their

⁸⁷ This appears to me not to be true.—R. F.

small arms upon them so long, that it is surprising they did no more execution. In advancing, Lord George Murray had inclined a good deal to the right, probably to avoid being flanked by the dragoons; but this occasioning a gap towards the left, the MacDonalds were in danger of being surrounded, which made them stop, till the Duke of Perth's and Glenbucket's regiments were drawn forward from the second line to make up the line. Meantime the right, being battered with cannon and small arms in the front, and by the Campbells from the park-dyke in the flank, fell into disorder and went off, and suffered more in their retreat than they did in advancing. The centre of the Highlanders at the same time fell in with a part of the enemy's left, broke Barrel's regiment, and drove all before them, and took two of their cannon.⁸⁸ But the right wing having fled, and the left having stopped till the two regiments above mentioned should come up, another regiment came up to the support of Barrel's, and the centre of the Highlanders was almost surrounded.⁸⁹ Then all went to wreck.⁹⁰ The Prince was forced off the field by O'Sullivan and others about him. The Duke of Perth, who commanded the left, having at the beginning of the action observed the disorder of the right wing, rode gallantly along the whole line to see what could be done; but before he could return the rest of the army had fled. The officers of the MacIntoshes suffered prodigiously, but not so many of the private men as might have been looked for from their dangerous situation. The greatest slaughter was in the pursuit; for Lord Ancrum, who commanded a regiment of dragoons and Kingston's light horse, spared few or none. 'Tis hard, if not impossible, to say what was the precise number of the killed on either side. The best accounts of the loss in general that I have been able to get, are from a Presbyterian minister, who lives within a few miles of the place. He tells me, that one of the surgeons of the Duke's army, a very sedate, grave man, had counted all the bodies that lay on the field of battle as exactly as he

⁸⁸ This, I believe, is a mistake; for the right wing it was (under Lord George Murray's command) that broke the left of the enemy, and took two of their cannon, as appears from other accounts.

⁸⁹ The late Glenalladale told the Rev. D. Macintosh, that he saw the Major of the Macintoshes a gun-shot past the enemy's cannon at Culloden muir. The Major's name was MacGilivrae.—*Note by Bishop Macintosh on Forbes Papers.*

⁹⁰ At this point ended the manuscript first delivered to Bishop Forbes. A part, which he notes as having received March 12, 1750, follows.—ED.

could, and informed him that the killed on both sides amounted to about seven hundred and fifty; of which he did not doubt but the one half were of the regular troops, and that he did not believe the number of the slain, both in the field and in the pursuit, exceeded twelve hundred. Among these, on the Prince's side, was that loyal and brave gentleman, the Viscount of Strathallan, who, resolving to die in the field rather than by the hand of the executioner, attacked Colonel Howard, by whom, 'tis said, he was run through the body. His character as a good Christian, setting aside his other personal qualities and rank in the world, as it endeared him to all his acquaintances, so did it make his death universally regretted.

But the most shocking part of this woful story is yet to come,—I mean the horrid barbarities committed in cold blood, after the battle was over. I do not now precisely remember how many days the dead bodies lay upon the field to glut the eyes of the merciless conqueror; but certain it is, that there they lay, till the stench obliged him to cause bury them. In the meantime, the soldiers, like so many savages, went up and down, knocking such on the head as had any remains of life in them, and, except in a very few instances, refusing all manner of relief to the wounded, many of whom, had they been properly taken care of, would undoubtedly have recovered. A little house into which a good many of the wounded had been carried, was set on fire about their ears, and every soul in it burnt alive; of which number was Colonel Orelli, a brave old gentleman, who was either in the French or Spanish service. One Mr Shaw, younger of Kinrara, in Badenoch, had likewise been carried into another hut with other wounded men, and amongst the rest a servant of his own, who, being only wounded in the arm, could have got off, but chose rather to stay, in order to attend his master. The Presbyterian minister at Petty, Mr Laughlan Shaw,⁹¹ being a cousin of this Kinrara's, had obtained leave

⁹¹ Perhaps it may be true, that Mr Laughlan Shaw (as well as cripple Sandy Shaw and the surgeon) went to the field in quest of his wounded kinsman; but Mr James Grant was mighty positive in asserting the contrary. I could indeed well see that James Grant had great indignation at Mr Laughlan Shaw for not going instantly (upon receiving information) to the field of battle to seek out his own kinsman, and indeed, from this account of the Rev. Mr George Innes, it plainly appears, that the said Mr Laughlan Shaw was most shamefully dilatory in his motions, by his own confession. However, at any rate, Mr Laughlan Shaw's affirmation upon the point is a plain and strong proof, that the wounded Shaw, (the Badenoch man,) and several others, were cruelly put to death in cold blood.—R. F.

of the Duke of Cumberland to carry off his friend, in return to the good services the said Mr Laughlan had done the government; for he had been very active in dissuading his parishioners and clan from joining the Prince, and had likewise, as I am told, sent the Duke very pointed intelligence of all the Prince's motions. In consequence of this, on the Saturday after the battle, he went to the place where his friend was, designing to carry him to his own house. But as he came near, he saw an officer's command, with the officer at their head, fire a platoon at fourteen of the wounded Highlanders, whom they had taken all out of that house, and bring them all down at once; and when he came up, he found his cousin and his servant were two of that unfortunate number. I questioned Mr Shaw himself about this story, who plainly acknowledged the fact, and was indeed the person who informed me of the precise number; and when I asked him if he knew of any more that were murdered in that manner on the same day, he told me that he believed there were in all two-and-twenty. At the same time, they were busy at Inverness hanging up the poor men, whom they called deserters, many of whom had been obliged to list in the Highland army for mere subsistence, the government never vouchsafing to send any relief to such of their men as were taken, well knowing what a merciful enemy they had to do with. And so great was the pleasure they took in looking at these unhappy creatures, that they never buried any of them till the gallows was full, so that, I am credibly informed, there were sometimes fourteen hanging in it altogether. There was one Christie, who had been a sergeant in the government service, but was taken prisoner, I think, at Falkirk; and had afterwards joined the Prince, and was adjutant in the Duke of Perth's regiment. This man, I am credibly informed, was recommended to mercy by the whole court-martial that sentenced him, because it appeared at his trial that he had offered to the officers who were taken at that time, to be their conductor if they would attempt to make their escape; but so great was their thirst for blood, that no mercy was to be found.

Their treatment of their prisoners may easily be guessed at, from what I have already said; and indeed history, I believe, can scarce afford a parallel to it. For some days it was dangerous for any person to go near them, or to pretend to give them the least relief; so that all of them, especially the wounded, were in a most dismal state. And after they were put on board the ships, numbers of them died every day, and were thrown over board like so many dogs; and several of them, I'm told, before they were really dead: yea, one of them, 'tis said, came alive to shore near Kessack, though, as to this last circumstance I will not be quite positive. But the best idea I can give

you of their usage, is by transcribing part of a letter from one of themselves, an authentic copy of which lies just now before me. The writer was one William Jack, sometime a merchant, and after that a messenger at Elgin, who had been with the Prince, and was taken prisoner some weeks after the battle, and sent aboard one of their ships from Inverness to London. The letter was directed to several of his friends at Elgin, and came in common course of post. Though his style be none of the best, I choose to give it you in his own words:

“GENTLEMEN,—This comes to acquaint you, that I was eight months and eight days at sea, of which time, I was eight weeks upon half a pound and twelve ounces oat-meal, and a bottle of water in the twenty-four hours, which was obliged to make meal and water in the bottom of an old bottle. There was one hundred and twenty-five put on board at Inverness, on the James and Mary of Fife. In the latter end of June, we was put on board of a transport of four hundred and fifty ton, called the Liberty and Property, in which we continued the rest of the eight months, upon twelve ounces of oat sheelin as it came from the mill. There was thirty-two prisoners more put on board of the said Liberty and Property, which makes one hundred and fifty-seven: and when we came ashore, there was only in life forty-nine, which would been no great surprise if there had not been one, conform to our usage. They would taken us from the hold in a rope, and hoisted us up to the yard-arm, and let us fall in the sea in order for ducking of us; and tying us to the mast and whipping us if we did any thing, however innocent, that offended them: this was done to us when we was not able to stand. I will leave it to the readers to judge, what condition they might be in themselves with the above treatment. We had neither bed nor bed-clothes, nor clothes to keep us warm in the day time. The ship’s ballast was black earth and small stones, which we was obliged to dig holes to lie in to keep us warm, till the first of November last, that every man got about three yards of gross barn filled up with straw, but no bed-clothes. I will not trouble you no more till I see you. There is none in life that went from Elgin with me, but William Innes in Fochabers; James Brander, in Condloch, died seven months ago; Alexander Frigge died in Cromarty Road; John Kintrea, that lived in Longbride, died also. Mr James Falconar is well, and remains on board of a ship, called the James and Mary, lying off Tilbury Fort. I am, gentlemen, your most humble servant,

(Signed) WILL. JACK.”

“*Tilbury Fort, March 17th, 1747.*”

“P. S—I keep full as good heart as I ever, and have done during all

my confinement; yea, even when I was in a very bad situation: if it had not been so, I should not been in life, for the fish of the sea should got my bones to gnaw, for they would got nothing else. From such another sight good Lord deliver me! for it's impossible to describe the condition we was all into; for you should thought we had no intrails within us, and all our joints of our body as perceptible as if we were cut out of stone or wood. God be with you all!"

Directed to Messrs James Sutherland, Alexander Skeen, Alexander Alves, James Peterkin, and William Griggan, at Elgin.

From this letter you may easily see wherein consisted the great lenity of the government to their unfortunate prisoners, viz. in starving and murdering them in the most barbarous manner, that it might not be said there were many brought to public execution. And indeed, their public executions were the least part of their cruelty.

I should now return to Inverness, where almost innumerable other instances of barbarity were perpetrated; but I suppose you have got better accounts of them from other hands. I likewise intended to have sent you particular histories of the cruelties of Major Lockhart, Caroline Scot, and others, which they exercised throughout the Highlands; but the gentlemen who promised me particular and well vouched accounts of these things, have never yet made good their word; and I don't care to write you bare hearsays. I shall therefore only tell you one piece of Caroline Scot's conduct, by which you may judge of the rest; and it is, his hanging up three men at a mill-spout, in Lochaber, two of them named Smith, and the third Grant, after they had come and surrendered their arms. The truth of this I was assured of, by a captain of militia in the government's service, who saw the three men hanging.

N. B.—The original of the above, in the hand-writing of the Reverend Mr George Innes, at Forres, is to be found among my papers R. F.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Forbes, to the Rev. Mr James Hay, in Inverness, by the hands of the Rev. Mr George Innes, returning from Leith to Forres.

R. D. B To your extraordinary favours I made a return upon the 13th of May last by post, which I hope you received in due course. I now gladly embrace the opportunity of a gentleman travelling north, who lives within twenty miles of you, and who promises to have this letter carefully delivered into your hands. In my former letter I used cautious and general expressions, such as I hoped you would easily understand; but, now being sure of my bearer, I am to write plainly

and openly, without any manner of reserve. I return you my most hearty thanks for the several sheets you transmitted to me by the hands of honest Mr Baillie, who observed great care in delivering them to me. I earnestly beg, you will be mindful of the promise you are so good as to make of sending me more of the same kind; for I am exceedingly anxious to make my collection as full and complete as possible. As I highly value your narratives, they being the most important, and of a very extraordinary nature, so I could wish they were most minute and circumstantial. In the sheets I have already received, you have omitted giving the names of some persons, which, in the event of a history, are necessary to be had, in order to strengthen and fix the facts against all contradiction and cavilling; for, in a point of fact, one can never be too strict and nice. Suffer me then, dear sir, to point out your several omissions, under separate heads, in the way of questions, to which I beg plain and distinct answers, if in your power to give them. To make you easy where giving of names may be a point of delicacy and danger, I do assure you of the utmost secrecy, and that they shall not be mentioned by me in any shape, till a safe and proper opportunity appears of publishing dangerous truths, and when that may happen, God only knows. I hope you will take my meaning well enough.

I keep my collection in a concealment always, so that I am not afraid of its being seized by enemies, and it is not every friend I allow to see only the bulk and outside of my favourite papers. I wish I had the happiness of conversing with you face to face, and then indeed I could fully satisfy myself as to every single circumstance and ace of the never to be forgotten transactions, in and about your place; but I must even content myself with a conversation now and then in the epistolary way. To come to the purpose in hand.

1. Can you give me the name of that servant- maid, that held a dragoon's horse, in a close in Inverness, till the said dragoon murdered two low-countrymen? Can you procure me the name of the said dragoon, and the names of the said two low-countrymen thus murdered?

2. Can you give me the name of that gentleman, who, confined to bed in a high fever, had his throat cut by some dragoons, and who the said dragoons were? This happened in Inverness.

3. Ewan Mackay (as you write the name) has been written to me by another thus, "Mackvee, alias Cameron." Which of these is right, or, are both in the right, as Highlanders use frequently to have different names? If he was really a Cameron, of what tribe of the Camerons was he? and, what is his father's name, who now (you say) is reduced

to be a common beggar? I am the more particular about this Ewan, because it plainly appears, he has been one of the greatest of heroes.

4. What is the name of that one of a considerable character, who gave Provost Hossack such a severe kick, or toss, at the head of the stair.

5. When your meetinghouse was burnt, were any Bibles and Prayer Books, burned with it? This I have had affirmed by some; but how true, you must best know.

6. In one paragraph you write thus: "I was told by a person of credit, that a woman in great want saw them burying bread," &c. Pray, good sir, what is the name of that person of credit, your informer in this particular point? In the same paragraph you say, "that both one of Cumberland's soldiers, and a gentleman belonging to his army, did tell, there were some wagons of poisoned bread." Now, can you find out the names of the said soldier, and of the said gentleman, and to whom they made any such declaration and acknowledgment? A discovery of these particulars would prove of no small use.

7. In another paragraph you write thus: "A gentleman, who was long prisoner in Inverness, told me, that he saw an officer, winter 1746, when it was excessively cold, &c. give half-a-crown to the soldiers to go in a very cold night and extinguish the prisoners' fire," &c. What is the name of the said gentleman who told you this, and the name of the officer who hired the soldiers to do such a hardship?

8. You inform me, "that all the officers of Blakeney's regiment, except three, were extremely cruel," &c. Pray, let me have the names of the three that were so singular and courageous in being good.

9. You write, "that an officer was heard more than once say, that he saw that day (Friday) seventy-two killed, or, as he termed it, knocked on the head. He was a young captain." Pray, can this young captain's name be given, and what regiment he belonged to?

10. I suppose the beautiful young man, quite naked, and mortally wounded, who received the dram from the officer, and who at last was carried to Anna MacKay's house, to be Ranald MacDonald of Bellfinlay, fellow-prisoner with Mr Nairn. Am I right in my supposition or not?

11. What is the name of that wounded man, who crawled in the night, on his fours, (as you word it) an incredible distance, by which means he escaped?

12. You blank one's name, whom you mention to have been

disabled in both legs, and sadly wounded; that a soldier struck him on the face with the butt of his gun, &c.; that he still lives, and is now going on crutches. This person, so disabled and wounded, I take to be one John Fraser, whose particular history was lately printed at Edinburgh. Am I right or not? The said John Fraser was taken out of Culloden house, with eighteen or nineteen more, and were all set up at a park dyke, and shot at by a party of soldiers, &c. and none survived the massacre but the said John Fraser only.

N. B.—Can the said John Fraser give the names of all, or of any, of the eighteen or nineteen that were set up with him at the park dyke, &c.? Can he give any account of the party that performed the execrable deed, as to the regiment they belonged to, and the names of the officers who commanded the party?

13. Can you give me the name of that man whose body was taken up twenty days after being covered, and the name of that man whose body was taken up twenty-eight days after being covered, both which bodies were without any corruption or smell in the least?

14. Can you give me the name of that man who, at his own door, two miles from the field, was shot dead, though he had no concern with the Prince, and whose body was buried at the said door, and was taken up fresh about Christmas, at the importunity of his wife? I hope you will have no difficulty to find out the name of this man, and likewise the name of his wife, both which I am very desirous to have, as also the name of the place of their abode, at the door of which the poor man was shot.

15. Can you give me the name of that young gentleman of distinction, who, being mortally wounded, lying on the ground, was inquired at by Cumberland, to whom he belonged, and upon his answering, "To the Prince," Cumberland ordered the said young gentleman to be shot, which accordingly was done by a common soldier?

16. Can you name the place where the woman was in labour, nine or ten women attending her, who were all burnt alive in the house, by orders? Can you give the name of the said woman in labour, and the name of her husband? Can you find out the party, and the name of their commander, who perpetrated the execrable deed?

17. Can you name the two old men, and the young-man (a son of one of the said old men) in Glenmoriston, who, six or seven weeks after the battle, were (when harrowing) shot by Major Lockhart's party? As Grant of Daldrigan was forced, in a naked condition, to witness the hanging up the corpses of the said three men by the feet on a gallows,

so, no doubt, he can give their names.

18. Can you give me the name of that gentlewoman in the Braes of Glenmoriston, who, being big with child, was * * by a party? You likewise mention tenants' wives * * at the same time with the said gentlewoman by all the party. Can you find out the names of any of the said tenants' wives, and the party who did the monstrous shocking facts, and the names of the officers who headed the party?

19. You say, "Lockhart, in his way to Strathglass, shot a man wading a water with the Whig teacher's protection in his hand to shew him." Now, what was the name of the said man thus shot? You end this paragraph thus, —"And the whole party * * * * * all these are certain facts which may be depended upon, being known by a person of good credit." Now, dear sir, can you procure me the name of the said woman, who was * * * * *

What is the name of the said person of good credit, to whom the said certain facts, which may be depended upon, are known?

20. What is the name of that woman, who, being brought to bed on Sunday before the battle, fled on the day of battle with her infant, and was attacked by four dragoons, who gave her seven wounds in the head, &c.? You mention that one of the dragoons took the infant by the thigh, and threw it about his head, &c.; that the husband of the said woman was chased into a moss, &c. Now, what is the name of the said husband, and what is the name of the place of his abode?

21. You mention, that three days after the battle, at four miles' distance, the soldiers most barbarously cut a woman in many places of her body, particularly in the face. What is the name of the said woman? to what regiment did the soldiers belong, and by what officer or officers commanded, when they so cut said woman?—I have now done with the paper in your own handwriting, which is in quarto, and I come to the other paper in folio, which is in the handwriting of some other person.

22. What is the name of the person who writ the said paper in folio? This I want to know, because the said writer (from his own words) appears to have been an eye-witness of some facts.

23. The said writer says, he might remember the name of the dragoon, as it is Scottish, who saved the life of the poor lame man (MacKenzie) by causing the poor man take hold of one end of a belt, and he (the dragoon) taking hold of the other end of the belt, and so leading the poor man on, &c. Now, I wish I had the name of the said dragoon; for 'tis pity the few good should not be recorded.

24. The said writer of the folio paper mentions one Shaw, quartermaster to Sempil's regiment, who appears to have been a generous, humane gentleman. I could wish to have the said Shaw's Christian name.

25. The said writer tells, that when at the King's Milns, the third day after the battle, discoursing with the people there, in one of their houses they had a wounded woman. Can you give me the name of the said wounded woman? At the same time the people of King's Milns told the said writer, that they had likewise in one of their houses an infant, whom they found at his mother's breast (*horresco referens!*) when she was dead, &c. Pray, is it possible to get the names of the said murdered mother, and of her poor infant, which infant, it seems, is still alive? I heartily wish I had their names.

26. The said writer mentions a widow gentlewoman, a young lady, (boarder with the said widow,) and a servant maid, all three lying in the common guard-room for twelve or fourteen days exposed to all the rudeness, &c. Now, can you give me the names of the said three women? For their treatment was an offence to nature, and a violation of common decency.

Thus, dear sir, have I, with the utmost freedom, cut out work in plenty for you, and I hope you will not grudge your labour in giving me full and satisfying answers, where you can possibly make them out. I keep a copy of this letter, that I may compare it with your return, which you may write (for the greater exactness) in the same order of heads as you find herein observed. You will be heartily tired in reading this scribble, which I have been obliged to write in some hurry, rather than to miss so good an opportunity of conveyance. Fail not to gratify me in all my requests; for, in so doing, you'll do remarkable services to the cause of truth, and lay me under particular obligations to you. With best wishes to you and yours, I ever am, with the utmost sincerity and esteem, my dear sir, your most affectionate brother, and very humble servant,

ROBERT FORBES.

Leith, August 28th, 1749.

Tuesday, July 3d, 1750.— I, R. F. received a letter from the reverend Mr James Hay at Inverness, containing in it eight pages in quarto, in the handwriting of said Mr Hay; and three pages in folio, in the handwriting of some other person, perhaps of David Taylor, wright in Inverness, as would appear from the tenor of the paper.

Copy of part of the. foresaid letter from the reverend Mr James Hay at Inverness.

R. D. S.—As I have been expecting to get a sure bearer, but found none, I have ventured to send the enclosed by post: pray, let me know when it comes to hand.

June 30.

Copy of foresaid eight pages in quarto, in the handwriting of said Mr James Hay.

ANSWERS TO YOUR QUERIES.

1. Margaret Grant, a servant maid in town, was commanded by one in the habit of a dragoon, to hold his horse on the street, when he went into the Well-house, and killed two unarmed men who fled there for protection: he was one who came first into town after the battle. When Margaret Grant heard the poor men's cries, she ran away from the horse, and at some distance saw him come out and take his horse, and go to Mr Hay, the minister's house, where he told he was a volunteer from the county of Cumberland come out to fight for his religion and liberty, and that he had a billet upon that house, for ministers had always good things. He had blood upon him: his name was Rea. The volunteers being abhorred and disregarded by the officers, who believed they did nothing but go with stories to Cumberland, that house was appointed by the quartermaster for others; and Rea, being turned from one bed to another, was told by his landlady that she had no more beds, and said he was ill rewarded. He replied he was so: he had dropt into that affair without thinking, as many others had done, and was it to do again, they would not get one for ten; to which she replied, that she was very glad. His return was that he believed that he would not leave the house; was very obliging to the family. Upon his being desired by his landlady to get a youth into the kirk to see a near relation who was prisoner, he went willingly, and ordered the guard to let in that youth. The soldier told him he was ordered to let all men and boys in, but none out, upon which Rea pulled him back, and said he could not get in at that time, of which he advised his landlady, which prevented others going there. The soldier's name cannot be known.

2. The gentleman killed by the dragoons in Inverness was James Aberdeen, merchant in old Aberdeen, who had a wife and six children. It was in widow Davidson's house; the dragoons' names cannot be known.

3. I am told Ewan MacCay, not Kay, to be of the MacCays of Ha, an old tribe of the MacIntoshes from Davidson; his father's name is

Donald; they lived in Lochiel's lands.

4. When General Hawley commanded that all the ports in town should be shut, that no rebel might escape, and that the meetinghouse, with the seditious preacher in the middle of it, should be burnt, General Husk said, it was his opinion that the meetinghouse should be taken down, and the timber given to the ovens, as there was great scarcity of firing. When provost Hossack said, they should mix mercy with judgment, as their enemies were now at their mercy, Hawley said, "D—n the puppy! does he pretend to dictate to us? Carry him away!" and another cried, "Kick him out!" which Sir Robert Adair did on the top of the stairs, with such a force, that he did not touch them till he was at the end of the first flat.

5. The meetinghouse was not burnt, but taken down. The soldiers went to Mrs Hay with the books, cups, flagons, paten, and gown, and said they were come to give her the first offer of these, because they were her own. She offered so much, which they rejected, saying, their Duke knew they were not to work for nought; upon which she said, He had another way to pay them, than by her effects. In the meantime, the officers forbade her to buy them, for they would take her money, and return for them as they had done in other places. It was not known that any meetinghouse or effects were destroyed until they came into town.

6. There can be no exact account got of the poisoned bread; the gentleman's nor soldier's name (I mentioned) cannot be known, and the person of credit had it only from hearsay.

7. See the paper enclosed.⁹²

8. Lieutenant Hugh Fraser in Blakeney's regiment, Captain Urquhart and Lieutenant Ward in Barrell's, did all the good offices in their power for the prisoners. I refer this to the paper.

9. The young captain who was heard more than once say, that he saw seventy-two killed, was young MacLeod.

10. Your conjecture about Bellfinlay is right.

11. The man who crawled from the field of battle, to the house of Cautray, was Donald Dallas, Cautray's lieutenant: it's about two miles. He has recovered.

12. The gentleman whose body was taken up twenty days after it was covered with a little earth, was James Dallas of Cautray, a loyal, kind, brave young man, who raised his company at a great expense to

⁹² The three forementioned pages in folio.—R. F.

serve his royal master.

13. The other was Alexander MacGillivray of Drumnaglass, who was more than six weeks unburied and without smell. He was colonel of the (Clan Chattan) MacIntoshes in this country: I may add many have not produced a finer youth. Had all acted the part that these two gallant young gentleman did, with Golice MacBain, Major Angus MacIntosh of Far, Alexander MacGillivray, and Robert MacGillivray, all three captains, (who fell upon the field,) and the rest of that clan, with some others, that day would have brought forth other things than it did.

14. Alexander Young in Inches, not knowing of a battle that day, was with his yoked plough, two miles from the field of battle, who upon seeing the retreat advance, he went speedily towards his house, whom Kingston's horse followed, and shot in the leg, and went after him into the house, and shot him dead, and a son about eight or nine years of age they shot also. An elder son made his escape by going into the next room, and, making a hole in the wall, saved himself. The said Alexander and his son's corpses were covered with earth near his house, until about Christmas, when they were taken up and carried to Inverness, to their burial place, without any disagreeable smell. The poor disconsolate widow's horses, cattle, and effects, were taken away, and she borrowed money to buy some of them back.

15. The gentleman lying on the ground wounded, was young Inverallachy. It was told by the soldiers that one officer of distinction, and then another, were ordered by Cumberland to shoot that man, which they refusing to do, Cumberland inquired of a common soldier, if his gun was charged? he replying it was, Cumberland ordered to shoot that man, which he did. His corpse lies yet on the field of battle,—a place, in the opinion of some of his friends, preferable to the finest burial place.

16. 'Tis impossible for me to find out the place where the woman in labour of child-birth, with nine others, were burnt alive, it being in the Highlands. Colonel Desaing told it in Banff, and thanked God that he was not the person who commanded there; and Mr John Stuart,⁹³

⁹³ I myself heard the said Mr John Stewart (some time in summer, 1747) declare in general, in the house of my Lady Bruce, in the citadel of Leith, that many strange cruelties, shocking things, had been done by the red-coats, in the Highlands, after the battle of Culloden. In summer, 1747, the said Mr John Stewart had come up to Edinburgh with Keppoch's son, a young boy, whom the Duchess dowager of Gordon had desired to have, to give him his education.—R. F.

the presbyterian teacher in Lochaber, told that it was true, and consisted with his knowledge.

17. Hugh Fraser, and James his son, about eighteen years of age, and John MacDonald, were shot (when harrowing) by Lockhart's party in Glenmoriston. Daldrigan was forced, in a naked condition, to witness the hanging up the corpses of the said three men by the feet on a gallows. Old Lady Glenmoriston witnessed this, whose house and all her effects were burnt. The first party that went to her after that threatened to take her plaid and napkin from her, but by importunity they left them; but the second party took her napkin, and the third party her plaid, so she was left destitute of both.

18. The above named lady says, she was informed that Isobel MacDonald, in Glenmoriston, * * * by some of Major Lockhart's party, while her husband, Alexander MacDonald, (skulking) did see it; and Kathrine MacDonald, in Knoidart, big with child, * * * with many more whose names I cannot get.

19. Hugh Fraser, who had Mr Chisholm, the presbyterian teacher in Kilmorack, in the Aird, his protection, was shot dead by Lockhart's orders,—I always mean the famous Major; and when Mr Chisholm spoke to Lockhart about him, he said he would do so with him.

20. The woman brought to bed, Sunday before the battle, was Elspet MacPhail, in Gask; her husband is Donald MacIntosh, and the child born on Sunday, is Alexander, whom one of the dragoons took by the leg or thigh, and threw it about his hand, not head.

21. Paul MacBain, near Faillie, his wife, Jean Clerk, had her nose slit, and head cut, out of which came several bones; it's impossible to get the officers' or soldiers' names, for none durst ask them questions.

The author of the paper in folio,⁹⁴ tells me he satisfied you about the rest of the queries.

ADDENDA.

The women running races at Fort Augustus, having no clothes but their shirts, and women upon horses, some with short coats, others with soldiers' coats, who, by turning of the stoup, fell from the horses, which was fine diversion to Cumberland and his h-l-ish followers, is a certain fact which many do assert.

⁹⁴ James Grant, merchant in Inverness, who formerly sent me a paper in folio, in his own handwriting. —R. F.

Three men of Glenco, going to deliver up their arms at Fort William, were ordered by the famous Caroline Scot to be hung over the mill-spout with the ropes of a salmon net, which was done until they died.

Lieutenant Parsons, in Blyth's regiment, travelled from the one end of Lockerchat to the other, and saw not horse, cattle, sheep, goat, or any man or woman, until he came to the end of it, where there were in a hut seven dead men. Upon one saying to him that these men had starved for want of food, he answered, No; but by holding out his hand, discovered it was by shooting them.

Alexander Thomson, gardener in Culloden, and William Ross, griever there, declared that there were sixteen or seventeen wounded men taken out of a byre at Culloden, by a party of men commanded by an officer to whom the griever applied for a young boy, whom he asserted could not have carried arms; but the officer said he could not leave him: however, he left him at last, and the rest were thrown into carts and wagons. The persons who saw this, believing the poor wounded were to be carried to the town to an hospital, saw them taken up to the field of battle, where they were all shot. The officers' nor soldiers' names cannot be known. The above named men may be believed, as they wished well to Cumberland, of whom they would not designedly tell a bad thing.

All the wounded on the field of battle were killed on the Thursday, and the wounded in houses were carried to the field on Friday, where they were killed.

You are right about John Fraser, but as I have no acquaintance where he is, I cannot answer your queries about him.

Copy of the forementioned three pages in folio, &c.

A memorial of David Taylor, wright in Inverness, his usage and confinement after the battle of Culloden, being the 16th April, 1746, when many were killed in cold blood, and at three or four miles distance from the field, besides many beggars they met on the highway; and, next morning, they killed all the wounded that lay in that field. This I was told by Bellfinlay, who was providentially saved by an officer, who came by when two soldiers were disputing, the one for saving and the other for killing him: this officer took a cordial out of his pocket and gave him, and had him carried to the next houses, and next day to an hospital; and as the soldiers were rude to him, Doctor Adair had him and Mr Nairn carried to a private place, where he ordered care to be taken of their wounds; and some good gentlewomen took care to get all necessaries conveyed to them. The

evening of the battle they set a little town (farm buildings) on fire, where they burnt a great many wounded, whose bodies were a most melancholy sight next day; and, on the Friday, being the third day after the battle, they gathered all the wounded they found in the houses, and other where about Culloden, and carried them to the field, where they set them in rank and shot them.

The next morning after the battle Robert Mathies, servant to Governor Caulfield, came with a party and planted one sentry within my house, another without, and one at my shop door, ordering them to let nothing out, where they continued for two months. About ten o'clock in the morning of the day after the battle, five of General Blakeney's officers took possession of my house, where they messed for two months; when their followers took and demolished what they pleased. And when they left the house, they carried, by way of borrowing, all the furniture they thought useful for themselves, but never returned any.

On the 27th April I was taken up by an officer and put into the tolbooth, which was full of wounded and dead men; and all the room that twenty-five of us had was a little place called the Justice of Peace loft; and no person durst come to give any support to these wounded for nine days, until the judge advocate came and caused carry away the dead, and ordered a pound of meal a-day to each prisoner.

On the 2d of May, forty-five of us were guarded down to the harbour, and shipped aboard of a small sloop; and as the sailors looked on us from the quarter-deck, the carpenter called me, and told me that their hold was already full of prisoners, and that how soon they came to the road, we were to be divided betwixt four other ships, and only four of us to be kept, and that they made choice of me, and desired that I should pick out other three, and they would do their best for us: I humbly thanked them, and told them I would. How soon we came to the road, it happened as they said, and in this sloop I was most civilly used. The master's name was Thomas Niele, of Alloa: he was very good to the prisoners in general; and as there was no officer on board but a Serjeant's command, I got the favour of a dozen of prisoners on deck at once, till they came all by turns from morning till even, for they were in a most miserable condition in the hold; besides, he gave them a pound of meal a-day, when Walker, ship-master of Leith, gave them but half a pound a-day, and had near to three hundred prisoners that were sick. On the 30th May, we sailed down to Cromarty road, where I was liberated by Mr Bruce, judge advocate; and after coming home, I was taken up by captain Massie, one of the officers that messed in my house, on a second

signed information given in to General Blakeney; one of these signers was Forsyth, merchant in Cromarty, a man that knew nothing of me. Then I was put up into the clerk's chamber, in the town-house, with Messrs Halden and Irvin, two young gentlemen, who died of their wounds. The last of June, MacNiel of Barra, Glenbuicket, younger, Doctor John MacDonald, a brother of Kinlochmoidart's, and I, were put up to a higher room by the judge advocate. And at the end of July, orders came to ship off all the remaining prisoners that were then in jail, when orders came to stop me from being shipped. After the prisons were cleaned out, I was brought over to the tolbooth, and some wounded that were carried on blankets. After this came on my greatest hardships and misery, the number of prisoners daily increased, and new hardships always put on us, no access to us, no pen, ink, or paper allowed. The middle of September, my wife and two children fell into fevers and great sickness, of which my wife died; when several strong petitions were given to General Blakeney, and strong solicitations made to him, and any security he could ask, for to allow me go under a guard to see my dying spouse; but his cruel heart would not allow me, though a minister offered to secure his person in my place until my return; and likewise offered him any security the magistrates or town could give, but nothing would do with him: he told I was most active in the Rebellion, and if I had a hundred wives dying, that he would not allow me to go to see them without orders from Lord Albemarle. At this time, and still after, we are under the greatest hardships, a great number of sentries within and without. Two officers (Lieutenant Jo. Ward, in Ballero's, and Lieutenant Hugh Fraser, in Blakeney's regiment,) confined and suspended for allowing two poor women come into the prison.

The last two days of October and first of November was my trial before the sheriff, when a great number of witnesses were examined; when I was brought these three different days to the town-house under a strong guard, and a vast number of witnesses were examined in my absence. Captain Dunlop of Blakeney's regiment, a Scotsman, was my principal persecutor as a lawyer, and did not allow the sheriff to ask one query; he interrupted me in every word I spoke, telling me I was too much indulged when I had liberty to be present at the examination of a witness; and at last he told me he would send for a drumstick to gag me. This Captain Dunlop has put the prisoners under all the hardships possible he could. In December, he ordered his Serjeant to put out and take away all our candles; and had it put in orders next day, that no fire or candle should be allowed into jail. In this dark condition were we in, until Captain Urquhart's turn came to be captain of the guard, who sent his serjeant to ask if we wanted

to light our candles, this must be thought very comfortable to distressed prisoners who were in the dark in this season of the year. I had almost forgot Colquhoun, fort adjutant, who sat the whole time of my precognition, starting a great many new articles not libelled; but none of the witnesses could say but they were all pointedly paid their wages; nor was there a shilling to be asked by any workman or labourer, or for materials of any kind, within the town of Inverness, as far as I could find out, before the Prince and his army went to the field. On the 23d of April, 1747, I was set at liberty by the return of a petition, sent to my Lord Justice Clerk, upon giving a thousand merk bail.

Several ladies, gentlewomen, and others in this town, were very kind to the prisoners: some both clothed and fed the poorer sort; and several contributions of money were sent the gentlemen, and there would have been a great many more good deeds of this kind done them, had it not been the terror that Dunlop, and those of his disposition, put them under.

N.B.—The original of the Reverend Mr Hay's forementioned letter to me, and the original of the forementioned eight pages in quarto, in the hand-writing of the said Mr Hay, and the original of the forementioned three pages in folio, are to be found among my papers—R.F.

Copy of a letter from a gentlemen in London to his friend at Bath.

SIR,—Before I set out for Scotland, you may remember you importuned me to make inquiry about several remarkable transactions within a certain memorable period of time, particularly the case of John Fraser; the printed account of which is looked upon by many in England as wild and romantic. In compliance with your repeated desires, I made it my business to find out the truth, and (woe's me!) I discovered much more than ever I imagined to have been done. The printed account of John Fraser's case is not only literally true, but likewise there are several remarkable circumstances in his history not yet known in England. I shall endeavour to give you a specimen of my discoveries, such as is consistent with the bounds of a letter; for to give the whole would serve to make up a volume.

John Fraser, commonly called Maclver, an officer in the regiment commanded by the Honourable the Master of Lovat, was, about the beginning of the battle upon Drumrossie muir, shot through the knee, and was carried off in the heat of the action to a park wall pointing towards the house of Culloden. Some short time after the battle, he and about eighteen other wounded officers of the Highland army (who had made their escape towards a small plantation of wood

in the neighbourhood of the place where Fraser was lying) were carried to the area of Culloden house, where they remained two days in the utmost torture, wallowing in their own blood, and without any of the smallest assistance from physician or surgeon; but they met with very kind and compassionate treatment from one of President Forbes's doers, Mr Thomas Stewart, who performed acts of beneficence to the wounded in and about the house of Culloden, at the hazard of his own life. Upon the third day Fraser and his companions were tied with ropes, and thrown into carts, and then carried to a park wall at some small distance from Culloden house. There they were dragged out of the carts like dogs by the soldiers, and ranged in order close along the park wall. Then the commanding officer of the party cried to the unhappy gentlemen to prepare for death, and those who had any use of their limbs, fell down upon their knees, and began to pray to God for mercy to their poor souls, but, alas! (*horresco referens!*) they were scarce allowed any time for that purpose, for in a minute the soldiers received the word of command, *to level their pieces, and to give fire*, which was instantly done; and, as they were posted at the distance only of two or three yards from the breasts of the prisoners, they could not well fail to perform the service completely. However, that this butchery in cold blood should be performed in the most leisurely way, and to make sure work on't, the commanding officer gave orders to the soldiers to club their muskets, and to dash out the brains of such as were not quite dead, which accordingly was done to the best of their observation. Most of them expired in an instant, and needed not a knock on the head; but though Mr Fraser had received a shot, yet he was still in life, which one of the soldiers observing, he struck Fraser on the face with the butt of his musket, broke the upper part of his nose and cheekbone, dashed out one of his eyes, and left him for dead. All this exactness of procedure proved vain and ineffectual as to Mr Fraser, who appears to have been pointed out by Heaven not to fall a victim at this time to infuriate rage and cruelty, but to live a monument of such a deliberate massacre as would make the remotest savages blush at the infamy. The slaughter thus finished, the soldiery went off, and left the dead bodies above ground.

Lord Boyd happening to ride out that way, and seeing so many dead bodies, turned his eyes towards them with some attention. One of them he spied at a small distance from the rest, and observing him to be in life, called out to him, and desired to know what he was. The poor mangled man answered, that his name was John Fraser, and that he had been an officer in the Master of Lovat's regiment. Lord Boyd said, he was well acquainted with his Colonel, and made an

offer of money to him. Mr Fraser thanked him, and told him, he had no use for money, but begged him, for God's sake, to cause his servant either put an end to his miserable life, or carry him to a cottage at a small distance, which he named. The first part of the request was not a little shocking to this young Lord, but he ordered his servant to carry Mr Fraser to the place he had named, where he lay concealed in the bottom of a kiln for about three months; in which time (under God) with the assistance of his compassionate landlord, he became so well recovered of his several wounds and bruises as to be able to step about upon crutches, and is still a living object and witness of this interesting, dismal narrative I now transmit to you.

To render his case still worse and worse, upon returning to his own house, poor Mr Fraser found his wife and children stript of all they had in the world by the soldiery, and making ready to beg their bread from door to door! What heart is there so steeled in wickedness as not to drop a tear? But, behold, admire, and adore the wonderful hand of Providence, that brings about unexpected reliefs in the greatest extremities of distress. While Mr Fraser is sorrowfully viewing the desolation of his empty house, and weeping over the miseries of his hungry and starving family, he receives a letter, advising him, that his wife's brother (a surgeon by profession) had died in France, and, by his will in the hands of trustees in London, had bequeathed to his sister, Mrs Fraser, upwards of four hundred pounds sterling; which sum Mr Fraser accordingly received payment of some time in the month of May, 1748, from the hands of an attorney in Edinburgh,— a most providential and seasonable supply indeed; and which serves to make out a moderate subsistence for him, in his present miserable state of body, deprived of the use of his limbs, one of his eyes, and being lame, too, in one of his arms.

Upon Thursday, the day after the battle, a party was ordered to the field of battle to put to death all the wounded they should find upon it, which accordingly they performed with the greatest despatch and the utmost exactness, carrying the wounded from the several parts of the field to two or three spots of rising ground, where they ranged them in due order, and instantly shot them dead.

Upon the day following, (Friday,) parties were ordered to go and search for the wounded in houses in the neighbourhood of the field, to carry them to the field, and there to kill them, which they did, as in the case of John Fraser and his fellow prisoners. To the honour of some particular officers (whom I could name) be it remarked, that by their clemency some few of the wounded were saved.

John MacLeod of MacLeod, junior, esquire, has had the honesty

and courage to declare oftener than once, that he himself saw seventy-two killed in cold blood.

At a small distance from the field there was a hut for sheltering sheep and goats in cold and stormy weather. To this hut some of the wounded men had crawled, but were soon found out by the soldiery, who (immediately upon the discovery) made sure the door, and set fire to several parts of the hut, so that all within it perished in the flames, to the number of between thirty and forty persons, among whom were some beggars, who had been spectators of the battle in hopes of sharing in the plunder. Many people went and viewed the smothered and scorched bodies among the rubbish of the hut. Sure, the poor beggars could not be deemed rebels in any sense whatsoever.

In several parts of the Highlands in Scotland the soldiery spared neither man, woman, nor child, particularly those under the command of Major Lockhart, Caroline Scott, &c. The hoary head, the tender mother, and the weeping infant, behoved to share in the general wreck, and to fall victims to rage and cruelty by the musket, the bloody bayonet, the devouring flame, or famishing hunger and cold! In a word, the troops sported with cruelty. They marched through scenes of wo, and marked their steps with blood. Believe me, sir, this is far from exaggerating. It is in my power to condescend upon particular instances of these more than Neronian cruelties, which I am ready to do when called upon by proper authority—to bring to light, not the hidden things of darkness, but monstrous transactions, that were deliberately perpetrated in face of the sun by gentlemen, and (shall I say it?) Christians! In all I have said, I have omitted one thing, which is, that even the yet unborn babe (I tremble to relate it) felt the effects of the fury of our *military butchers!*

I am afraid I have been too long upon the gloom, and therefore I shall shift the scene a little, and touch upon something that is farcical, if I dare take upon me to call any thing farcical that rubs upon dignities. But if *dignities* will affront and insult *dignities*, let them answer for it at whose door the blame lies.

When John Fraser, Esq. the then Lord Mayor (in Scotch, Provost) of Inverness, and the Alderman, (attended by Mr Hossack, the then late Lord Mayor,) went to pay their levee to the Duke of Cumberland, the Generals Hawley and Husk happened to be deliberating and making out orders, about slaying the wounded upon the field of battle, &c. Mr Hossack (a man of humanity, and the Sir Robert Walpole of Inverness, under the direction of President Forbes) could not witness such a prodigy of intended wickedness without saying

something, and therefore, making a low bow to the generals, he spoke thus:—"As his majesty's troops have been happily successful against the rebels, I hope your excellencies will be so good as to mingle mercy with judgment." Upon this General Hawley bawled out, "D—n the puppy! does he pretend to dictate here? Carry him away!" Another cried, "*Kick him out! kick him out!*" The orders were instantly and literally obeyed; for good Mr Hossack received *kicks* upon *kicks*, and Sir Robert Adair had the *honour* to give him the last *kick* upon the top of the stair, to such purpose, that Mr Hossack never touched a single step till he was at the bottom of the first flat, from which he tumbled headlong down to the foot of all the stair, and then was he *discreetly* taken up, and carried to the provo's guard. A notable reward for zeal! in which Mr Hossack was warm enough, but with discretion and good nature, as I was informed.

But this is not all. Mr Mayor himself (John Fraser) behoved to have a specimen of their *good sense* and *genteel manners*; for he was taken from dinner at his own table by an officer and some musketeers, with a volley of oaths and imprecations, to a stable, and was ordered to clean it instantly upon his peril! Mr Mayor said he never cleaned his own stable, and why should he clean that of any other person? After some debate upon the dirty subject, Mr Fraser was at last indulged the privilege to get some fellows to clean the stable. However, he was obliged to stand a considerable time almost to the ankles in dirt, and see the dirty service performed! Oh! notable treatment of a king's lieutenant!

This singularity of *military conduct* towards Messrs Hossack and Fraser is the more amazing, as none in Great Britain can be more firmly attached to the present establishment, as settled in the illustrious House of Hanover, than they are; but whether or not this unaccountable treatment has thrown a dash of lukewarmness into their zeal, I shall not take upon me to determine. Had it been my case, I am afraid my zeal would have turned as chill as ice itself.

The wanton youngsters in and about Inverness, distinguish these two gentlemen by the names of the *kick provost*, and of the *muck*, or *dirt provost*.

Several others, who were zealous friends to the government, were thrown into jail at the same time with Mr Hossack. Liberty and Property with a witness!—mere empty sounds without a meaning. In the north of Scotland I happened to fall in with a venerable old gentleman, an honest Whig, who, looking me seriously in the face, asked if the Duke of Cumberland was not a Jacobite. "A Jacobite!" said I. "How comes that in your head?" "Sure," (replied the old

gentleman,) “the warmest zealot in the interest of the Prince could not possibly devise more proper methods for sowing the seeds of Jacobitism and disaffection, than the Duke of Cumberland did.” I wish I could draw a veil over the shocking cruelties, and many other illegal doings committed by the army under his command. These I pass over, as now too well known for me to insist upon. But what do you think of the unaccountable treatment of Messrs Hossack and Fraser, and of some other honest Whigs, who could have hazarded life and all in support of the present government? Above all, what do you think of the return the Lord President of the Court of Session, *the sagacious Duncan*, met with for all his remarkable services? Remarkable indeed they were, and yet the utmost scorn and contempt he had in return for them! When his lordship was paying his levee to the Duke of Cumberland at Inverness, he thought fit (as it well became his character and station) to make mention of the laws of the country, &c. To which the Duke of Cumberland was pleased to say, “The laws of the country! my Lord, I’ll make a brigade give laws, by G—d!” A plain indication this of a hearty desire to introduce a military government. “It was well,” continued the old gentleman, “that President Forbes escaped a *kicking bout*, as the Duke of Cumberland uses his friends with freedom. For my own part,” added he, “I would not wish to be the person that had received the sage advice of *the sagacious Duncan* with derision, because it would have been a lasting imputation upon my judgment and discretion; for certain it is, that his lordship was a gentleman of very extraordinary and uncommon parts, and had an extensive knowledge of men and books. It was not beneath the dignity of a crowned head to listen to his words. He was one of a very high spirit; and the usage he met with for all his services, joined with the miseries of his country, bore so hard upon him, that it is indeed a prevailing opinion among us in Scotland, that he died of heart-break.” Thus spoke the old honest Scotch Whig; and I must own, I found myself unable to make him any return.

I am quite tired with writing, and by the time you come this length, I doubt not but you will be tired with reading; for I know, you are not much in conceit with long letters. However, I find an inclination to say still some few words more.

Do you think (sir) that the wisdom of the nation could be better employed, than in engaging their attention to bring about a parliamentary inquiry into the uncommon doings, that happened to be transacted in Scotland, by our gentlemen of the sword in 1746? Sure I am, there is much need for such a procedure. Suppose a man to be a rebel, a murderer of father and mother, the most flagitious

wretch the sun ever shone upon; yet, I hope, even this very wretch should be put to death only by the laws of the land, and not be knocked in the head instantly without trial, without proof, without doom or law? It is a maxim of wisdom, "Better ten guilty escape, than one innocent suffer;" but perhaps (through the degeneracy of the times) this is now inverted into a political maxim, "Better ten innocent suffer, than one guilty escape!" If this be our case, then every free Briton (falsely so called) has reason to lament his condition in sackcloth and ashes. It is an excellent proverb, "When our neighbour's house is on fire, it is high time to be looking to ourselves." Many of our fellow subjects in Scotland, have suffered death itself in a most barbarous illegal manner, and God knows how soon we in England may come to feel the same effects of *military lawless power*. We have already had a very odd piece of military conduct in Shrewsbury, and how far the frenzy may spread, where is he that can tell, unless a timely stop be put to this prevailing *military madness*. Woe's me! that our protectors should so far forget themselves, as to become our cut-throats. To make such a parliamentary inquiry the more disinterested, and free of all suspicion of any bias whatsoever on the part of the sufferers, be it humbly proposed, that not a single Highlander (those Highlanders only excepted who served under the Duke of Cumberland) should be admitted as an evidence; but let the whole affair be examined into by the affidavits of the presbyterian persons, in and about Inverness; of the mayor and aldermen of Inverness for the year 1746; of the other inhabitants in Inverness, whose firm attachment to the present establishment can admit of no dispute; of the gentlemen and soldiery that appeared on Drummoissie muir, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland; and of the servants of the late Lord President Forbes of Culloden. I am, sir, your humble servant, &c.

London, September 17, 1750.

N. B.— Leith. Monday morning, eight o'clock, October 22, 1750, I delivered the original of the preceding letter to Robert Chessor, staymaker in Edinburgh, to be by him carefully transmitted to James Bayne, tailor in the Strand, London. Meantime, I ordered the said Chessor to write, in his own letter to the said Bayne, the following words precisely, of which I gave him an exact copy. "I now transmit to you⁹⁵ much more than you desired, with full liberty from the author

⁹⁵ Some time in summer of 1750, the said James Bayne was in Scotland, and called for me R. F. when we had a conversation about the case of John Alexander Fraser, the printed account of which (as he said) met with little credit in England. I told him, it was all fact,

to publish it to the world, in as prudent and cautious a manner as possible, and in the same form in which you receive it, viz. as a letter from a gentleman in London, to his friend at Bath. He bids me assure you, that every sentence is strictly and literally true, as to the facts mentioned, all which could be proved as clear as the light, and indeed much more than he has said. He expressly forbids you ever to mention his name in the matter to any person whatsoever; and therefore you must not let it be known from whom you have the paper. He is desirous, that even you yourself should be as little seen in the publication as possible, for your own safety, whatever may happen; and that any Scotticism in the language may be corrected, but that not a single sentence of what he has said be left out.”

Bayne informed Chessor, that the paper was published at London, some time in the month of February, 1750. Upon this Chessor wrote to Bayne, desiring to have some few copies; and at length, after writing five or six letters, Chessor received twelve copies, (by a private hand,) sealed, and directed to himself, upon Wednesday, August 21, 1751. Upon Thursday, August 22, Chessor waited upon me, and delivered to me the said twelve copies, four of which I returned to him, and one I despatched by him to William Gordon, bookseller in Edinburgh, in order to have it reprinted there, which accordingly was done, and several hundreds were cast off privately, and as privately sold.—R. F.

N. B— Mr David Chisholm, presbyterian minister at Kilmorack, in the shire of Inverness, when in Edinburgh, at the General Assembly, in May, 1758, told that said Fraser, or Maclver, still lives in said parish of Kilmorack, at a place called Wellhouse; that his name is *Alexander*, and not *John*; that the preceding account of said *Fraser* was all literally true, as he had seen the printed copy of it; and that he himself (Mr Chisholm) is a blood relation to said Alexander Maclver’s wife. —R.F.

To the Rev. Mr Forbes.

SIR,—The repeated solicitations of a man of your worth and merit, for whom I have the greatest value, have at last prevailed upon me to sit down and write, in my form and language, a sketch of the cruelties were put upon the rebel prisoners, fell in our hand at and after the battle of Culloden.

I had two great objections against this task, or you would have it

but that it was by far too short. Then he begged to have a full account of it, and this became the foundation of the preceding letter from R. F.

sooner: the first, knowing my own incapacity for it; and the second, that these more than Neronian cruelties ought not be put to light, but buried in oblivion; but as I know you to be a curious man, and only want to have this sketch for your own perusal in your cabinet, I have complied with your desires.

Mr John Eraser's letter gives a pretty good account of what was done in the field of battle, and the Englishmen's letter⁹⁶ gives yet a greater light into it, but not one half of what happened; but I design to confine myself only to their usage after these poor unhappy people were put up in jails, kirks, and ships. You'll find, by the sequel, (and I am sorry to say it,) the tragedy of Richard the Third, or Spitamenus's wife, who brought her husband's head to Alexander, is nothing in comparison to this, as the first was done out of avarice, and the last through love: it's known that Spitamenus was as great a rebel to Alexander, and as dangerous an enemy, as any of these poor people could be to this present government; but when his wife appeared at Alexander's tent with her husband's head, he was so shocked at the sight, that he ordered her to leave the army,—*"Mais enfin, l'enormite du crime l'emporta sur la consideration du service, si bien qu'il lui fit commandment de sortir de l'armée."* But our general officers saw it in another light; for the more cruelties were committed, the better thought of and rewarded. I have known officers raise themselves from nothing by their cruelties. Richard the Third and Spitamenus's wife were induced to commit their horrible crimes, by their two different passions, which are the strongest of any with some, and it was over in a hurry; but ours was a continual scene of cruelties, from the 16th of April, 1746, to April, 1747, wantonly, without any onerous causes, but for cruelty's sake. A Spaniard or Neapolitan, falling in the hands of the Algerines, is not so ill used, for if they deny their Jesus, they're set at liberty; but although these poor people would deny their Charlie or Jamie, they meet the same usage, because they loved them once. The galleys are nothing to it, for there they have meat with their labour and confinement; yea, even the Inquisition itself, in the worst sense, is not comparable to our scene.

To begin: When we had filled all the jails, kirks, and ships, at Inverness, with these rebel prisoners, wounded and naked as they

⁹⁶ Meaning the letter just preceding this, not knowing the real author of it, but supposing two English gentlemen to have wrote it, who had actually come into Scotland in order to make all the inquiry they could about the cruelties, and they met with many shocking stories.—R. F.

were, we ordered that none should have any access to them, either with meat or drink, for two days. By this means, no doubt, we thought at least the wounded would starve, either for want of food or clothes, the weather being then very cold. The two days being passed, there was a quorum of officers pitched upon to go and visit them, in order to take down their names and numbers, which was diminished pretty well (without having the least regard to order the remaining part either meat or drink, to support nature.) Amongst the number I was myself; but, O Heavens! what a scene opened to my eyes, and nose all at once!—the wounded feltring in their gore and blood, some dead bodies covered quite over * * * * the living standing to the middle. Their groans would have pierced a heart of stone, but our corrupt hearts were not in the least touched; but on the contrary we began to upbraid them the moment we entered their prisons. Doctor Lauder's case of instruments was taken from him for fear he should aid any of the wounded: and one John Farquarson of Alderg, who was, I believe, a kind of a Highland blooder, his lancet was taken out of his pocket, for fear he should begin to blood them, after his Highland way, to save some few of the wounded to have fallen in fevers. That night it was determined in the Privy Council, that each prisoner should have half a pound oat meal per day, (but Hawley thought it too much;) and accordingly they sent some of their commissaries to distribute the meal. I could not help laughing, in the time of the distribution, when the poor things had nothing left them to hold their meal but the fore skirt of their shirts, * * * * than want their meal; they made very odd figures every one with his half pound of meal, tied up in his shirt lap, * * * * Some were handcuffed, especially Major Stewart and Major M'Lachlan: their handcuffs were so tight, that their hands swelled, and at last broke the skin, so that the irons could not be seen. I can compare their case to nothing better than a horse sore saddle-spoiled, which * * * * In this excessive agony were they kept ten days, notwithstanding all the application they made, only to get wider handcuffs, or their being changed and put upon their other hands. Amongst the rest I saw a Frenchman in the agonies of death, lying in nastiness up to his stomach, and I myself put a great stone under his head that he might not be choked, which he lay on. We always took care not to bury their dead, until such time as we had at least a dozen of them: only imagine to yourself what, for an agreeable smell, was there, * * * * dead bodies, that seldom were taken away before they began naturally to melt by the heat of the weather. Captain Walker, aboard whose ship a good many prisoners were put, obeyed

his master's orders so punctually, that he—even he—would not give the poor prisoners the water he boiled his beef in, but rather threw it over, and said it was too good for rebels. A great many of those that were not wounded, by the ill usage and hunger, sickened; nor could they have the benefit of a surgeon, it being absolutely defended,⁹⁷ by which many died that might still have been in life. Amongst the wounded, I pitied none more than one Cameron of Callort, who was a gentleman: he had his arm broke, a great many friends in the place, even in our army; notwithstanding all, he could not have a surgeon to dress him for ten days' time; that at last Mr Menzie, at Inverness, made stolen marches to see his friend. The Sunday se'ennight after the battle, there was orders given, that all the prisoners should be reviewed publicly in the streets of Inverness; and accordingly there were two lines of our men from one end of the Bridge Street to the other, and 'twixt those two lines the prisoners were to pass muster. Such a scene was never seen, some entirely naked, others in their shirts, and their meal tied as before; the wounded even behaved to come out, neither cries nor entreaties would save them; and those who were not able either to stand or walk, were carried by their fellow prisoners, amongst the loud huzza of officers and soldiers, none more delighted than Mr Bruce.

Any reasonable thinking man would have thought their cruelties would have ceased again the twenty-ninth of May, which day these poor people were set aboard the tenders, to be carried to London; but it rather increased, for there was no more regard for them there, than what they had shewn at Inverness. They put so many aboard each ship, that their own breath and heat made them swarm with vermin. You'd have laughed to have seen them lying 'twixt decks, like fish in a pond, and every one had a twig in his hand, to defend himself from the attacks of his neighbour's lice; there was a little space 'twixt every two, and on the centre of this space was a mark, distinguishing their marches; there you would have seen the lice marching and countermarching in order for an assault, but the moment the lice of the one came to the foresaid mark, he took his twig and beat them back, because they said their neighbour's lice bite sorer than their own; but at last, by hunger, bad usage, and lying upon the ballasts and 'twixt decks, exposed to all weathers, they were seized with a kind of a plague, which carried them off by dozens; and a good many

⁹⁷ *i. e. Denied.* This letter-writer was bred for some time in the business of a writer. Every body knows what the terms *plaintiff* and *defendant* mean; the latter readily *denying* all that is complained. Besides, he knows Erse much better than English.—R. F.

of those who would have outlived their sickness, were wantonly murdered by the sailors, by dipping of them in the sea in the crisis of their fevers. This was the sailors' diversion from Buchanness Point till we came to the Nore: they'd take a rope and tie about the poor sick's waists; then they would haul them up by their tackle, and plunge them in the sea, as they said, to drown the vermin, but they took special care to drown both together; then they'd haul them up upon deck, and tie a stone about one of the legs, and over board with them. I have seen six or seven examples of this in a day. After we brought them up the river Thames, we got orders to separate their officers from what they called soldiers, and bring the officers to Southwark new jail, and leave the commons at Tillbury Fort, without meat, drink, money, or clothes; and actually they would have starved, had it not been for the charity of the English, the government not giving them one sols to live upon, except those few that turned evidence; it's no great wonder if they all had turned evidences to get out of this miserable situation, the prospect of which behoved to appear worse than death, for in my opinion, nothing could come up to it, save the notion we conceive of hell; and I do not know if hell itself be so bad, only that it may be of a longer duration. But to return to our gentlemen officers, they were brought up in rank and file, exposed to the fury of a tumultuous mob, who neither spared them with their outrageous words, spittles, dirt, and even stones and bricks, and in that manner carried through all the streets in Southwark, and at last delivered over to the hands of a jailor, who neither had the least fear of God, nor humanity—a creature entirely after our own heart, who loaded them, the moment they entered his gates, with heavy irons and bad usage. Those amongst that had money to purchase the liberty of one leg, were relieved a little; but such as had not, must groan under their weight; nor would their friends be allowed to send the least necessaries of life; the government was deaf to their cries and petition, so that this bloody rascal of a jailor might use them at discretion, which he very impiously and cruelly did; nor would their friends get to see them, without paying for their liberty, not even to make up some sort of defences for their lives, which were wantonly taken away. After every execution, the mangled bodies were brought back to the jail, and remained there some days to shew the remaining prisoners how they were to be used, in their turn: I am very sure nothing could be more shocking to nature, than to see their comrades, their friends, brought back in such a condition, all cut to pieces—the very comrades they parted with about an hour and an half before, in perfect good health, and top spirits: they had even the cruelty to keep up the reprises of

those that were to be saved, till some hours before their execution. Of all that fell in our hands, none were pardoned but two, all the rest were either transported or put to death, either with or without law: by this we see, that the government of England has fallen upon more cruel ways to punish their disobedient fellow creatures, than the Creator to punish even the disobedient angels and sons of men, with this difference,—the one is eternal, and the other only for a time; but when the time of times shall come, wo be to them! I believe, again you come this length, you will be as tired reading as am writing, so hopes you'll freely and frankly excuse all faults and failings.—I am, yours, &c. BRUTUS SCOTORUM.

Leith, November 24th, 1752.

N. B.—The original of the preceding paper, or letter, (though disguised under the name of an officer, &c.) is the handwriting of John Farquharson, of Alderg, commonly called *John Anderson my Jo*, and mentioned in this same paper. He made his escape from London out of a messenger's hands, after being under sentence of death. The said original is to be found among my papers.—R. F.

Captain R. Stewart to the Rev. Mr Forbes.

REVEREND SIR,—I acknowledge myself to be much out of my duty in not writing sooner to you; but you may believe I am not unmindful of any service would lay in my road that would be useful to you. The following is a summary of certain desolations made betwixt the rivers of Spey and Dee, in the year 1746. In Badenoch was burnt Cluny MacPherson's house, and Garvamore's; in Strathdown, Glenbuckit's at Cambetelbredgit; Donald Farqurson's of Auchriaihan, at Glenconlass, his house; and John Grant in Innerloch, James Grant Miller in Inchnachape, and Lauchland Dooll in Easter Jaslick, their dwelling houses. In Glenlivet, Bowchel-hall, and Scallan, the whole houses; John Gordon's in Clasnoir, his dwelling house; the house and chapel at Tombae; and Blairphinie, his house, and a poor man's house at Upper Donnen. In Skuirdustan,—Gordon, younger of Aberlour's, at Culquich; in Glenrines, the whole town of Bragach; in Cabrach, John Roy, inn-keeper, his house; in Strathdiveran, the chapel at Shanvel, and parson's house; in Dumbenan, Mr Tulloch's, the whole town. In Kineathmont, the miller's house of Miln-a-Smiston, all burnt; the chapels of Robiston and Rossary thrown down; the chapels of Tulloch, Hornie, Cleenhill, Newdurn, and one near Kinmundie, all burnt, (that one by order of Lady Kinmundie;) on Dee side, Gordon of Blellack's house. As for the plunderings and herships committed in the country, it is impossible to give a description of them. I remain, reverend sir, your most

affectionate and humble servant,

ROBERT STEWART.

Crooksmill, 27th June; 1749.

THE PRINCE'S WANDERINGS AND ESCAPE.

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN O'NEIL.⁹⁸

Having heard and seen many scandalous libels, given out in my name, of the conduct and retreat of the Prince since the battle of Culloden, I have thought myself obliged, in duty and honour, to give an impartial and true account of the same during the time that I had the honour to be near his person. This I don't pretend in justification of that great Prince, whose inimitable virtues and qualifications as well render him the darling of his friends as the astonishing surprise of his greatest enemies, and whose valour and calm intrepidity in heretofore unheard of dangers, will usher down his fame to the latest posterity; but to convince and assure the world, that all accounts as yet given, either under my name or otherwise, have been as spurious as defective, and infamously false. I moreover assure this to be the first and only account that I have given, or will give, and affirm the contents to be true upon my honour.

April 15th, O. S. 1746. Prince Charles marched his army in three columns from Culloden muir, in hopes to surprise the Duke of Cumberland in his camp at Nairn, ordering, at the same time, two thousand men to pass the river Nairn, and post themselves between Elgin and the camp of the enemy. To deceive the ships that were in Inverness road, he ordered several fires to be made on the mountain, where he drew up in battle. At eight at night he began his march, and, about two next morning, being the 16th of April, within a mile⁹⁹ of the enemy, our van halted. The Prince, who marched in the centre, despatched an aid-de-camp to know the motive of the halt. Colonel

⁹⁸ From the number of copies of this document which we have met with in Jacobite depositories, it would appear to have been regarded as entitled to high credit. But, though the present copy was transcribed by the accurate Bishop from one attested by the writer's own signature, it is still by no means free of errors. By far the best narrative connected with this subject, is that by Donald MacLeod, which stands third in the present chapter.—ED.

⁹⁹ Three or four miles, say other accounts, and justly, too, as must be confessed by those who know any thing of the country about Nairn, where the attack was to have been made.—R. F.

O'Sullivan (who marched in the van) immediately hastened to the Prince, and told him, Lord George Murray and some other of the chieftains, as they wanted some of their men, did not think themselves sufficiently strong to attack the enemy; and upon a strong belief that the Duke of Cumberland was apprized of their design, refused to advance, maugre the instances he (Colonel O'Sullivan) made use of to engage them to the contrary. Upon this the Prince advanced to the head of the column, where, assembling the chiefs, in the most pathetic and strong terms demonstrated to them the visible and real advantages they had of an enemy, who thought themselves secure of any such attempt, and descending his horse,¹⁰⁰ drew his sword, and told them he would lead them to an enemy they had as often defeated as seen. But, deaf to his example and entreaties, the major part declined; which so sensibly shocked the Prince, that, remounting his horse, he told them, with the greatest concern, he did not so much regret his own loss as their inevitable ruin. He immediately marched back to the former camp at Culloden, where he arrived at five in the morning. At ten he was informed the Duke of Cumberland was in full march towards him; whereupon the Prince gave the necessary orders for the attack, riding from rank to rank, encouraging his troops, and exhorting them, with his usual sprightliness, to behave as they had done at Prestonpans and Falkirk. Between twelve and one, the Prince engaged the enemy, commanding himself in the centre. The right wing immediately broke the left of the enemy; but their flank being exposed to seven squadrons of horse, who attacked them whilst they were in pursuit of the enemy's foot, was put into so much confusion, that it was dispersed. The Prince galloped to the right, and, endeavouring to rally them, had his horse shot under him.¹⁰¹ The left followed the example of the right, which drew on an entire *deroute*, in spite of all the Prince could do to animate or rally them; notwithstanding which he remained upon the field of battle, until there were no more hopes left, and then could scarce be persuaded to retire, ordering the Irish piquets and Fitz-James's horse to make a stand, and favour the retreat of the Highlanders, which was as gallantly executed. Previous to the battle, the Prince had ordered the chieftains, that (in case of a defeat) as the Highlanders could not retreat as regular troops, they should assemble their men near Fort-Augustus. In consequence of this, immediately after the battle the Prince despatched me to Inverness, to repeat his orders to such of his troops as were there.

¹⁰⁰ The Prince marched all that night on foot, says Ker of Gradyne.

¹⁰¹ Not true.—R. F.

That night the Prince retired six miles from the field of battle, and next day as far, and in three days more arrived at Fort-Augustus, where he remained a whole day in expectation his troops would have joined him;¹⁰² but, seeing no appearance of it, he went to the house of Invergary, and ordered me to remain there, to direct such as passed that way the road he took. I remained there two days, and announced the Prince's orders to such as I met, but to no effect, every one taking his own road. I then followed the Prince, who was so far from making a precipitate retreat, as has been maliciously reported, that he retired by six and six miles, and arrived 28th of April,¹⁰³ O. S. at Knoidart, where I joined him next day, and gave him an account of the little or no appearance there was of assembling his troops; upon which he wrote circular letters to all the Chieftains, enjoining them by the obedience they owed him to join him immediately with such of their clans as they could gather, at the same time representing to them the imminent danger they were in if they neglected it. After remaining some days there, in hopes his orders would have been obeyed, and seeing not one person repair to him, it was remonstrated to him the extreme danger his person was in, being within seven miles of Lord London, Sir Alexander MacDonald, and the MacLeods; and it was proposed to evade it by retreating to one of the islands near the continent. After repeated instances of the like nature, he reluctantly assented, leaving Mr John Hay behind to transmit him the answers of his letters, with an account of what should pass, and parted for the Isles in an open fishing-boat, at eight at night, attended by Colonel O'Sullivan and me only.¹⁰⁴ About an hour after we parted, a violent hurricane arose, which drove us ninety miles¹⁰⁵ from our designed port; and next day, running for shelter into the island of north Uist,¹⁰⁶ we struck upon a rock, and staved to pieces,¹⁰⁷ and

¹⁰² All this is liable to correction.—ED.

¹⁰³ The date incorrect.—ED.

¹⁰⁴ Honest Donald MacLeod, the pilot, and Allan MacDonald, Clanranald's relation, might have had a place here; to say nothing of the poor rowers.—R. F.

¹⁰⁵ This must be a mistake, though it be written in other copies, for none of the lochs has so much bounds as to allow of such a drive from an intended harbour. I remember Donald MacLeod called this nonsense; for he makes the whole course but only ninety-six miles.—R. F.

¹⁰⁶ Benbecula should here be read.—ED,

¹⁰⁷ This is also incorrect.—ED.

with great difficulty saved our lives. At our landing we were in the most melancholy situation, knowing nobody, and wanting the common necessaries of life. After much search, we found a little hut uninhabited, and took shelter there, and with a great deal of pains made a fire to dry our clothes. Here the Prince remained two days, having no other provisions but a few biscuits we had saved out of the boat, which were entirely spoiled with the salt water. As this island belonged to Sir Alexander MacDonal, and not judging ourselves safe, we determined going elsewhere, and, by the greatest good fortune, one of our boatmen discovered a boat¹⁰⁸ stranded on the coast, and having with great difficulty lunched it into the water, we embarked for the Harris. In our passage we unfortunately met with another storm, which obliged us to put into an island near Stornoway. Next day the Prince despatched¹⁰⁹ me for Stornoway to look for a ship, ordering me to embark on board the first I could get, and to make the most diligent haste, after my landing on the continent, to the court of France, ordering me to give an exact account to his most Christian Majesty of his disasters, and of his resolution never to abandon the country, until he knew the final result of France, and, if it was possible, once more to assemble his faithful Highlanders. Unluckily the person that the Prince sent with me,¹¹⁰ getting drunk, told the master of the ship somewhat, that induced him to refuse taking me on board, and immediately alarmed the country, which obliged me to return and join the Prince, who, upon what I told him, resolved for the continent, by way of Seaforth's country; but the boatmen absolutely refused to comply, which made us take the road we came; and meeting with three ships of war, we were constrained to put into a desert island, where we remained eight days¹¹¹ in the greatest misery, having no sustenance but some dried

¹⁰⁸ One error never fails to prove the foundation of another, if not of many.—R. F.

¹⁰⁹ This whole affair is represented in quite a different manner by Donald MacLeod, in an ensuing narrative, who caused me remark more than once, that O'Neill did not accompany him to Stornoway, and I have heard Ned Burke affirm the same-thing.—R. F.

¹¹⁰ One error must be the foundation of another at least. See this whole affair cleared up by Donald MacLeod himself, and that too according to the expressions of Captain John Hay upon that head, who could have no interest or by-view in what he spoke.—R. F.

¹¹¹ Four days and four nights, says Donald MacLeod, and not in so very great misery as Captain O'Neill represents them to have been

fish, that Providence threw in our way in this island. When the ships disappeared, we put to sea again, and next morning met with another ship of war, just coming out of one of the lochs, who pursued us for near an hour; but the wind rising, we made our escape. In the afternoon we arrived at the island of Benbecula, and one of the boatmen being acquainted with a herd of the island, led us to his house, where, passing for friends of the boatmen, we remained four days, and then the Prince sent the boat to the continent with a Highland gentleman, whom he charged with letters to the chiefs, Secretary Murray, and John Hay, requiring an exact account how affairs stood. Not thinking ourselves secure in the cottage, by the advice of a friend, we retired to the mountain of Coradale, to wait the return of the gentleman, where we remained two-and-twenty days, when the gentleman returned with a letter from Secretary Murray, importing that the clans had almost all delivered up their arms, and consequently were no more to be depended on. He likewise acquainted the Prince of two French ships, who had arrived at the continent with money and arms, and in which the Duke of Perth, his brother, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and John Hay, had embarked for France. Here we remained some days longer, till the Duke of Cumberland, having intelligence that the Prince was concealed in the Long Isle, ordered the militia of the Isle of Sky and the independent companies to go in search of him. As soon as we had notice of their landing, we retreated to an island, about twelve miles distance, called Ouya, where we remained till we found they had followed us; and then we went for Loch-Boisdale, and stayed there eight days, when Captain Caroline Scott landed within a mile of us, which obliged us to separate, the Prince taking me to the mountains, and O'Sullivan remaining with the boatmen. At nightfall, we marched towards Benbecula, being informed Scott had ordered the militia to come and join him. At midnight we came to a hut, where, by good fortune, we met with Miss Flora MacDonald, whom I formerly knew. I quitted the Prince at some distance from the hut, and went with a design to inform myself if the independent companies were to pass that way next day, as we had been informed. The young lady answered me not, and said that they would not pass till the day after. Then I told her, I

in, though indeed their case was bad enough; and Ned Burke's account of this matter agrees with that of Donald. One day I read this particular of the desert island to Ned Burke, when he used this remarkable expression, —“What deil needs a man mak mair wonders than we had? Faith, we had anew o' them!”— Words, though coarse, yet very significant.—R. F.

brought a friend to see her; and she, with some emotion, asked me, if it was the Prince. I answered her, it was, and instantly brought him in.¹¹² We then consulted on the imminent danger the Prince was in, and could think of a no more proper and safe expedient, than to propose to Miss Flora to convey him to the Isle of Sky, where her mother lived. This seemed the more feasible, as the young lady's father, being captain of an independent company, would accord her a pass for herself and a servant, to go visit her mother. The Prince assented, and immediately proposed it to the young lady; to which she answered with the greatest respect and loyalty, but declined it, saying, Sir Alexander MacDonald was too much her friend to be the instrument of his ruin. I endeavoured to obviate this, by assuring her, Sir Alexander was not in the country, and that she could with the greatest facility convey the Prince to her mother's, as she lived close by the water side. I then remonstrated to her the honour and immortality that would redound to her by such a glorious action; and she at length acquiesced after the Prince had told her the sense he would always retain of so conspicuous a service. She promised to acquaint us next day, when things were ripe for execution, and we parted for the mountains of Coradale. Next day, at four in the afternoon, we received a messenger from our protectress, telling us *all was well*. We determined joining her immediately; but the messenger informed us, we could not pass either of the fords that separated the island we were in from Benbecula, as they were both guarded. In this dreadful situation a man of the country tendered us his boat, which; we readily accepted, and next day landed at Benbecula, and immediately marched for Rossinish, the place of rendezvous, where we arrived at midnight, and, instead of our protectress, found ourselves. within fifty yards of a guard of the enemy. We were constrained to retreat four miles, having eat nothing for thirty hours¹¹³ before. The Prince ordered me to go to the lady, and know the reason she did not keep her appointment. She told me

¹¹² In all this Captain O'Neill is exactly right; for I have heard Miss MacDonald declare, more than once, that the Captain came to her (bringing the Prince along with him) when she happened to be in a shealling belonging to her brother; that the Captain was the contriver of the scheme; and that she herself was very backward to engage in it: and, indeed, no wonder, (whatever some may say,) when one seriously considers the important trust, and the many dangers attending it. Something of all this may be gathered from her own Journal. See an ensuing [part of the present chapter.]—R. F.

¹¹³ In the other copy, thirty-four hours.—R. F.

she had engaged a cousin of hers in North Uist to receive him in his house, where, she was sure, he would be more safe than in the Isle of Sky. I immediately despatched a boy with this news to the Prince, and mentioned him the place of appointment, whither he came; but the gentleman absolutely refused receiving us, alleging for a motive, that he was vassal to Sir Alexander MacDonald. In this unexpected exigence, being within a small half-mile of a captain and fifty men, we hastened for Rossinish, being apprized the enemy had just abandoned it. The Prince sent me to acquaint Miss Flora of our disappointment, and to entreat her to keep to her promise, as there was no time to lose. She faithfully promised for next day, and I remained with her that night, the Prince remaining at Rossinish, attended by a little herd. Next day, I accompanied Miss Flora to the rendezvous, where we had not long been, when we had an account,¹¹⁴ that General Campbell was just landed with fifteen hundred men. We were now apprehensive that we were betrayed, and instantly got to our boat, and put to another place, where we arrived at day-break. We despatched a person to Clanranald's house to learn what news, who brought us word that General Campbell was there with Captain Fergusson, and that he saw Captain Scott's detachment coming to join them, and that they amounted in all to two thousand three hundred men. The Prince entreated the young lady I should accompany him, but she absolutely refused it, having a pass but for one servant. The Prince was so generous as to decline going unless I attended him, until I told him, if he made the least demur, I would instantly go about my business, as I was extremely indifferent what became of me, so that his person was safe. With much difficulty, and after many entreaties, he at length embarked, attended only by Miss Flora MacDonald.¹¹⁵

Here my hard fate and the Prince's safety, which was my only object, obliged me to share no longer the misfortunes of that illustrious hero, whose grandeur of soul and intrepidity, with a calmness of spirit particular to himself in such dangers, increased in these moments, when the general part of mankind abandon themselves to their fate. I now could only recommend him to God and his good fortune, and made my way, amidst the enemy, to South

¹¹⁴ It is truly a matter of much wonder, that the Prince should escape the clutches of so many in such narrow bounds, especially when the coast was swarming with ships, sloops, &c.—R. F.

¹¹⁵ The faithful MacKechan might have been named here.—R. F.

Uist, where we had left Colonel O'Sullivan.¹¹⁶ Next day I joined O'Sullivan, and found (four days after the Prince parted) a French cutter, commanded by one Dumont, and who had on board two captains of the Irish brigade, with a number of volunteers. Here Colonel O'Sullivan and I concerted what were the properest measures to be taken. We agreed that he should go on board the cutter, as he was so reduced by the long fatigues that he had undergone in the mountains, as not to be able to walk, and that he should bring the cutter to Loch Seaforth, nigh the Isle of Rasay, where the Prince ordered me to join him by a billet he had sent me the day before by one of the boatmen, who had rowed him to the Isle of Sky. After having seen my friend on board, and after innumerable difficulties, I got a boat, and went round the Isle of Sky to the Isle of Rasay, place of rendezvous; but, at my landing, had intelligence that the Prince was returned to the Isle of Sky, whereupon I hasted to said Isle of Sky again, and there, too, had the grief to learn, that he had departed that island, but for what place nobody could inform me in the least. I then repaired to Loch Nammaddy, in North Uist, where, by our agreement, Colonel O'Sullivan was to come to me, in case that in eight days I did not join him at Loch Seaforth; but not meeting my friend there, after a delay of four days, I returned to the Island of Benbecula, where I promised myself greater safety than any where else; but I met with a quite different usage, for the very person in whom I had entirely confided, and under whose care I was, betrayed me to Captain MacNeal, (induced thereto by a great sum of money offered for me,) who was in that country, under the command of Captain Fergusson of the Furnace Bomb. I was taken by this Captain MacNeal in a rock over a loch, where I had skulked for four days, and brought to Captain Fergusson,¹¹⁷ who used me with all the barbarity of a pirate, stripped me, and had ordered me to be put into a rack, and whipped by his hangman, because I would not confess where I thought the Prince was. As I was just going to be whipped, being already stripped, Lieutenant MacCaghan of the Scotch Fusileers, who commanded a party under Captain Fergusson, very generously

¹¹⁶ Captain O'Neille speaks more respectfully, and is more favourable in his accounts, of Colonel O'Sullivan, than some other hints that given in this collection.—R. F.

¹¹⁷ A man remarkable for his cruelties. Even in his younger years he was remarkable for a cruel turn of mind among his schoolfellows and companions, and therefore he is the fitter tool for William the Cruel. He was born at Old Meldrum, in the shire of Aberdeen.—R. F.

opposed this barbarous usage, and, coming out with his drawn sword, threatened Captain Fergusson, that he would sacrifice himself and his detachment, rather than to see an officer used after such an infamous manner. I cannot avoid acquainting the public, that, four days after I was taken, General Campbell sent me word, upon his parole of honour, that if I had money or other effects in the country, in sending them to him they should be safe; upon which (always imagining that the word of honour was as sacredly kept in the English army as it is in others) I went with a detachment for my money and gold watch, which I had hid in the rock, when I perceived the party searching for me, and sent to General Campbell, by Captain Skipness Campbell, four hundred and fifty guineas, with my gold watch, broadsword and pistols, all which he has thought proper (to be sure, consistent with his honour) to keep from me, upon diverse applications made to him to that purpose.

JOURNAL OF NED BURKE.¹¹⁸

Upon the 16th of April, 1746, we marched from the field of Culloden to attack the enemy in their camp at Nairn; but orders were given by a false¹¹⁹ general to retreat to the place from whence we had come, and to take billets in the several parts where we had quartered formerly. The men being all much fatigued, some of them were dispersed here and there, in order to get some refreshment for themselves, whilst the greater part of them went to rest; but soon after, the enemy appearing behind us, about four thousand of our men were, with difficulty, got together and advanced, and the rest were awakened by the noise of the cannon, which surely put them in confusion. After engaging briskly, there came up between six and seven hundred Frasers, commanded by Colonel Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallachie, who were attacked before they could form in line of battle; and had the misfortune of having their Colonel wounded, who next day was murdered in cold blood, the fate of many others.

Our small, hungry and fatigued army being put into confusion, and

¹¹⁸ Burke, who had accompanied the Prince as a guide, and resisted the temptation of thirty thousand pounds, drudged out the remainder of his days as a sedan-carrier in Edinburgh. The Bishop appears to have taken down the narrative from the author's own mouth, and to have carefully corrected it at subsequent interviews.—Ed.

¹¹⁹ This epithet is not to be regarded.—R .F.

overpowered by numbers, was forced to retreat. Then it was that Edward Burke fell in with the Prince, having no right guide, and very few along with him. The enemy kept such a close fire, that the Prince had his horse shot under him, who, calling for another, was immediately served with one by a groom or footman, who that moment was killed by a cannon ball. In the hurry the Prince's bonnet happening to fall off, he was served with a hat by one of the life-guards. Edward Burke being well acquainted with all these bounds, undertook to be the Prince's guide, and brought him off, with Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr Alexander MacLeod, aide-de-camp, and Peter MacDermit, one of the Prince's footmen. Afterwards they met with O'Sullivan, when they were but in very bad circumstances. The Prince was pleased to say to Ned, "If you be a true friend, pray, endeavour to lead us safe off;" which honour Ned was not a little fond of, and promised to do his best. Then the Prince rode off from the way of the enemy to the water of Nairn; where, after advising, he dismissed all the men that were with him, being about sixty of Fitzjames's horse that had followed him. After which Edward Burke said, "Sir, if you please, follow me; I'll do my endeavour to make you safe." The Prince accordingly followed him; and, with Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, O'Sullivan, and Mr Alexander MacLeod, aide-de-camp, marched to Tordarroch, where they got no access; and from Tordarroch. through Aberardar, where likewise they got no access; from Aberardar to Faroline, and from Faroline to Gortuleg, where they met with Lord Lovat, and drank three glasses of wine with him.

About two o'clock next morning, with great hardships we arrived at the castle of Glengary, called Invergary; where the guide (Ned Burke) spying a fishing net set, pulled it to him, and found two salmons, which the guide made ready in the best manner he could; and the meat was reckoned very savoury and acceptable. After taking some refreshment, the Prince wanted to be quit of the clothing he had on, and Ned gave him his own coat. At three o'clock afternoon, the Prince, O'Sullivan, another private gentleman, and the guide, set out and came to the house of one Cameron at Glenean, and stayed there all night. In this road we had got ourselves all nastied; and when we were come to our quarters, the guide happening to be untying the Prince's spatterdashes, there fell out seven guineas. They being then alone together, the Prince said to the guide, "Thou art a trusty friend, and shalt continue to be my servant."

From Glenean we marched to Mewball, where we stayed one night, and were well entertained. Next morning we went to Glenbiasdale, stayed there four nights, or thereabouts; and from that we took boat

for the Island of South Uist about six nights before the 1st of May, where we arrived safely, but with great difficulty. There we stayed three days or so, and then we boated for the Island Scalpa, or Glass, and arrived at Donald Campbell's house.

[When I asked at Ned to whom Scalpa belonged? he answered, to the Laird of MacLeod. I asked likewise, what this Donald Campbell was? Ned told me that he was only a tenant; but one of the best, honestest, fellows that ever drew breath; and that his forefathers (from father to son) had been in Scalpa for several generations past. Ned said, he believed they were of the Campbells of Lochniel.]

In Scalpa we stayed about three days, sending from thence our barge to Stornoway to hire a vessel. By a letter from Donald MacLeod we came to Loch Seaforth, and coming there by a false guide, we travelled seven hours, if not more, under cloud of night, having gone six or eight miles out of our way. This guide was sent to Stornoway, to know if the vessel was hired. Either by him or some other enemy it was divulged, that the Prince was at Killdun's house (MacKenzie) in Arynish; upon which a drum beat at Stornoway, and upwards of an hundred men convened to apprehend us. However, the MacKenzies proved very favourable and easy; for they could have taken us, if they had pleased. We were then only four in number besides the Prince, and we had four hired men for rowing the barge. Upon the alarm, Ned Burke advised they should take to the mountains; but the Prince said, "How long is it, Ned, since you turned cowardly? I shall be sure of the best of them ere taken, which, I hope, shall never be in life." That night we stood opposite to the men that were gathered together, when two of our boatmen ran away and left us. The rogue that made the discovery, was one MacAulay, skipper of the vessel that was hired, who, next morning, went off to Duke William with information. In the morning we had killed a quey of little value, and about twelve o'clock at night our little barge appeared to us, whereof we were very glad. We put some pieces of the quey in the barge, and then went on board. We rowed stoutly, but, spying four men of war at the point of the Isle of Keaback, we steered to a little desert island, where were some fishermen, who had little huts of houses, like swine's huts, where, it seems, they stayed and made ready their meat, while at the fishing. They were frightened at seeing our barge sailing towards the island, and apprehending we had been a press-boat from the men of war, they fled, and left all their fish. When landed, Edward Burke began to dress some of the fish, but said, he had no butter. The Prince said, "We will take the fish, till the butter come." Ned, minding there was some butter in the barge, laid up among bread, went to the barge, and brought it; but it did not look so very clean, the bread

being all broke in pieces amongst the butter; and therefore Ned said, he thought shame to present it. The Prince asked, if the butter was clean when put amongst the bread. Ned answered, It was. "Then," said the Prince, "it will do very well. The bread is no poison; it can never foul the butter." Ned having forgot here to mention the cake, which the Prince contrived with the cow's brains, I asked him about it, and he acknowledged the truth of it. I likewise asked him, if he knew the name of the desert island; but he frankly owned that he did not know it, assuring me, in the meantime, that Donald MacLeod knew it well. Upon the desert island we stayed four nights, and on the fifth set to sea, and arrived at the Island Glass, where we were to inquire about the hire of Donald Campbell's boat. Here four men appeared coming towards them, upon which Ned Burke went out of the boat to view them, and, giving a whistle, cried back to his neighbours, being at some distance, to take good care of the boat. Ned, not liking these men at all, thought fit to return with speed to the boat, and, putting his hand to the gunnel, jumped aboard, and stayed not to converse with the four men.

From Glass, having no wind, we rowed off with vigour. About break of day, the wind rising, we hoisted sail; and, all of us being faint for lack of food, and having some meal, we began to make drammach (in Erse stappack) with salt water, whereof the Prince took a share, calling it no bad food, and all the rest followed his example. The Prince called for a bottle of spirits, and gave every one of us a dram. Then we passed by Finsbay in the Isle of Harris, where we spied a man of war, commanded by one Captain Fergusson, under full sail, and our little sail was full too. He pursued us for three leagues; but we escaped by plying our oars heartily, they being better to us than arms could have been at that time. The water failing the man of war, he was not in a condition to pursue farther. We steered upon a point, called Roudill, when the Prince expressed himself as formerly, that he should never be taken in life. After this, the said Captain Fergusson, being anxious to know what we were, endeavoured to make up with us a second time; but to no purpose, the water being at ebb, and we continuing still to row in amongst the creeks. Seeing this, he turned to the main sea, when we sailed to Lochmaddy, to the south of the Isle of Uist; thence to Lochuiskey, thence to an island in said Loch, where we came to a poor grass-keeper's bothy, or hut, which had so low a door, that we digged below the door, and put heather below the Prince's knees, he being tall, to let him go the easier into the poor hut. We stayed there about three nights, and provided ourselves very well in victuals by fowling and fishing, and dressed them in the best shapes we could, and thought them very

savoury meat. Thence we went to the mountain of Coradale in South Uist, and stayed there about three weeks, where the Prince one day, seeing a deer, ran straight towards him, and, firing off hand, killed him. Edward Burke brought home the deer, and, making ready some collops, there comes a poor boy, who, without asking questions, put his hand among the meat, which the cook (Edward Burke) seeing, gave him a whip with the back of his hand. The Prince, observing this, said, "O man, you don't remember the Scripture, which commands to feed the hungry and clead the naked, &c. You ought rather to give him meat than a stripe." The Prince then ordered some rags of clothes for the boy, and said he would pay for them, which was done accordingly. The Prince added more, saying, "I cannot see a Christian perish for want of food and raiment, had I the power to support them." Then he prayed, that God might support the poor and needy, &c.

There was one Donald MacLeod of Gualtergill, a trusty friend, who went to Moidart, and brought us news and brandy; for which the Prince thanked him heartily, calling him a trusty servant.

The foresaid boy, after being fed and clothed, hearing of the enemy's approaching in search of the Prince (like Judas) thought fit to go privately to them, being fifteen hundred of Campbells, MacLeods, and MacDonalds, to inform them where the Prince was, which some of the enemy hearing, ridiculed the boy, and said, he deserved to be thrown into the sea; for what he advanced was entirely false and all lies.

Now the enemy coming from the Isle of Barra, who were well known in these places, and we being utter strangers, with the disadvantage, too, of some men of war lying before, we had no way to escape; but, committing ourselves to Providence, the Prince, O'Sullivan, O'Neil, (who had come on an errand from France,) Donald MacLeod, Edward Burke, and the boatmen, went on board the barge, to be sure melancholy enough. Having none to trust in but the providence of God only, we escaped narrowly by Ouia Island to Benbecula in Clanranald's country. We stayed there for about two nights; but the enemy came to that country likewise, in search of the Prince, where one Hamar MacLeod landed near our quarters, which the Prince being informed of, asked at Edward Burke, "Is this a friend or a foe?" To which Ned answered, "He never was a friend to your family." But by good providence Hamar happened to go off without making any search, and we did not think proper to go the same way with him, not knowing what the event might have been.

Immediately after this, the Prince, with O'Neil only, went to the

Wilderness, desiring we might stay behind with this design, that, if any inquiry was made about him, our answer should be, that we knew nothing about him at all, farther than that, by that time, we believed, he had made his escape. We all resolved to suffer rather than that the Prince should be exposed. Meantime Providence ordered it otherwise; for without trouble we escaped also, and afterwards met with the Prince, and that night boated in our little barge, and sailed by Ouia above the Island of Benbecula, where, from the point of a rock, a young seal (a whelp) swam directly to the barge, as if it had been frightened; and Edward Burke, leaning over the side of the boat, pulled the seal into the boat; but it died soon after. The same night we rowed and sailed with vigour, when we spied two men of war with one Captain Scott, not knowing the names of any of the rest. We then steered with all speed to a shore at Aikersideallach in South Uist, where, coming to a creek of a rock above the water, and finding some ashes, and the place very private, we kindled up a fire, and the Prince lay that night in a clift of the rock, drawing his bonnet over his eyes for preserving them. Ned Burke, as he was turning himself, the place being exceedingly narrow, and he not adverting to that, fell backwards over the rock, about six yards high, and narrowly escaped being bruised by falling among sand.

Afterwards we took boat, and rowed to the south part of South Uist for Lochboisdale, when we perceived fifteen sail; and a number of the enemy being upon the land, we knew not what to do. All that day we were obliged to keep in a narrow creek till night, that we got into Lochboisdale. Afterwards, coming ashore very much fatigued, we came to an old tower in the mouth of the island, where we kindled a fire, put on our pot in order to make ready some provisions, and Ned Burke went to pull some heath for the Prince's bed. Meantime Donald MacLeod of Gualtergill said, there were two French ships of war appearing; but to our great surprise, they proved to be Englishmen. The Prince, with three others, took to the mountains, and the rowers went to the barge lying in the creek, and steered up the loch.

The men of war steered to the main. At night we all met again at our barge, wherein we had still some small provisions. We stayed in the open fields two nights, having only the sails of the boat for covers. On the third night we went farther into the Loch, and rested thereabouts for other two nights. When the enemy (*viz.* red-coats and Campbells) appeared, then we passed to the north side of the loch.

The Prince, finding himself so environed by the enemy, took two shirts under his arm, and went off, allowing none to follow him but

O'Neil. After parting from the rest, the Prince, on the other side of the mountain, met with one Neil MacDonald, who conveyed him that night near to one Lauchlan MacDonald's, a falsified friend, who designed to have betrayed both the Prince and his country; but Neil MacDonald, finding out his design, conveyed the Prince to Benbecula, a place there called Rushness, where he met with one Florence MacDonald, Stepdaughter to MacDonald of Armadale, who pretended to cross the sea to visit her mother, in Sky, when the Prince went along with her, having disguised himself in women's clothes, and changing his name to Betty Burke, the surname of his first guide.

Now, gentlemen and ladies, who read this, believe it to be a true and genuine short account of hardships that happened, and what the author saw; but, for brevity's sake, I have not made mention of many wants the Prince suffered, the many ill-dressed diets he got, the many bad beds he lay in, the many cold and wet beds in the open fields, &c. with all which he cheerfully and patiently put up; and this any well-thinking person may easily consider from what is above set down.

NARRATIVE OF DONALD MACLEOD.¹²⁰

DONALD MACLEOD coming to Inverness, (when Lord Loudon and his men were lying in and about that town,) with a view of taking in a cargo of meal for the inhabitants of Sky, happened to make a much longer stay there than at first he had proposed, the weather having proved very stormy and cross. When the Prince and his army were marching towards Inverness, Lord Loudon and his men gave out, that they were resolved to fight them, and accordingly (as they pretended) made ready for battle, the pipes playing, and the drums beating to arms; when, in an instant, instead of fighting, they wheeled about, and made off with speed, some to the old citadel, (called Cromwell's Fort,) and others to the bridge, in order to get on board of ships and boats, the better to make their escape. Donald, walking along the bridge to see what course they were to take,

¹²⁰ This paper was taken by Bishop Forbes, from the mouth of Macleod himself, in August, 1747, when the faithful old Highlander appears to have visited him at Leith, on his return from captivity in London. Their interviews seem to have taken place in the presence of Captain Malcolm Macleod, who was also distinguished by his connection with the Prince during his wanderings, and of one James MacDonald, joiner in Leith, no doubt a faithful partisan of the Jacobite cause.—ED.

chanced to fall in with his own chieftain, the Laird of MacLeod, who asked him how he was to dispose of himself now? Donald said, he was to go back to Inverness for a horse he had there, for that he thought it foolish for him to lose his horse whatever might happen. The laird forbade him to do any such thing, assuring him he would certainly be made a prisoner by the rebels, if he returned into the town. Donald replied, he was very indifferent whether he was made a prisoner or not, being confident that they would not do any harm to him, that was nothing but a poor old man. The laird walked back with him, as if he had been wanting something out of the town, till they came near the gate next to the bridge, where they began to hear the pipes of the Prince's army playing very briskly, and then the laird thought fit to turn tail and run with speed. Donald never once fashed himself, but went into the town at his own leisure, where he had not been long, till he fell in with the MacDonalds of Glencoe, who took him prisoner, and would have him to give up his broadsword, "which" (said Donald) "I was unco unwilling to part wi', for it was a piece of very good stuff but luckily for him the old Laird of MacKinnon came up, who, taking him by the hand, and asking very kindly about his welfare, assured the party that Donald was an honest man, and that he would be bail for him; upon which they allowed Donald to keep the claymore, and to go along with MacKinnon. After this, Donald had no great inclination to leave Inverness, but sauntered about among his good friends and acquaintances in the army.

About the beginning of April, 1746, Æneas MacDonald (one of Kinlochmoidart's brothers, and a banker at Paris) sent for Donald MacLeod, and told him, that he heard that he (Donald) knew the coast well, and likewise the course to the different isles; and that, as he was upon going to the Island of Barra for a small sum of money that was lying there, only about three hundred and eighty pounds sterling, he was desirous to have him for his pilot and guide. Donald MacLeod very frankly agreed to do that, or any thing else in his power, to promote the Prince's interest. On board they go, and though the sea was swarming with sloops of war, boats, and yawls, full of militia, viz. the Campbells, the MacLeods, and MacDonalds of Sky, &c. yet they had the good luck to get safe to Barra, where they got the money; but they behoved to remove from place to place, for fear of being discovered and taken. When Æneas and Donald were in Barra, John Fergusson (captain of the Furnace sloop) came upon the coast of the island, and sent a letter to MacDonald of Boisdale, (in whose house Æneas and Donald had been,) by a yawl full of the MacLeods, desiring Boisdale to come on board and speak with him.

When the MacLeods returned to the sloop, they informed Captain Fergusson that they had seen Donald MacLeod upon shore; and they were persuaded he was about no good,—he behaved to be about some mischief or another, for well did they know him, and what way he would be employed. After this, Æneas and Donald were obliged to be more wary and cautious than ever, and were much put to it how to get off, as the sloops, boats, &c. were cruising in great numbers about all the places of the Long Isle. At last they got off with the cash to the Island of Cana, at the distance of ten leagues from south Uist towards the mainland. From thence they sailed to the island of Egg, twelve miles from Cana, and from Egg they steered their course to the mainland, where they arrived at Kinlochmoidart's house, which is about six or seven leagues from Egg.

About four or five days after they came to Kinlochmoidart, they were thinking of setting out for Inverness, when Æneas MacDonald received a letter from the Prince, containing the accounts of the battle of Culloden. Æneas said to Donald, that he had very bad news to give him, and then told him, that the Prince and his army had been totally routed near Culloden House. In this letter Æneas was ordered to meet the Prince at Boradale; and immediately, upon receipt of the letter, he set out, and returned that same night to Kinlochmoidart. About two days after this, Lord Elcho and Captain O'Neil came to Kinlochmoidart.

In one day three several messages (for the greater security, lest any one of them should happen to miscarry, or come by any misfortune,) came to Donald MacLeod, desiring him forthwith to go to the Prince at Boradale; which order he obeyed directly. When Donald came to Boradale, the first man he met with was the Prince in a wood all alone. This was about four or five days after the battle, April 20th or 21st.

[It is to be remarked here, when Donald spoke to the Prince, he always used these terms, *May it please your Majesty, or, May it please your Excellency.*]

The Prince, making towards Donald, asked, "Are you Donald MacLeod of Guatergill in Sky?"—"Yes," said Donald, "I am the same man, may it please your Majesty, at your service. What is your pleasure wi' me?"—"Then," said the Prince, "you see, Donald, I am in distress; I therefore throw myself into your bosom, and let you do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man, and fit-to be trusted."

When Donald was giving me this part of the narrative, he grat sore; the tears came running down his cheeks; and he said,—“Wha diel could help greeting, when speaking on sic a sad subject?”—Donald

made this return to the Prince, "Alas! may it please your Excellency, what can I do for you? for I am but a poor auld man, and can do very little for mysell."—"Why," said the Prince, "the service I am to put you upon, I know, you can perform very well. It is, that you may go with letters from me to Sir Alexander MacDonald, and the Laird of MacLeod. I desire therefore to know, if you will undertake this piece of service; for I am really convinced, that these gentlemen, for all that they have done, will do all in their power to protect me."—Upon hearing this, Donald was struck with surprise, and plainly told the Prince, he would do any thing but that. It was a task he would not undertake, if he should hang him for refusing. "What!" said Donald, "does not your Excellency know, that these men have played the rogue to you altogether! and will you trust them for a' that? Na, you maunna do't." Then Donald informed the Prince, that Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod were then, with forces along with them, in search of him, not above the distance of ten or twelve miles by sea from him, but a much greater distance by land; and therefore the sooner he left that place the better, not knowing how soon they might come up to it, especially if they should happen to take their course by sea. Donald still repeated his dislike of the measure in sending any message to Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod, and said, he would not risk upon going any message to these gentlemen from the Prince at any rate (in the present circumstances) for more reasons than one.

At this time, very luckily for the Prince, Cumberland and his army entertained the notion, that he had set sail from the continent for St Kilda, being a place so remote, that no suspicion would be readily entertained of his being there. Upon this General Campbell was despatched with such a considerable force, as took up all the fleet that was upon the coast; but to no purpose. When General Campbell appeared upon the coast of St Kilda, the greater part of the poor inhabitants ran off to the cliffs of their rocks, to hide themselves, being frightened out of their wits at seeing such an appearance coming towards their island. Such of the forces as landed inquired at the inhabitants they met with about the young Pretender. The poor creatures were quite amazed, and declared, they knew nothing of that man; for they had never heard of him before. They said, they had heard a report that their Laird, MacLeod, had lately had war with a great woman abroad; but that he had got the better of her; and that was all they knew of the disturbances in the world. Upon this the General and his command (not a small one) returned with their finger in their cheek, when, in the meantime, they thought they had been sure to catch the much coveted price of blood.

When Donald MacLeod had absolutely refused to go any message whatsoever to Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod, the Prince said to him, "I hear, Donald, you are a good pilot, that you know all this coast well, and therefore, I hope, you can carry me safely through the Islands, where I may look for more safety than I can do here." Donald answered, he would do any thing in the world for him, he would run any risk, except only that which he had formerly mentioned; and that he most willingly undertook to do his best in the service he now proposed. For this purpose Donald procured a stout eight oared boat, the property of John MacDonald, son of Æneas or Angus MacDonald of Boradale. Both Donald MacLeod and Malcolm MacLeod said, that this John MacDonald was either killed at the battle of Culloden, or butchered next day in coldblood, (which was the fate of many;) for that he had never been heard of since that time. Donald took care to buy a pot for boiling pottage, or the like, when they should happen to come to land; and a poor firloft of meal was all the provision he could make out to take along with them.

April 26th, they got on board, in the twilight of the evening, in Lochnannua, at Boradale, being the very spot of ground where the Prince landed at first upon the continent, and Boradale's house was the first roof he was, under when he arrived upon the continent. There were in the boat, the Prince, Captain O'Sullivan, Captain O'Neil, Allan MacDonald, commonly called Captain MacDonald, of the family of Clanranald, and a clergyman of the church of Rome, and Donald MacLeod, for pilot, managing the helm, and betwixt whose feet the Prince took his seat. The names of the boatmen are, Roderick MacDonald, Lauchlan MacMurrich, Roderick MacCaskgill, John MacDonald, Murdoch MacLeod, (son of the pilot,) Duncan Roy, Alexander MacDonald, and Edward Bourk or Burke, a common chairman in Edinburgh.

The above Murdoch MacLeod was then a lad only of fifteen years of age, a scholar in the grammar school of Inverness. When he heard of the appearance of a battle, having got himself provided in a claymore, dirk, and pistol, he ran off from the school, and took his chance in the field of Culloden battle. After the defeat, he found means to trace out the road the Prince had taken, and followed him from place to place; "and this was the way" (said Donald) "that I met wi' my poor boy."

[As to Ned Bourk, I asked, if Bourk was not an Irish name, and where Ned was born? Both Donald and Malcolm joined in saying, that Bourk indeed was originally an Irish name; but that there had been some of that name, for three or four generations past, in and about the Isle of Sky, where, or rather in north Uist, Ned was born.

They likewise told me, that Ned, from the beginning of the expedition, had been servant to Mr Alexander MacLeod, (son of Mr John MacLeod, advocate,) one of the Prince's aide-de-camps; that Ned knew all Scotland well, and a great part of England, having been servant to several gentlemen; and that he was the man that led the Prince off the field of battle, and guided him all the way to Boradale. They spoke excellent things of poor Ned, and James MacDonald, the landlord, supported them in what they said, for he knows Ned very well.]

When the Prince and his small retinue were thinking of going on board the eight oared boat, Donald MacLeod begged the Prince not to set out that night; for that it would certainly be a storm, and he could not think of his exposing himself. The Prince asked how Donald came to think it would be a storm? "Why, sir," said Donald, "I see it coming already." However, the Prince, anxious to be out of the continent, where parties were then dispersed in search of him, was positive to set out directly without loss of time. They had not rowed far from the shore, till a most violent tempest arose, greater than any Donald MacLeod had ever been trysted with before, though all his lifetime a seafaring man upon the coast of Scotland. To this they had the additional distress of thunder and lightning, and a heavy pour-down of rain, which continued all the time they were at sea. When the Prince saw the storm increasing still more and more, he wanted much to be at land again; and desired Donald to steer directly for the rock, which runs no less than three miles along one side of the Loch; "for," said the Prince, "I had far rather face cannons and muskets, than be in such a storm as this." But Donald would not hear of that proposal at all, assuring the Prince, that it was impossible for them to return to the land again, because the squall was against them, and that, if they should steer for the rock, the boat would undoubtedly stave to pieces, and all of them behoved to be drowned; for there was no possibility of saving any one life amongst them, upon such a dangerous rock, where the sea was dashing with the utmost violence. The Prince then asked Donald, what he had a mind to do? "Why," replied Donald, "since we are here, we have nothing for it but, under God, to set out to sea directly. Is it not as good for us to be drowned in clean water, as to be dashed in pieces upon a rock, and to be drowned too?"

After this all was hush and silence; not one word more amongst them, expecting every moment to be overwhelmed with the violence of the waves, and to sink down to the bottom. To make the case still worse, they had neither pump, nor compass, nor lantern, along with them; and the night turned so pitch-dark, that they knew not where

they were for the most of the course. This made them afraid of being tossed upon some coast (such as the Isle of Sky) where the militia were in arms to prevent the Prince's escape: "But," to use Donald's words, "as God would have it, by peep of day, we discovered ourselves to be on the coast of the Long Isle; and we made directly to the nearest land, which was Rushness in the Island Benbecula; where, with great difficulty, we got on shore, and saved the boat, hawling her up to dry land, in the morning of April 27th."

[I asked how long the course might be, that they made in the violent storm? Donald declared that they had run at least thirty-two leagues in eight hours. About this, Malcolm MacLeod made some doubt, alleging the course not to be so long, and they reasoned the matter betwixt them. James MacDonald supported Donald in what he had advanced; and, after some debate, Malcolm acknowledged that Donald was in the right, and that the course they had been driven was rather more than thirty-two leagues. The storm lasted four hours after landing. Then I asked Donald, if the Prince was in health all the time he was with him? Donald said, that the Prince would never own he was in bad health; though he and all that were with him had reason to think, that, during the whole time, the Prince was more or less under a bloody flux, but that he bore up most surprisingly, and never wanted spirits. Donald added, that the Prince, for all the fatigue he underwent, never slept above three or four hours at most, at a time; and that when he awaked in the morning, he was always sure to call for a chopin of water, which he never failed to drink off at a draught; and that he had a little bottle in his pocket, out of which he used to take so many drops every morning and throughout the day, saying, if any thing should ail him, he hoped he should cure himself, for that he was something of a doctor. "And faith," said Donald, "he was indeed a bit of a doctor; for Ned Burke happening ance to be unco ill of a colick, the Prince said, Let him alane, I hope to cure him of that; and accordingly he did so; for he gae him sae mony draps out o' the little bottle, and Ned soon was as well as ever he had been."]

When they landed at Rushness in Benbecula, they came to an uninhabited hut, where they made a fire to dry their clothes; for all of them were wet through and through, in to the skin; and an old sail was spread upon the bare ground, which served for a bed to the Prince, who was very well pleased with it, and slept soundly. Here they killed a cow, and the pot which Donald had bought, served them in good stead for boiling bits of the beef. In this poor hut they remained two days and two nights.

April 29th, in the evening, they set sail from Benbecula, on board

the same eight oared boat, for the Island Scalpay, commonly called the Island Glass, where they landed safely about two hours before daylight next day; the Prince and O'Sullivan going under the name of Sinclair, the latter passing for the father, and the former for the son. Betwixt Benbecula and Scalpay there is the distance of thirteen or fifteen leagues. In this island Donald MacLeod had an acquaintance, Donald Campbell, to whose house he brought the Prince and his small retinue before break of day, April 30th, being all cold and hungry. Donald MacLeod desired immediately to have a good fire, which was instantly got for them. Donald MacLeod was here only one night; but the Prince remained four nights, and was most kindly entertained by his hospitable landlord, Donald Campbell, whose civility and compassion the Prince entertained a most grateful sense of.

May 1st, Donald MacLeod was despatched by the Prince to Stornoway in the Island of Lewis, in order to hire a vessel, under a pretence of sailing to the Orkneys to take in meal for the Isle of Sky, as Donald used to deal in that way formerly. Here Donald once more affirmed, that O'Neil did not go with him to Stornoway, and desired me to remark his assertion accordingly. Donald left the eight oared boat at Scalpay, and got another boat from his friend Mr Campbell, in which he sailed for Stornoway, where he remained some time without making out the design upon which he was sent; but at last he succeeded; and then despatched an express to the Prince in Scalpay (between which and Stornoway thirty miles by land) to inform him, that he had got a vessel to his mind.

May 4th, The Prince (leaving Allan MacDonald, the Popish clergyman, in Scalpay, who afterwards returned to South Uist) set out on foot for Stornoway, attended by O'Sullivan and O'Neil, taking a guide along to direct them the right road. This guide, in going to the Harris (between which and Scalpay there is a ferry of only a quarter of a mile) took them eight miles out of the way. In coming from Harris to the Lewis, they fell under night, and a very stormy and rainy night it was, which fatigued them very much, their journey, by the mistake of their guide, being no less than thirty-eight long Highland miles.,

May 5th, When in sight of Stornoway, the Prince sent the guide to Donald MacLeod, to inform him, that he and the two captains were at such a place, desiring withal that he would forthwith send them a bottle of brandy and some bread and cheese; for that they stood much in need of a little refreshment. Donald immediately obeyed the summons, and came to the Prince, bringing along with him the demanded provisions. He found the Prince and his two attendants

upon a muir, all wet to the skin, and wearied enough with such a long journey through the worst of roads in the world. Donald told the Prince, that he knew of a faithful and true friend to take care of him, till things should be got ready for the intended voyage. This was the Lady Killdun at Arynish, to whose house Donald conducted the Prince and his two attendants. Here the Prince was obliged to throw off his shirt, which one of the company did wring upon the hearth-stone, and did spread it upon a chair before the fire to have it dried.

The same day, May 5th, Donald was sent back to Stornoway to get things in readiness, but when he came there, to his great surprise, he found no less than two or three hundred men in arms. The Lewis is inhabited by the MacKenzies, and belongs to the Earl of Seaforth. Donald could not understand at all what was the matter that occasioned such a sudden rising of men; and therefore (without fear or dread) he went directly into the room where the gentlemen were that had taken upon themselves the rank of officers, and asked them what was the matter? Every one of them immediately cursed him bitterly, and gave him very abusive language, affirming that he had brought this plague upon them, for that they were well assured the Prince was already upon the Lewis, and not far from Stornoway, with five hundred men. This, they said, exposed them to the hazard of losing both their cattle and their lives, as they heard the Prince was come with a full resolution to force a vessel from Stornoway. Donald very gravely asked, how sorrow such a notion could ever enter into their heads? "Where, I pray you," (said he,) "could the Prince, in his present condition, get five or one hundred men together? I believe the men are mad; has the devil possessed you altogether?" They replied, that Mr John MacAulay, Presbyterian preacher in South Uist, had writ these accounts to his father in the Harris, and that the said father had transmitted the same to Mr Colin MacKenzie, Presbyterian teacher in the Lewis. Donald served these blades, the informers, very heartily, and spared not to give them their proper epithets in strong terms. "Well then," (said Donald,) "since you know already that the Prince is upon your island, I acknowledge the truth of it; but then he is so far from having any number of men with him, that he has only but two companions with him, and when I am there, I make the third: and yet, let me tell you farther, gentlemen, if Seaforth himself were here, by G— he durst not put a hand to the Prince's breast!" Here Donald desired me to remark particularly, for the honour of the honest MacKenzies in the Lewis, (notwithstanding the vile abusive language they had given him,) that they declared they had no intention to do the Prince the smallest hurt, or to meddle with

him at present in any shape; but then, they were mighty desirous he might leave them, and go to the continent, or any where else he should think most convenient. The wind being quite fair for the continent, Donald desired they would give him a pilot, but they absolutely refused to give him one: Donald offered any money for one, but he said, he believed he would not have got one, though he should have offered five hundred pound sterling; such was the terror and dread the people were struck with. Donald then returned to the Prince, and gave him an honest account how matters stood, which made them all at a loss to know what course to take, all choices having but a bad aspect.

At this time, the Prince, O'Sullivan, and O'Neil, had but six shirts amongst them; and frequently when they stript to dry those that were upon them, they found those that they were to put on, as wet as the ones they had thrown off.

In this great difficulty, the Prince declared, let the consequence be what it would, he could not think of stirring any where that night, till he should sleep a little, so much was he fatigued with the late tedious journey, and the two captains were no less wearied, being quite undone. To make their case still worse, two of the boatmen had run away from Stornoway, being frighted out of their wits at the rising of the men in arms.

May 6th, about eight o'clock in the morning, the Prince, O'Sullivan, O'Neil, Donald MacLeod, and the six boatmen, (two whereof were Donald's own son, and honest Ned Burke,) went on board Donald Campbell's boat, which they had got at Scalpay, and sailed for the Island Euirn, twelve miles from Stornoway, and landed safely. This Euirn is a desert island, round which the people of the Lewis use to go a fishing, and upon which they frequently land to spread their fish upon the rocks of it for drying. The fishermen were then at Stornoway, but not one of them could be prevailed upon to accompany the Prince to the uninhabited island, for the wind was contrary, and it blew a very hard gale.

When they were in Lady Kildun's house, they had killed a cow, for which the Prince desired payment to be made, but the landlady refused to accept of it. However, Donald said before they left the house, he obliged her to take the price of the cow. "For," said Donald, "so long as there was any money among us, I was positive that the deil a man or woman should have it to say, that the Prince ate their meat for nought." They took the head and some pieces of the cow along with them in the boat, as also two pecks of meal, and plenty of brandy and sugar. They had all along a wooden plate for making their dough for bread, and they made use of stones for birsling their

bannocks before the fire. When they were parting with Lady Killdun, she called Ned Burke aside, and (as Donald said) gave him a junt of butter betwixt two fardles of bread, which Ned put into a wallet they had for carrying some little baggage.

Upon the desert island they found plenty of good dry fish, of which they were resolved to make the best fare they could without any butter, not knowing of the junt that Ned had in his wallet. As they had plenty of brandy and sugar along with them, and found very good springs upon the island, they wanted much to have a little warm punch to cheer their hearts in this cold remote place. They luckily found an earthen pitcher, which the fishers had left upon the island, and this served their purpose very well for heating the punch; but the second night the pitcher, by some accident or another, was broke to pieces, so that they could have no more warm punch.

When Donald was asked, if ever the Prince used to give any particular toast, when they were taking a cup of cold water, whisky, or the like; he said, that the Prince very often drank to the Black Eye, "by which," said Donald, "he meant the second daughter of France, and I never heard him name any particular health but that alone. When he spoke of that lady, which he did frequently, he appeared to be more than ordinary well pleased."

When Donald was asked, if ever he heard the Prince mention, that he had any trust to put in the King of France for assistance; he answered, that the Prince, when he spoke of the King of France, mentioned him with great affection, and declared, that he firmly believed the King of France had his cause much at heart, and would (he hoped) do all in his power to promote it. When the Prince at any time was talking upon this subject, Donald said, he used to add these words, "But, gentlemen, I can assure you, a King and his Council are two very different things."

Ned Burke stood cook and baxter, but Donald said the Prince was the best cook of them all. One day, upon the desert island, the Prince and Ned were employed in making out a dish of fish, while all the rest were asleep. Ned, not minding that he had the junt of butter, began to complain, that the fish would make but a very sa'rless morsel without butter. The Prince said, the fish would do very well in their present condition, and that they behoved to take the fish till the butter should come. Ned, at last reflecting, told the Prince, that he had got a junt of butter from Lady Killdun, which he laid up betwixt two fardles of bread in the wallet, which was then lying in the boat. The Prince said, that would do exceedingly well; for it would serve to complete their cookery, and desired Ned to go fetch it immediately. When Ned came to take out the butter, the bread was all crumbled into pieces, and

mixed in with it; so that it made a very ugly appearance. Ned returned, and told the Prince, the butter would not serve the purpose at all; for, that it was far from being clean, the bread being crumbled into pieces and wrought in amongst it, and therefore he thought shame to present it. "What!" said the Prince, "was not the butter clean, when it was put there?"—"Yes," answered Ned, "it was clean enough."—"Then," replied the Prince, "you are a child, Ned. The butter will do exceedingly well. The bread can never file it. Go fetch it immediately." When the fish were sufficiently boiled, they awakened the rest of the company to share in the entertainment. Donald MacLeod, looking at the butter, said, "The deil a drap of that butter he would take; for it was neither good nor clean." But the Prince told him, he was very nice indeed; for that the butter would serve the turn very well at present, and he caused it to be served up. They made a very hearty meal of the fish and the crumbs of bread swimming among the butter.

At another time, when Ned was preparing to bake some bannocks, the Prince said, he would have a cake of his own contriving, which was, to take the brains of the cow, and mingle them well in amongst the meal, when making the dough; and this, he said, they would find to be very wholesome meat. His directions were obeyed; and, said Donald, he "gave orders to birstle the bannock well, or else it would not do at all." When the cake was fully fired, the Prince divided it into so many pieces, giving every gentleman a bit of it; and Donald said, "it made very good bread indeed."

[Here I asked, if the boatmen did eat in common with the Prince and the gentlemen? "Na, good faith they!" said Donald; "set them up wi' that indeed, the fallows, to eat wi' the Prince and the shentlemen; we even kept up the port of the Prince upon the desert island itself, and kept twa tables, one for the Prince and the shentlemen, and the other for the boatmen. We sat upon the bare ground, having a big stone in the middle of us for a table; and sometimes we ate off our knee, or the bare ground, as it happened."]

Upon this uninhabited island they remained four days and four nights in a low pitiful hut, which the fishers had made up for themselves; but it was so ill roofed, that they were obliged to spread the sail of the boat over the top of it. They found heath and turf enough to make a fire of; but had nothing but the bare ground to lie along upon, when disposed to take a nap, without any covering upon them at all.

When they were consulting about taking their departure from this barren island, the Prince ordered two dozen of the fish to be put on board the boat, whatever might happen to them; and said, he would

leave money for them, placing the cash upon a fish, that so the people, when they missed of the number of their fish, might find the value of what they wanted. But O'Sullivan of O'Neil told him, it was needless to leave any money, lest vagrants should happen to land upon the island, and take the money, which did not belong to them. These two prevailed upon him to allow the money to be taken up again.

May 10th, they set sail from the uninhabited island, when the Prince told his retinue he was determined to return to Scalpay, or the Island Glass, in order to pay his respects to honest Donald Campbell for the remarkable civilities he had shewn him; and then he ordered to steer the course directly to that island. When they arrived at Scalpay, Donald Campbell was not at home, having gone a-skulking for fear of being laid up; an account or rumour having passed from hand to hand, that the Prince had been in his house, and that the landlord had entertained him kindly. The Prince was sorry at missing his hospitable friend, and set sail directly from Scalpa the same day, May 10th. Here Donald said, the Prince would not part with Campbell's boat, because it was such a fine, light, swift sailing thing. In coursing along, they happened to spy a ship at Finsbay, in the Harris, within two musket shots before they observed her. They were on the windward of the ship at the mouth of the said bay, and made all the haste they could along the coast to Benbecula. In this course they spied another ship in Lochmaddy, in North Uist, which occasioned them to make all the sail and rowing they could, to get free of the mouth of the loch, and out of sight of the ship.

May 11th, being still upon the sea, they fell short of bread; but having some meal on board, and the men turning very hungry and thirsty, they began to make drammach (in Erse *stappack*) with salt water, and to lick it up. The Prince said, that was a kind of meat he had never seen before, and therefore he behoved to try it, how it would go down. Donald said, the Prince eat of it very heartily, and much more than he could do for his life. Never any meat or drink came wrong to him; for he could take a share of every thing, be it good, bad, or indifferent, and was always cheerful and contented in every condition.

May 11th, they arrived at Lochwiskaway, in Benbecula; and had scarce got ashore, when the wind proved quite contrary to what it had been, blowing a hard gale, which served to make the ships they had spied steer an opposite course. A heavy rain likewise came on at the same time. It happened then to be low water, and one of the boatmen went in among the rocks, where he caught a large partan, and taking it up in his hand, he wagged it at the Prince, who was at some

distance from him. The Prince then took up a cog in his hand, and running towards the lad, desired to share in his game.

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[Here an unfortunate hiatus occurs in our manuscript. The party subsequently proceeded to Coradale in Uist, where the Prince found shelter for several weeks, under the protection of the chieftain of Clanranald and his lady. From Coradale he despatched Donald MacLeod to the mainland, on a business described as follows in the manuscript.—Ed.]

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despatched Donald MacLeod, in Campbell's boat, to the continent, with letters to Lochiel and John Murray of Broughton, in order to know how affairs stood, and that Donald might bring along with him some cash and brandy. Donald met with Lochiel and Murray at the head of Locharkaig, but got no money at all from Murray, who said he had none to give, having only about sixty louis d'ores to himself, which was not worth the while to send. Donald received letters from Lochiel and Murray to the Prince, and found means, with much ado, to purchase two ankers of brandy, at a guinea per anker. Here Donald observed, that the Prince had a very good opinion of Murray, looking upon him as one of the honestest, firmest men in the whole world.

Donald was absent from the Prince eighteen days, or thereabouts; and, upon his return, he found the Prince where he left him, upon Coradale. During his abode on this mountain he lived in a tenant's house, only a hut better than ordinary, diverting and maintaining himself with hunting and fishing; for he used frequently to go down to the foot of the hill upon the shore, and there go on board a small boat, which continued rowing along, and he caught, with hand lines, fishes called lyths, somewhat like young cod.

June 14th, From the foot of Coradale they set sail, in Campbell's boat still, towards Loch Boisdale; but spying three sail within cannon shot of the shore, about break of day, this obliged them to put back to a place, called Cilistiela, in South Uist. Next morning, June 15th, once more they set sail for Loch Boisdale, where they arrived safely. Here they got accounts, that Boisdale was made a prisoner, which was a thing not looked for at all, as he had all along lived peaceably at home, and had kept back all Clanranald's men upon the Isles from following their young chieftain. These accounts of Boisdale's being a prisoner distressed the Prince and his small retinue exceedingly much, as Boisdale was the person principally concerned in the preservation of the Prince, and all along had been most careful to consult the safety of the Prince in his dangers upon and about the Isles. Malcolm MacLeod and Donald MacLeod both agreed in

affirming, that, had not Boisdale been made a prisoner, the Prince needed not to have left the Long Isle, for all the searches (and very strict ones they were) that were made after him by the troops and militia; so well did Boisdale know all the different places of concealment throughout the Long Isle, that were fittest for the Prince to be in, and so exact he was in sending timeous notice to the Prince by proper hands, if he could not with safety wait upon him in person, to be here or there, in this or the other place, at such and such times, as he thought convenient to point out to him. Boisdale's confinement, therefore, behoved to be an inexpressible hardship and distress upon the Prince, and make him quite at a loss what to do, or what corner to turn himself to.

Lady Boisdale sent four bottles of brandy to the Prince, and every other thing she could procure, that was useful for him and his attendants. In and about Loch Boisdale the Prince continued for eight or ten days, till June 24th, that the woful parting behoved to ensue betwixt the Prince and Donald MacLeod, &c.

One day, coursing up and down upon Loch Boisdale, Donald MacLeod asked the Prince, if he were once come to his own, what he would do with Sir Alexander MacLeod and the Laird of MacLeod, for their behaviour? "O Donald," said the Prince, "what would you have me to do with them? are they not our own people still, let them do what they will? It is not their fault for what they have done. It is altogether owing to the power that President Forbes had over their judgment in these matters. Besides, if the King were restored, we would be as sure of them for friends as any other men whatsoever." The Prince blamed the young Laird of MacLeod much more than the father, for that, he said, the son had been introduced to him in France, where he kissed his hands, and solemnly promised him all the service that lay in his power, to promote his cause; but that, when put to the trial, he did not keep to his engagements at all.

Here Malcolm MacLeod remarked, that the Prince spoke likewise to him about the Laird of MacLeod and his son; and he said, when the Prince was talking about them, he could not fail observing with what wariness and caution the Prince (knowing he was talking to a MacLeod) ordered his words, not being sure likewise, in his then circumstances, whom to trust, or how easily people might be offended at any observations he might happen to make upon those who had not dealt so fairly by him.

Both Donald and Malcolm agreed in giving it as their opinion, that the Prince had an excess of mercy and goodness about him at all times.

They likewise agreed in saying, they had good reason to believe,

that honest Hugh MacDonald of Armadale, in Sky, (stepfather of Miss MacDonald,) had a meeting with the Prince at Rushness, in Benbecula, that he got the Prince's pistols in keeping, and that he had them still in his custody. They added, farther, they were persuaded, he would sooner part with his life than with these pistols, unless they were to the proper owner, and that he was the grand contriver in laying and executing the scheme for the Prince's escape in women's clothes from the Long Isle to the Isle of Sky. They said they had often heard, that Armadale sent a letter by Miss Flora to his wife, wherein he used some such expression as this, "that he had found out an Irish girl, Betty Burke, very fit for being a servant to her, and that, among her other good qualifications, she had this one, that *well could she spin*, which, he knew, she liked well."

They also agreed in telling me, that the whole Island of Raaza had been plundered and pillaged to the utmost degree of severity, every house and hut being levelled with the ground; and there was not left in the whole island a four-footed beast, a hen, or a chicken. As there is plenty of freestone and marble in Raaza, the laird had built of these materials a very neat genteel house for himself, which was razed out at the foundation; but in destroying it, they had carefully preserved the windows, (all of oak,) and put them on board of a ship of war for sale. When the ship came to the road of Leith, James MacDonald, joiner, and a kinsman of Raaza's, went on board, and bought the windows, which were all done with crown-glass; choosing rather they should fall into his hands, than into those of any indifferent person, because he could account for them to the owner, when a proper opportunity should offer. I saw the windows in James MacDonald's house.

Donald MacLeod said, the Prince used to smoke a great deal of tobacco; and, as in his wanderings from place to place, the pipes behoved to break, and turn into short cutties, he used to take quills, and putting one into another, "and all" said Donald, "into the end of the cuttie, this served to make it long enough, and the tobacco to smoke cool." Donald added, that he never knew, in all his life, any one better at finding out a shift than the Prince was, when he happened to be at a pinch; and that the Prince would sometimes sing them a song to keep up their hearts.

They expected, that Boisdale would get free at Barra; but one came and told the Prince, (to his great sorrow,) that Boisdale was still to be detained a prisoner, and that there was no appearance of his being set at liberty. This, with other distresses that were still increasing upon him, made the Prince resolve upon parting from his attendants, for the greater safety. There were at that time two ships of war in the

mouth of Loch Boisdale, for whom they durst not make out of the loch to the sea. Besides, there was a command of above five hundred red-coats and militia within a mile and a half of them. All choices were bad; but (under God) they behoved to remove from the place where they then were, and to do their best.

The Prince called for the boatmen, and ordered O'Sullivan to pay every one of them a shilling sterling a-day, besides their maintenance. He gave a draught of sixty pistoles to Donald MacLeod, to be paid by Mr John Hay of Restalrig, if he should happen to be so lucky as to meet with him upon the continent; but as Donald never met with Mr Hay, the draught remains yet unpaid. Donald could not help saying here, that he did not despair of the payment; for that he hoped (for as old as he was) to see the draught paid to him with interest.

When Donald came to talk of the parting, he grat sare, and said it was a woful parting indeed, but still insists, that he hopes to see him yet, "for a' that's come and gane."

June 24th, They parted, with a resolution to meet again at a certain place by different roads, Donald MacLeod, O'Sullivan, and the boatmen, walking away, and leaving O'Neil only with the Prince. Donald MacLeod went south about; but all the men left him, one only excepted; upon which he was obliged to sink the boat, and to do the best he could to shift for himself; but it was not possible for an old man like him to keep himself any considerable time out of grips, especially as the troops and militia at last became so very numerous upon the different parts of the Long Isle. The militia were the worst of all, because they knew the country so well. Donald and Malcolm MacLeod were positive that the red-coats could have done but little, particularly in taking those that were skulking, had it not been for the militia, viz. Campbells, Monroes, Grants, &c. &c. who served to scour the hills and woods, and were as so many guides for the red-coats, to discover to them the several corners of the country, both upon the continent and on the islands.

July 5th, Donald MacLeod had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, in Benbecula, by Allan MacDonald, of Knock, in Slate, in Sky, a lieutenant. The same day Mr Allan MacDonald of the family of Glenaladale, and Mr Forrest, clergyman of the church of Rome, were made prisoners by the said Knock; but not at the same time of day, nor upon the same spot with Donald MacLeod. Mr MacDonald, one of the clergymen, commonly called Captain MacDonald, had sixty guineas in his pocket, which Knock took from him, though he was his blood relation, and would not give him one single shilling to purchase necessaries with.

From Benbecula the two priests and honest Donald were brought to Barra, in order (as was given out) to appear before General Campbell; but they did not see him there. From Barra they were carried to Loch Brachandale, in Sky, and from Loch Brachandale to Portree, in Sky, where Donald had the mortification of being neglected and disregarded by some of his own relations, who saw him, but soon turned their backs upon him, and would not vouchsafe to speak one word to him. This affected Donald's honest heart very much; "but," said Donald, "the rogues will be fain to speak to me now, when I go back to Sky, where, indeed, I thought never to return any more; but I shall make them understand themselves."

At Portree Donald MacLeod and Malcolm MacLeod met as fellow prisoners, and from that were carried to Applecross Bay, towards the continent, and there they were put on board the sloop, commanded by the noted John Fergusson, so often mentioned. Donald MacLeod was immediately brought into the cabin before General Campbell, who examined him most exactly and circumstantially.

The General asked, if he had been along with the young Pretender? "Yes," said Donald, "I was along with that young gentleman; and I winna deny it."—"Do you know," said the General, "what money was upon that man's head?—no less a sum than *thirty thousand pounds* sterling, which would have made you, and all your children after you, happy for ever!" Donald's answer to this is so very good, that the beauty of it would be quite spoiled, if I did not give it in his own words, which are these,—"What then?—*thirty thousand pounds!*—though I had gotten't, I could not have enjoyed it eight-and-forty hours. Conscience would have gotten up upon me: that money could not have kept it down. And though I could have gotten all England and Scotland for my pains, I would not allowed a hair of his body to be touched, if I could help it!" Here Donald desired me particularly to remark, for the honour of General Campbell, and to do him justice, that he spoke these words, "I will not say that you are in the wrong." Then the General said, "But now you are in the King's mercy, and if you will not declare every thing you know of this matter, here is a machine" (pointing to it) "that will force you to declare." Donald replied, "that many a prettier fellow than he was now in his mercy; and that he would tell any thing he knew without any machine whatsoever." This was Barisdale's machine, in which he used to torture thieves, to make them confess. Such particular questions were then asked, that Donald behoved to give an account of the violent storm they were engaged in, when sailing from the continent to the isles, what persons were on board at the time, and what their characters were. When the General heard of a popish

priest in the case, he asked, seeing it was a very tempestuous night they set out in from the continent, whether or not the priest was not very busy in praying heartily for the young Pretender, as he was in danger of drowning? "Na, good faith he, sir!" replied Donald; "for if he prayed for himsel, he thought he did well enough. And had you been there, sir, you would have thought you did well enough too, if you prayed for yoursel. Every one of us was minding himsel then." Then a written declaration was taken from Donald's own mouth, and he subscribed it.

Donald said, he could easily give all his own part of the adventure without doing the smallest harm to the Prince, as he then knew that the Prince had set out some time before from Sky to the continent, and thereby was out of the reach of General Campbell and his command.

Here Malcolm MacLeod informed me, that he likewise gave a written declaration, but did not subscribe it.

They both concurred in affirming, that Fergusson behaved very roughly and barbarously to them. When they were in health, they and the other prisoners were brought upon the quarter deck, betwixt nine and ten in the morning, and were allowed to walk among two dozen or so of sheep, with sentries placed on each side of them. So long as Fergusson was cruising upon the Highland coast, he took care to have great plenty of fresh victuals of all sorts, the sweet fruits of plundering and pillaging. The prisoners got only half man's allowance in every respect. For one day of the week they had pease; but the common fellows of the ship behoved to be served first before the gentlemen got any at all; and if the pease happened to fall short, the fellows would have mixed them up with salt water. The victuals were brought to the prisoners in foul nasty buckets, wherein the *
* * * for a piece of ill-natured diversion. They were assigned their quarters in a dark place of the ship, where they were not allowed the light of a candle of any kind, "from the first of August, 1746, to the day" (said Donald and Malcolm) "upon which Lord Lovat suffered," being April 9th, Thursday, 1747. When they were brought opposite to Tilbury Fort, upon the Thames, they were turned over from Fergusson to another ship, where they lay, for months together, in a most deplorable state of misery, their clothes wearing so off them, that many at last had not a single rag to cover their nakedness with. Here they were treated with the utmost barbarity and cruelty, with a view (as they suppose) to pine away their lives, and, by piecemeal, to destroy every single man of them; and, indeed, the design had too great success, for many of them died. Donald MacLeod said, he had reason to think, that no less than four hundred

men died on board three ships opposite to Tilbury Fort, among which were the sixty or seventy Grants of Glenmoriston, who, by the persuasion of the Laird of Grant, had surrendered themselves, and delivered up their arms at Inverness, when Cumberland was there, not long after the battle of Culloden. Donald and Malcolm declared, that finer and stouter men never drew a sword, than what these Glenmoriston men were, and none of them survived the miserable situation, and returned to their own country, but only one or two. They likewise joined in laying great blame to the door of the Laird of Grant, who, they said, could not fail to know what would turn out to be the fate of those men, if they should be prevailed upon to surrender. In a word, they looked upon him as the instrument of the misery of those brave fellows, and spoke no good things of him at all, affirming, that he entertained a hatred at the Grants of Glenmoriston.

Here Donald and Malcolm had a remark very much to the purpose. They said, it was most lucky that a greater number had not surrendered at the same time, for that the treatment of the Glenmoriston men became a warning to others not to follow their example; and, indeed, their fate did prevent many surrenders, that otherwise would have happened.

Donald MacLeod affirmed, that they lived, at least for two days, upon horse flesh. Here Malcolm did not fully agree with him; and after some little debate betwixt them, Malcolm qualified the expression, and told me, I might write down, that the beef they got was so very bad and black, that they could not take it for any thing else but horse flesh or carrion. Upon this Donald smiled, and said, "Well, Malcolm, how much have you mended the matter?" When Donald was asked, how such beef went down with them, he replied, "Oh! what is it that will not go down wi' a hungry stomach? I can assure you, we made no scruple to eat any thing that came in our way." Almost all those that were in the same ship with Donald and Malcolm, were once so sick, that they could scarce stretch out their hands to one another. Old MacKinnon, one of their companions, held out wonderfully, although a man upwards of seventy. He was only about eight days in such a way that he needed one to help him up in the morning, while others, much younger, and, to all appearance, stronger too, were dying by pairs, as at last there was a general sickness, that raged among all the prisoners on board the different ships; which could not fail to be the case, when (as both Donald and Malcolm positively affirmed) they were sometimes fed with the beeves that had died of the disease, which was then raging amongst the horned cattle in England.

When Donald and Malcolm were talking of the barbarous usage they themselves and others met with, they used to say, "God forgie them! but God lat them never die, till we have them in the same condition they had us, and, we are sure, we would not treat them as they treated us. We would shew them the difference between a good and a bad cause."

Donald MacLeod spoke very much good of Mr James Falconar, a Scots nonjurant clergyman, and Charles Allan, son of Harry Allan in Leith. He said, that Charles Allan behaved exceedingly well in his distress, and had very much of the gentleman about him, and that he was in a state of sickness for some time. He said, that Mr Falconar was scarce ever any way ill in his health, that he bore up better than any one of them, having a great fund of spirits, being always cheerful, and never wanting something to say to divert them in their state of darkness and misery. He added, that he did not know a better man, or one of greater courage and resolution in distress.

Donald desired me to take notice, that he was set at liberty (out of a messenger's house in London, where he had been but a short time) upon a most happy day, the 10th of June, 1747.¹²¹

Donald has got, in a present, a large silver snuffbox, prettily chessed, from his good friend, Mr John Walkingshaw of London, which serves as an excellent medal of his history, as it has engraven upon it the interesting adventure, with proper mottos, &c. The box is an octagon-oval, of three inches and three quarters in length, three inches in breadth, and an inch and a quarter in depth, and the inside of it is doubly gilt. Upon the lid is raised the eight-oared boat, with Donald at the helm, and the four under his care, together with the eight rowers distinctly represented. The sea is made to appear very rough and tempestuous. Upon one of the extremities of the lid there is a landscape of the Long Isle, and the boat is just steering into Rushness, the point of Benbecula where they landed. Upon the other extremity of the lid there is a landscape of the end of the Isle of Sky, as it appears opposite to the Long Isle. Upon this representation of Sky are marked these two places, viz. Dunvegan and Gualtergill. Above the boat the clouds are represented heavy and lowering, and the rain is falling from them. The motto above the clouds, i. e. round the edge of the lid by the hinge, is this, "Olim hæc meminisse juvabit. Aprilis 26to, 1746." The inscription under the sea, i. e. round the edge of the lid by the opening, is this, "Quid, Neptune, paras? Fatis agitamur iniquis." Upon the bottom of the box are carved the following words, "Donald MacLeod of Gualtergill, in the Isle of Sky,

¹²¹ The birth day of the old Chevalier.—ED.

the faithful Palinurus. Æt. 68. 1746." Below these words there is very prettily engraved a dove with an olive branch in her bill.

When Donald came first to see me along with Deacon Clerk, I asked him, why he had not snuff in the pretty box? "Sneeshin in that box!" said Donald; "na, the diel a pickle sneeshin shall ever go into it, till the King be restored; and then (I trust in God) I'll go to London, and then will I put sneeshin in the box, and go to the Prince, and say, Sir, will you tak a sneeshin out o' my box?"¹²²

¹²² Though Donald MacLeod's history be most .extraordinary in all the several instances of it, (especially considering his advanced age;) yet, when he arrived at Leith, he had not wherewith to bear his charges to Sky, where he has a wife and children, from whom he had been absent for at least one year and a half. There was therefore a contribution set on foot for him in and about Edinburgh, and, I own, I had a great anxiety, for my own share, to make out for honest Palinurus (if possible) a pound sterling for every week he had served the Prince in distress; and (I thank God) I was so-happy as to accomplish my design exactly.

Donald MacLeod and James MacDonald came from the links of Leith to my room, as they were to sup that night with my Lady Bruce, upon invitation. I then delivered into Donald's own hand, in lieu of wages for his services of ten weeks, £10.

God Almighty bless and reward all those who liberally contributed for the support of the indigent and the deserving, in times of the greatest necessity and danger, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen and Amen.—R. F.

It appears from the papers in the Bishop's collection, that he introduced honest Donald by letter to Lord Arbuthnot, with a full reliance upon the sympathy of his Lordship towards so devoted an adherent of the Stuart cause. The following anecdote also occurs:—"Donald likewise told me, that Boisdale was once a whole night with the Prince upon Coradale, and was very merry with him; and desired me still to remark, that if Boisdale had not been prisoner, the Prince needed not to have left the Long Isle at all. Donald likewise told me, that, when in London, he called for his Chieftain, who would not vouchsafe him so much as a look; and that one day, spying him on the street of Edinburgh, he ventured to make up to him to inquire about his welfare; but his honour never minded honest Donald, and would take no notice of him at all.

"When I told Donald that I would write down an account of this odd conduct in the Laird, he said, 'O na, let him be!' but I positively insisted upon it, and would not yield it to Donald, remarking withal,

NARRATIVE OF MISS FLORA MACDONALD.¹²³

MISS MACDONALD had gone from Sky to Milton, in South Uist, in order to visit her brother-german, who had about that time taken up house. She had not been long there, till Captain O'Neil (by some lucky accident or other) had become acquainted with her. When the Prince was surrounded with difficulties on all hands, and knew not well what to do for his future safety, Captain O'Neil brought Miss MacDonald to the place where the Prince then was, and there they concerted the plan. At that time Miss returned to Milton. After Miss MacDonald had (with some difficulty) agreed to undertake the dangerous enterprise, she set out for Clanranald's house, Saturday, June 21st, and at one of the fords was taken prisoner by a party of militia, she not having a passport. She demanded to whom they belonged? And, finding by the answer that her stepfather was their commander, she refused to give any answers till she should see their captain; so she and her servant, Neil MacKechan,¹²⁴ were prisoners all that night. Her stepfather coming next day, being Sunday, she told him what she was about; upon which he granted a passport for herself, a manservant, (Neil MacKechan,) and another woman, Betty Burke, a good spinster, and whom he recommended as such, in a letter to his wife at Armadale, in Sky, as she had much lint to spin. If her stepfather (Hugh MacDonald of Armadale) had not granted Miss a passport, she could not have undertook her journey and voyage. Armadale set his stepdaughter at liberty, who immediately made the best of her way to Clanranald's house, and acquainted the Lady Clanranald with the scheme, who supplied the Prince with apparel sufficient for his disguise, viz. a flowered linen gown, a white apron, &c. and sent some provisions along with him.

During Miss MacDonald's stay at Clanranald's house, which was till the Friday, June 27th, O'Neil went several times betwixt the Prince and Miss, in which interval another scheme was proposed, that the Prince should go under the care of a gentleman to the northward; but that failing them, they behoved to have recourse to that agreed upon before; and accordingly Lady Clanranald, one Mrs MacDonald, O'Neil, Miss Flora MacDonald, and her servant, Neil

that I looked upon him as a great honour to his Chieftain, and that therefore he needed not have behaved so to him, as if he had been ashamed of him. To which Donald modestly replied, 'Faith, sir, I hope he winna say I am a disgrace to him.'"

¹²³ Taken from her own mouth, in Edinburgh, by Dr Burton of York.—R. F.

¹²⁴ Father of Marshal MacDonald, Duke of Tarentum.—ED.

MacKechan, went to the place where the Prince was, being about eight Scotch miles. He was then in a very little house or hut, assisting in the roasting of his dinner, which consisted of the heart, liver, kidneys, &c. of a bullock or sheep, upon a wooden spit. O'Neil introduced his young preserver and the company, and she sat on the Prince's right hand, and Lady Clanranald on his left. Here they all dined very heartily.

Next morning, June 28th, they heard of General Campbell's arrival at Benbecula; and soon after a man came in a great hurry to Lady Clanranald, and acquainted her, that Captain Fergusson, with an advanced party of Campbell's men, was at her house, and that Fergusson had lain in her bed the night before. This obliged her to go home immediately, which accordingly she did, after taking leave of the Prince. She was strictly examined by Fergusson, where she had been? She replied, she had been visiting a child, which had been sick, but was now better again. Both the General and Fergusson asked many other questions, such as, where the child lived, how far it was from thence? &c.; but they could make nothing out of the lady fit for their purpose.

O'Neil would gladly have stayed with the Prince, and shared in his distresses and dangers; but Miss could by no means be prevailed upon to agree to that proposal.

When all were gone who were not to accompany the Prince in his voyage to the Isle of Sky, Miss MacDonald desired him to dress himself in his new attire, which was soon done; and, at a proper time, they removed their quarters, and went near the water, with their boat afloat nigh at hand, for readiness to embark in case of any alarm from the shore. Here they arrived very wet and wearied, and made a fire upon a rock, to keep them somewhat warm till night. They were soon greatly alarmed by seeing four wherries full of armed men making towards shore, which made them extinguish their fire quickly, and to conceal themselves amongst the heath. The wherries, however, sailed by, without ever stopping, to the southward, within a gun-shot of the spot where they were lying among the heath.

About two or three days after O'Neil parted from the Prince, a French cutter, having a hundred and twenty men on board, appeared, and sailed towards the Isle of South Uist, intending to carry off the Prince. O'Sullivan went immediately on board, while O'Neil made haste to find out the Prince, before he might have left the island; but, finding that the Prince had left the island about two days before, he returned immediately to the place where he had left the cutter. But, unhappily for him, he found that the timorous O'Sullivan, having a fair wind, and not having courage to stay till O'Neil's return, being

resolved to take care of number one, obliged the captain to set sail directly, lest he should be taken, and should lose his precious life. O'Neil returned in the compass of three hours after O'Sullivan had set sail, and was taken prisoner soon after, and brought into England, after having been prisoner for some time in the Castle of Edinburgh, to which place he had been brought from a ship of war; for he had been in a state of confinement at sea for some time. An English officer, having intelligence of the above cutter, immediately despatched two wherries after her, with thirty men in each; but neither of them could come up with her.

At eight o'clock, June 28th, Saturday, 1746, the Prince, Miss Flora MacDonald, Neil MacKechan, &c. set sail, in a very clear evening, from Benbecula to the Isle of Sky. It is worth observing here, that Benbecula is commonly reckoned a part of South Uist, they being divided from one another by the sea only at high water, which then makes a short ferry betwixt the two; but at low water people walk over upon the sand from the one to the other.

They had not rowed from the shore above a league, till the sea became rough and at last tempestuous; and, to entertain the company, the Prince sung several songs, and seemed to be in good spirits.

In the passage, Miss MacDonald fell asleep, and then the Prince carefully guarded her, lest in the dark any of the men should chance to step upon her. She awaked in a surprise with some little bustle in the boat, and wondered what was the matter, &c.

Next morning, Sunday, June 29th, the boatmen knew not where they were, having no compass, and the wind varying several times, it being then again calm. However, at last they made to the point of Waternish, in the west corner of Sky, where they thought to have landed, but found the place possessed by a body of forces, who had three boats or yawls near the shore. One on board one of the boats fired at them to make them bring to, but they rowed away as fast as they could, being all the chance they had to escape, because there were several ships of war within sight. They got into a creek, or rather clift in a rock, and there remained some short time to rest the men, who had been all night at work, and to get their dinners of what provisions they had along with them. As soon as they could they set forwards again, because, as the militia could not bring them to, they had sent up to alarm a little town not far off. It was very lucky for them that it was a calm then, for otherwise they must inevitably have perished, or have been taken.

From hence they rowed on, and landed at Kilbride in Troternish, in the Isle of Sky, about twelve miles north from the above mentioned

point. There were also several parties of militia in the neighbourhood of Kilbride. Miss left the Prince in the boat, and went with her servant, Neil MacKechan, to Mougstot, Sir Alexander MacDonald's house, and desired one of the servants to let Lady Margaret MacDonald know, she was come to see her ladyship in her way to her mother's house. Lady Margaret knew her errand well enough by one Mrs MacDonald, who had gone a little before to apprize her of it.

As Mr Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh was accidentally there, Lady Margaret desired him to conduct the Prince to his house; for it is to be remarked, that Lady Margaret did not see the Prince in any shape. Kingsburgh sent a boy down to the boat with instructions whither to conduct the Prince about a mile,¹²⁵ and he (Kingsburgh) would be there ready to conduct him. Then Kingsburgh took some wine, &c. to refresh the Prince with, and set forward for the place of rendezvous, leaving Miss MacDonald with Lady Margaret at Mougstot, where the commanding officer of the parties in search of the Prince was, and who asked Miss, whence she came, whither she was going, what news? &c. all which Miss answered, as she thought most proper, and so as to prevent any discovery of what she had been engaged in.

Lady Margaret pressed Miss very much, in presence of the officer, to stay, telling her that she had promised to make some stay the first time she should happen to come there; but Miss desired to be excused at that time, because she wanted to see her mother, and to be at home in these troublesome times. Lady Margaret at last let her go, and she and Mrs MacDonald above mentioned set forward, with Neil MacKechan, and said Mistress MacDonald's maid and her man servant. They overtook the Prince and Kingsburgh. Mistress MacDonald was very desirous to see the Prince's countenance; but, as he went along, he always turned away his face from Mistress MacDonald to the opposite side, whenever he perceived her endeavouring to stare him in the countenance; but yet she got several opportunities of seeing his face, though in disguise; which the maid could not help taking notice of, and said, she had never seen such an impudent looking woman, and durst say, she was either an Irishwoman, or else a man in a woman's dress. Miss MacDonald replied, she was an Irishwoman; for she had seen her before. The

¹²⁵ Here is a mistake; for Mr MacDonald of Kingsburgh declared to me more than once, that he sought for the Prince some time to no purpose, and had almost despaired to find him, when at last the accidental running of a flock of sheep, proved the occasion of finding him out.—R. F.

maid also took notice of the Prince's awkward way of managing the petticoats, and what long strides he took in walking along, &c. which obliged Miss MacDonald to desire Mistress MacDonald (they being both on horseback) to step a little faster, and leave those on foot, because, as there were many parties of militia in the great roads, it was necessary for the Prince to cross the country; and it was not proper to let Mistress MacDonald's man or maid servant see it. So on they went, and the Prince and Kingsburgh went over the hills, and travelled south-south-east, till they arrived at Kingsburgh's house, which was about twelve o'clock at night, and they were very wet; but Miss MacDonald, who had parted with her companions and her man-servant on the road, arrived some short time before the Prince. Here the Prince got his most material refreshment, and was very much fatigued; yet he was very merry till the company parted to go to rest. Morning being come and pretty far advanced, Miss MacDonald was in pain about the Prince lying so long in bed, lest he should be overtaken by his enemies; and therefore she entreated Kingsburgh to go and call him up, which with much ado he was prevailed upon to comply with, he being desirous that the Prince should take as long rest as he could, not knowing when he could meet with the like again. Accordingly Kingsburgh went into the Prince's bed-chamber, and found him in so profound a sleep, that he could not think of awakening him, and so retired softly out of the room. But at last the day began to be far advanced, and Miss MacDonald was very uneasy, every thing being prepared for the journey agreed upon. Though the Prince was determined (from the observations and persuasion of Kingsburgh) to cast off his disguise, yet it was necessary he should leave the house in the female dress he came in, which would, if inquiry happened to be made, prevent the servants telling the particular dress he had put on, when he stripped himself of the gown, petticoats, &c. and therefore, in Kingsburgh's house, Miss put on his cap for him.

The day was far advanced before he set out, and, when he arrived at a wood side (as the affair had been concerted) not far from Kingsburgh, he changed his apparel once more, and put on the Highland dress Kingsburgh had furnished him with. Then Kingsburgh sent a guide with him to Portree through all by-ways, while Miss MacDonald went thither on horseback by another road, thereby the better to gain intelligence, and at the same time to prevent a discovery.

They were very wet, it having rained very much. Here he only dried his clothes, took some little refreshment, and staid about two hours.

Hither Kingsburgh had sent to prepare a boat, and to have it ready

to convey the Prince to the place where he wanted to be at, not allowing the people about Portree, in the meantime, to know any thing about the person's being the Prince, whom they were to receive and to take care of. Young MacLeod of Raaza came with Macolm MacLeod to conduct the Prince over to the Island of Raaza.

The Prince was very uneasy he had not a MacDonald to conduct him still. He left Portree on Tuesday, the 1st of July, and landed that very same day at a place called Glam, in Raaza.

Miss MacDonald took leave of the Prince at Portree, and from thence went to her mother, after a fatiguing journey across the country. She never told her mother, or indeed any body else, what she had done. About eight or ten days after, she received a message from one of her own name, Donald MacDonald, of Castleton, in Sky, who lived about four miles from Slate, or Armadale, to come to his house, an officer of an independent company (one MacLeod of Taliskar) having desired him so to do. She, a little suspicious of what might happen, thought proper to consult some of her friends what she should do in the matter. They unanimously agreed she ought not to go, at least till next day; but go she would. Then she was instructed what to say upon an examination; and, accordingly, when that happened, she said she had seen a great lusty woman, who came to the boat side, as she was going on board, and begged to have a passage, saying she was a soldier's wife. Her request was granted; and, when she landed in Sky, she went away, thanking Miss for her favour; Miss adding withal, that she knew nothing of what became of her afterwards.

Miss set forwards, as she proposed, to her friend's house, whither she had been desired to come; and, on the road, she met her father (Armadale) returning home, and soon after she was taken by an officer and a party of soldiers, who were going to her mother's house in pursuit of her. They carried her on board a ship, and would not suffer her to return home to take leave of her friends. She was carried on board the Furnace, commanded by Captain John Fergusson, a sloop of war, where General Campbell happened then to be, who ordered Miss MacDonald to be used with the utmost respect.

About three weeks afterwards, Miss, in cruising about, being near her stepfather's house, the General permitted her to go ashore and take leave of her friends, but under a guard of two officers and a party of soldiers, with strict orders that she was not to speak any thing in Erse, or any thing at all, but in the presence and in the hearing of the officers; and therefore she stayed only about two hours, and then returned again to the ship.

NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN DONALD MACDONALD.¹²⁶

CAPTAIN DONALD MACDONALD, alias Donald Roy, was in the Isle of Sky, at Mouggistot, with Sir Alexander MacDonald, when the Prince landed upon the continent of Scotland. Sir Alexander detained the Captain for about a month with him, being all that time in a state of suspense about raising his men; but the Captain was always upon the wing, and wanted much to be gone to repair to the standard.

At that time the Laird of MacLeod being in the north, Sir Alexander wrote several letters to him, to which he every day expected answers encouraging him to join the Prince; for, in the event of his having proper assurances that MacLeod was to raise his clan, and that the chieftains in the north, namely, Seaforth, Lord Lovat, &c. had agreed to raise their men, Sir Alexander was determined immediately to raise his following. At last, when Captain Roy MacDonald found that Sir Alexander got no encouragement at all from the Laird of MacLeod, Sir Alexander being pleased to signify as much to him, he then took leave, and went off single to the continent, Sir Alexander not pretending in the least to hinder him.

When the Captain was at the house of MacDonald of Scottos in Knoidart, he got notice of the battle of Gladesmuir, and forthwith set out for the low country, and, overtaking MacKinnon and his men at the bridge of Ardoch, five miles below Crieff, he came to Edinburgh along with them, where he entered volunteer in Keppoch's regiment, who gave him a lieutenant's pay; in which situation he continued till after the battle of Falkirk, where the MacDonalds of Keppoch had the right hand, their Major having the misfortune, that day, by a mistake he committed, to be made a prisoner. After the battle of Falkirk, young Clanranald took a liking for Donald Roy MacDonald, and made him a captain in his own regiment.

At the battle of Culloden, in the retreat, Captain Roy MacDonald saw Keppoch fall twice to the ground, and knows no more about him, but that, upon the second fall, looking at Donald Roy MacDonald, he spoke these words,—“O God, have mercy upon me! Donald, do the best for yourself; for I am gone.” In walking off the field, the Captain received a musket bullet in at the sole of the left foot and out at the buckle; and yet that day he walked five miles without stopping, the foot bleeding all the time, and the wounds being altogether without

¹²⁶ More familiarly known by the name of Donald Roy. The narrative appears to have been obtained by Bishop Forbes, from MacDonald's own mouth, in his house at Leith, January, 1748.—ED.

any dressing, or so much as a rag about them, to a place two miles beyond Inverness, called Bun Chraobg, in Erse, or Bun Chrive, in the vulgar spelling, where he got a horse, and rode eight miles the same day, always pushing his way towards the Isle of Sky, where he was very desirous to be. He durst not put the wounded foot into a stirrup, it was swelled so big, and he had no shoe upon it; for he had lost the shoe when he got the wound.

Next day, Thursday, April 17th, he luckily fell in with one Balfour,¹²⁷ a young man, (who had been surgeon to the MacGregors in the Prince's service,) at the house of MacKenzie of Kirnag, having by that time travelled no less than fifteen miles, but not keeping the high road, which is by the ferry. This Balfour dressed the foot by only putting some dry tow upon the hole beneath, and the hole above, and rolling a bandage above all. The foot got no more dressing till he came upon the Isle of Sky, being Wednesday, April 23d, eight days after the battle. Malcolm MacLeod and his wife, and Murdoch MacLeod, Rasay's third son, were at Kirnag, when Captain Roy MacDonald came there, Mr Balfour being along with them, taking care of the said Murdoch MacLeod, who had received a musket bullet in at the one shoulder, and which had made its way, under the skin, by the root of the neck, to the other shoulder, where it lodged. At Kirnag Mr Balfour made incision upon the shoulder, and took the bullet out. Malcolm MacLeod and his wife, and Murdoch MacLeod accompanied Donald Roy MacDonald to the ferry, at the head of Lochterirtan, where they parted, they sailing for the Isle of Rasay, and he for the Isle of Sky, where he took up his quarters in the house of John MacLean, surgeon in Troternish, and had the foot dressed, for the second time, upon the Wednesday, as already mentioned; and by this time it had such a stink, that one could scarce enter the room where he was. The cripple Captain continued in the surgeon's house, without any molestation, till Sunday, June 29th, when the Prince landed in the Isle of Sky with Miss Flora MacDonald; all which will be more fully explained hereafter.

About a week before the Prince landed in Sky, Hugh MacDonald of Balishair, in North Uist, had sent a boat with a letter to his brother, Donald Roy MacDonald, in which letter there was another enclosed to Lady Margaret MacDonald, from the Prince's own hand; Balishair expressly enjoining his brother to deliver the enclosed letter to no other person but Lady Margaret, and that, too, out of his own hand.

¹²⁷ Brother to James Balfour of Baith, near Dunfermline, who escaped the clutches of his enemies.— R. F.

The skipper had orders from Balishair, in case of being attacked by any of the sloops or ships of war, to have the letters tied to a stone, that so he might sink them in an instant. At this time Lady Margaret was in use of sending the newspapers to Balishair in North Uist, who took care to have them delivered to the Prince, he being exceedingly desirous to have them. The purport of the letter from Balishair to his brother, was, that the Prince intended soon to quit the Long Isle, (such a strict search being there,) and to land upon a small grass Island, called Fladdachuan, belonging to Sir Alexander MacDonald, and having only one tenant upon it, and lying to the north of Troternish, about two leagues distant; that therefore he should be careful to keep a sharp look out, (the Captain's quarters being near the place, for, by going a musket shot from the door where he lodged, he had a view of the island,) and to meet the Prince upon Fladdachuan, and to provide him with necessaries, but especially the newspapers from Lady Margaret. In the letter Balishair complained, that the Prince wanted almost all necessaries, particularly shirts, and therefore he desired his brother might do his best to procure him some shirts and blankets; for that the Prince had lain hitherto only in his plaid. In a postscript Balishair ordered, that how soon Lady Margaret should peruse Donald's own letter, he should instantly throw it into the fire, and that her ladyship should do the like with the Prince's letter to herself after perusal of it. The letter from the Prince to Lady Margaret was one of compliment, thanking her for the kindness in sending him the newspapers, that he was very sensible of her favours, and hoped she would continue them.

According to orders, Captain Roy MacDonald delivered the letter out of his own hand to Lady Margaret, (having got the use of Dr MacLean's horse to Mouggistot, the wound in the foot being still open,) burning his own letter after perusal, and begging Lady Margaret to do the same with hers. Upon this, Lady Margaret rose up, and, kissing the letter, said, "No, I will not burn it. I will preserve it for the sake of him who writ it to me. Although King George's forces should come to the house, I hope I shall find a way to secure the letter."— Then stepping into a closet, she carefully laid it up. However, when she heard that red-coats were about the house, at the time when Captain John Fergusson came to search for the Prince, she became afraid that the letter might be found, and thereby a discovery would ensue, and therefore she immediately threw the letter into the fire, as her ladyship has since acknowledged to Captain Roy Macdonald; to whom at the same time she declared her concern for doing any such thing, after she had seen that there was no search at all for papers, and said, she would have given any thing that she had

preserved the letter.

After perusal of the letter, immediately Lady Margaret and the Captain began to contrive the most feasible reason they could for his going to the Isle of Fladdachuan, which is three quarters of a mile in length, and one quarter in breadth.

Meantime, Lady Margaret ordered six of Sir Alexander's best shirts for the Prince's use. But the shirts she designed for him being dirty, she ordered a chambermaid to have them speedily washed and dressed; her Ladyship telling the chambermaid, that she was to give these few shirts in a present to Donald Roy MacDonald; he having lost all his shirts and baggage at Culloden, and therefore she pitied him, poor man, very much. Lady Margaret likewise delivered into the Captain's hands, twenty guineas for the Prince's use, when he should meet with him. The gold being all broad pieces, such as [Joannes's](#), &c. Lady Margaret was at pains to send off several persons through the island, to have the gold changed into guineas and half guineas; which accordingly (with difficulty) she got done. At the same time, she told the Captain, that a new recruit of money should be at the Prince's service, when he pleased to ask it. In changing the gold, Lady Margaret was very desirous to have as much of it as possible in silver; but she could make out no more than about a guinea and a half in that way. Sir Alexander was then at Fort Augustus.

The scheme for Captain Roy MacDonald's going to the Island of Fladdachuan (and Lady Margaret proposed it) was, that the Captain should go to the Island Troday, belonging to Sir Alexander, about a mile from the Point of Troternish, to one Alexander Cameron, to whom she thought the Captain might with safety reveal his mind, as the Clan Cameron had been out with the Prince. The Captain, taking along with him the twenty guineas, the shirts being to be sent after him by a proper hand, set out back again to Troternish that very same day on which he had come to Mouggistot; and in the evening he made a fire on the point of Troternish opposite to Troday, where Alexander Cameron is the only tenant, (that being the ordinary sign in the Highlands to procure a boat from one isle to another;) upon which Alexander Cameron and another man immediately came to the place where the fire was; and, when Cameron saw the Captain, he beckoned to him to come down to the boat, imagining he designed to sail to Troday; but the Captain crying to him, that he desired to speak with him first, immediately Allastar came on shore alone, when the Captain told him, he wanted that he should ferry him to the Island Fladdachuan. Cameron desired to know what the Captain was about to do there; to which he answered, that he was to divert himself there

for some time at fishing. Cameron said, he would do as well at Troday for that purpose, and that he should be very welcome to his house as long as he pleased. Troday is somewhat larger than Fladdachuan. Upon this, the Captain found himself obliged to reveal the secret to Cameron, hoping the importance of the case would induce him to be as ready and cheerful to consult the safety of the Prince, as he himself was. Cameron, upon hearing of the Prince's designing to be upon Fladdachuan, looked like one in a surprise, and earnestly begged that the Captain would not insist upon his going there upon any account; for that every step he (Cameron) made, was well and nicely viewed; and that such a measure might prove the ruin of his poor family, as too many of his name were already ruined in that affair. The Captain, finding he could not prevail, immediately drew his dirk, and desired Cameron to swear upon it, that he would not ever reveal what he had told him; which oath he frankly swore, and kept it with the utmost fidelity. It is to be remarked here, that swearing upon the naked dirk is called, by the commons amongst the Highlanders, the taking an oath upon the Holy Iron, and is as sacred among them as swearing upon the Bible. That night Captain Roy MacDonald went to Aird, and took up his quarters in the house of Captain James MacDonald; and next day he went back to Mouggestot, where he gave Lady Margaret an account of the disappointment he had met with from Allastair Cameron.

A new scheme behoved now to be devised for the Captain's going to Fladdachuan according to orders, and none more rational could be thought upon, than that Lady Margaret should despatch a boat to said island, in order to gather shells for making lime, (the inhabitants of Sky being in use of making most of their lime of shells) and that the Captain should go along under a pretence of superintending the gathering of the shells, and of taking his diversion for some time at fishing; for which end he had got some fishing lines from one of Sir Alexander MacDonald's tenants.

This scheme being agreed upon as by far the best to cover the real design, Lady Margaret importuned the Captain to take along with him some bedding, blankets, brandy, &c. as things necessary to make the Prince's situation somewhat comfortable; but the Captain absolutely refused to do any such thing, as being imprudent, for that carrying along baggage and provisions might make people suspect, and would particularly raise a jealousy in the boatmen, that the reason given out for sailing to Fladdachuan was a mere pretence to cover the real design, which behoved to be a matter of great consequence, as such preparations were made for it. The Captain said, as the shirts were now ready he could easily take them along

with him tied up in a pocket-napkin, and tell the boatmen that he did so, lest they should happen to be wind bound after landing upon the island.

The Captain, taking with him only the twenty guineas and the six shirts, set out for Fladdachuan, and, after landing, he went directly to the tenant's house before any of the boatmen could come to it, expecting to find the Prince there, that so he might warn him and those with him to keep out of sight of the boatmen; but when he came to the house, to his great disappointment he found none there but the tenant and his family. After sitting a while, and the boat's crew coming in, Captain Roy MacDonald said to the landlord, he wanted much to see the island, as he had never been upon it before, and desired the landlord to go along with him. They went out both together, and after walking a little, the Captain said to the landlord, "This seems to be a pretty secure place. Do never any of the rebels make you a visit here?" The landlord answered, that never any of them had been there, alleging, the place was rather too narrow for such a design. Then the Captain asked, if ever any of the ships or sloops of war sent their boats to search the island? The landlord replied not. Still the Captain insisted, that, no doubt, some of the distressed gentlemen had come there; for that he had pretty good information that some had been forming a design of coming to Fladdachuan from the Long Isle. The landlord still denied, and asked who the persons were that he expected to land there from the Long Isle? The Captain replied, "Some of Kinlochmoidart's brothers." The landlord assured him that no such persons were upon the island as yet, and withal remarked, that, if these gentlemen should come at all to that corner, it would rather be to the Island Troday, where they would be near their sister, who is married to James MacDonald of Aird, captain of an independent company, Troday being only about a mile from Sky. Captain Roy MacDonald would still be positive, that certainly some gentlemen were skulking upon the island, and that he was sure they wanted to see him, for that he could be of use to them; and that if the landlord would not discover the whole matter, he would equally disoblige both them and him. The landlord persisted in his denial, upon which the Captain took an oath of him, and accordingly, the landlord swore that he knew of no persons whatsoever that had landed upon Fladdachuan. The Captain, not yet satisfied, would go round the isle, and view all the creeks and caves of it, which accordingly he did, but found no person. He stayed there all night, and next day got the shells on board. There is a remarkable rock about a mile from Fladdachuan, called Bord-Cruinn, *i. e.* the round table, from its shape, where the Captain supposed the Prince

might happen to be, this being a very strong safe place; and therefore, he said, he had a great curiosity to see that rock as he had never been upon it, and then desired the boatmen to row directly for it, as it would not hinder them long in their return to Sky. This rock is very high, and of a very difficult ascent, and is the place whither Sir Donald MacDonald sent his charters for safety in the year 1715. All this put together made the Captain still the more firmly persuaded, that the Prince might be there, not doubting but it might come into the mind of some good friend to direct the Prince to go thither as a place of security. There is no house on the rock at all; for in 1715, Sir Donald MacDonald made up a small low hut for one man only to be there with his valuable papers, who received all his provisions at different appointed times from Troternish in Sky, about five miles distant.

To the rock they steered their course, the landlord being along with them, who, as he had some business in Sky, took the opportunity of their boat, his own boat having been broke to pieces some time before that. Captain Roy MacDonald still was jealous, that the landlord knew of some persons being upon the rock, Bord-Cruinn, but that he would not discover it; for he had examined him upon that point before they set out from Fladdachuan. By the time they came to the rock, the landlord was in a pet at the Captain for not believing him, and therefore he only pointed out the way of ascending the rock, telling the Captain, that he would not be at the pains to climb the rock, as he had no curiosity about seeing the top of it, but that he (the Captain) might go up if he pleased. The Captain (notwithstanding the cripple foot, which was covered only with a cloth shoe) found means to crawl up the rock, not any one attending him; but he found nobody upon it. From the rock they rowed to Sky, and landed at Mouggistot. The Captain informed Lady Margaret of all that had passed, and delivered back the shirts and the twenty guineas. From Mouggistot the Captain returned to his old quarters, the surgeon's house, at the distance of four miles.

Next Sunday, (June 29th, 1746,) a letter was brought, per express, to Captain Roy MacDonald from Lady Margaret, in her own handwriting, but the direction upon the back of the letter was in the handwriting of the lady of Captain John MacDonald of Kirkibost, which lady delivered the letter to the bearer as if it had been from herself. The purport of the letter was, desiring Captain Roy MacDonald forthwith to repair to Mouggistot without loss of time, for that Lady Margaret had some matters of the greatest moment to communicate to him, and that she wanted to have his advice about them. Immediately the Captain set out upon the surgeon's horse,

and, when near Mouggistot, he spied Lady Margaret and Kingsburgh walking together, and talking in a serious way, above the garden. When he came near them, he dismounted, and Lady Margaret, upon seeing him, stepped aside from Kingsburgh to meet the Captain, and to speak with him, spreading out her hands, and saying, "O Donald Roy, we are ruined for ever!"—Upon this, he asked what was the matter? Her ladyship answered, that the Prince was landed about half a quarter of a mile from the house, and that if he should have the misfortune to be seized there, they would be affronted for ever, mentioning a circumstance, that distressed her much, because it made the case the more perplexed, and made her altogether at a loss how to behave in the matter, which was, that Lieutenant MacLeod was at that very instant in the dining-room with Miss Flora MacDonald, (she having left the Prince, in women's clothes, on the spot where he had come ashore;) and, which still rendered the case worse and worse, that the lieutenant had three or four of his men about the house with him, the rest of his command being only at a small distance from the house, as he was employed to guard that part of the coast of Sky, particularly to inquire at every boat that should come from the Long Isle, if there were any rebels on board, &c.—Kingsburgh coming directly up to them, they began to project what was fittest to be done, all of them agreeing, that Lieutenant MacLeod's presence, with the whole of his command so near, threw a number of difficulties in their way, and made the case full of dangers, if not desperate.

Captain Roy MacDonald declared, whatever they would agree upon as best for the safety of the Prince, he would undertake (God willing) to accomplish at the hazard of his life. Kingsburgh asked his opinion of the matter, but the Captain refused to do that, begging Kingsburgh to give his opinion first. Kingsburgh said, his opinion was, that the Prince should sail about by the point of Troternish to the Island of Rasay, because that in the Isle of Sky he could not possibly (as things appeared to him) be in any safety at all, considering the many parties that were scouring up and down throughout the isle. Against this measure Lady Margaret did remonstrate as being very hazardous, because there was a party posted near Boriniskittag, by which place they behoved to sail in their course to Rasay; and if, upon seeing them, the party should lanch out a boat (as they had always one ready at hand,) and take the Prince, then it might be said, that he had been designedly thrown into the hands of the party; and therefore she said her opinion was, that if he was at all to sail for Rasay, it were better he should stay till night, and then set out, when he would not be seen. In a word, all choices were bad, the Prince's situation having a most

dismal aspect. However, Captain Roy MacDonald ventured to give his opinion at last, and says, "What would you think, Kingsburgh, if the Prince should run the risk of making his way overland to Portree?" The distance from Mouggistot to Portree is fourteen long Highland miles. Kingsburgh was afraid the attempt was desperate enough, but however, he said it might be tried; and then he desired the Captain to go to the Prince, and to inform him of the scheme agreed upon, for that as he had been in the scrape, he was the fitter to manage that point; and no doubt the Prince would be much pleased to see one that had followed his fortunes, and would be more ready to confide in him than in another. To this the Captain answered, as the Prince, he was sure, would make a monstrous appearance in women's clothes, so his talking with him, if they should happen to be seen together, would make the matter the more suspicious, and might prove a means of ruining the Prince altogether. Besides, the Captain begged that Kingsburgh himself might not go to the Prince, for that, too, might be of fatal consequence; he (the Captain) imagining that Kingsburgh might be of much more service to the Prince by not seeing him at all; and therefore he advised, as the wisest expedient, that Miss Flora MacDonald should be the only person to be sent to the Prince with messages, (he still sitting upon the shore where he had landed,) to let him know the result of their counsels with the greater safety; for that every thing ought to be managed at present (considering the great risk) with the utmost wariness and caution.

After this, they began to devise some scheme for the future safety of the Prince, in the event of his going to Portree and Rasay. Kingsburgh proposed that the Captain should go and seek out Rona, *i. e.* the young Laird of Rasay, in order to learn from him where his father was to be found, (it being agreed upon, that Rasay, senior, should undertake the protection of the Prince,) and that the Captain, after conversing with young Rasay, should go to Portree, there to wait the coming of the Prince, who was to set out as soon as possible for that place overland, as had been agreed upon, though afterwards the resolution happened to be changed in some circumstances, as will appear hereafter.

The scheme concerted by the unanimous consent of all the three with respect to the Prince's going into the hands of Rasay, senior, was this,—that Rasay and Captain Roy MacDonald should go with the Prince into Seaforth's country amongst the MacKenzies, (all the forces being at a distance from that corner,) because there could be no suspicion about his being amongst them; and that, therefore, he might safely remain there in one place without any fear, as he was to pass for a private gentleman under a borrowed name. To this the

Captain objected, that he was not in the least acquainted amongst the MacKenzies; but in this Kingsburgh made him easy, by informing him that Rasay, senior, was exceedingly well known amongst the MacKenzies, and therefore was at no loss to know whom to trust, and whom not to trust in that country. When this scheme was afterwards proposed to the Prince, he did not agree to it, choosing rather to shift from place to place, (as the safest way in the present distress,) than to set up in any one particular corner.

In the course of the conversation, Lady Margaret explained herself as to the great strait she was in whom to trust, saying, that she knew not any other person at that time in all the Isle of Sky amongst the MacDonalds to trust, but only Kingsburgh and the Captain; for that the rest of the following, from Sir Alexander's not joining the Prince at all, imagined, that he was altogether upon the side of the government, though, she said, she could appeal to them, that this was far from being the case; but then so it was, that the rest of the clan, then in the isle, from the opinion they entertained of things, would certainly think they were doing a service highly obliging to Sir Alexander, if they should happen to find out the Prince and to seize him; and therefore this persuasion of theirs exposed the Prince to the greater danger, should it once blow that he was upon the Isle of Sky.

After discoursing upon the subject, and concerting measures as already mentioned, (the Prince still remaining upon the rock at the shore, all the time, within a gun-shot of the foot of the garden of Mouggistot, patiently waiting his fate,) the Captain set out in quest of young Rasay, Kingsburgh telling him, that he was to be found (as he thought) at Tottrome.

After the Captain was gone, Kingsburgh took a great longing to see the Prince, and was resolved to see him at all hazards; and, after providing himself in a bottle of wine and some bread, he went accordingly to the Prince, who was still sitting upon the shore, but had¹²⁸ gone at some distance from the place where he landed.

¹²⁸ As truth is my only aim in making this collection, so I gladly embrace every opportunity of correcting any mistake in the accounts I receive, or any error I myself may happen to commit in the marginal notes. Particularly I acknowledge here my mistake in a former marginal note, for it is true, that Kingsburgh sent one to direct the Prince to remove from the place where he had landed, and also that he had great difficulty to find the Prince at the place whither he had ordered him to be conducted. Upon Saturday, January 23d, 1748, Captain Donald Roy MacDonald and Miss Flora MacDonald dined

with my Lady Bruce in her own house at the citadel of Leith, when I took the freedom to ask particular questions at Miss MacDonald, in presence of the company, about the Prince's landing with her at Sky, whether or not the Prince had gone from the particular spot where he had landed, to any other creek or corner before Kingsburgh came to him, how this came about, &c.? Miss MacDonald was pleased to give me an exact account of all this, by telling me, that Neil MacKechan was the person sent by Kingsburgh to the Prince, in order to inform him that Kingsburgh was to come to him at a proper time, and to conduct the Prince from the spot where he landed to another place, (somewhere about the back of a hill* farther down the shore,) where he was to remain till Kingsburgh should come to him; and there it was where Kingsburgh met with him, and had no small difficulty to find him out, by his not being at the precise spot where Kingsburgh imagined him to have been. She told me likewise, that Neil MacKechan went so often to the Prince upon the shore, that at last she became angry with him, lest the frequency of his going should be remarked, and thereby become the means of making a discovery. However, she owned that, in the event, his going so often proved serviceable, as no observation happened to be made of it. Miss MacDonald said, that, when at Mouggistot, she could not help observing Lady Margaret going often out and in, as one in great anxiety, while she, in the meantime, endeavoured all she could to keep up a close chit-chat with Lieutenant MacLeod, who put many questions to her, which she answered as she thought fit. She acknowledged, she knew nothing, at that time, of Donald Roy MacDonald's being at Mouggistot, as he had not come into the house, or of the conference he had had with Lady Margaret (in the open air) and Kingsburgh, about the safety of the Prince. I likewise asked at Miss MacDonald, what that Mrs MacDonald was, who was with her at Mouggistot, and how they happened to meet there? She told me, that she was wife to John MacDonald of Kirkibost, in North Uist, a captain of an independant company, and that she had crossed from the Long Isle only the day before, (when her boat was most strictly searched for rebels,) and brought word to Lady Margaret, that probably the Prince would come to Sky soon (if not next day) to sue for protection. This is the same Mrs MacDonald, who, together with her man-servant and her maid-servant, went along with Miss MacDonald from Mouggistot, &c. when the comical observations were made upon the Prince in his walking along in women's clothes. Miss MacDonald likewise owned, she knew nothing at all (when at Portree with the Prince) that Malcolm MacLeod was thereabouts, or

Kingsburgh was in great difficulty to find out the Prince, which made him afraid of the worst, till he spied a flock of sheep running, which he imagined to happen from their seeing some body thereabouts. This accident brought him to the place where the Prince was sitting. After the Prince had taken some refreshment, Kingsburgh took him along with himself to his own house, instead of sending him to Portree, as had been formerly agreed upon.

Captain Roy MacDonald (as is above hinted) rode off to Tottrome in quest of young Rasay, one of whose sisters is married with Archibald MacQueen of Tottrome, a lieutenant among the militia under the command of Hugh MacDonald of Armadale, who had been ordered to South Uist (a part of the Long Isle) to seek for the Prince, and to prevent his escape. When the Captain was within two miles of Tottrome, he overtook a man, who told him that young Rasay was at a village called Tott, near the water of Snisord. Upon this the Captain lighted from his horse, and writ a few lines upon the back of an old letter, to young Rasay, begging him forthwith to meet him at Portree upon express business, which he delivered to the said man, ordering him to leave that short line at Tottrome, lest he should miss Rona, who probably might chance to call at Tottrome. The Captain accordingly missed Rona at Tott, and then went directly to Portree, where he found young Rasay, who had called at Tottrome, and received the open line there. They took a walk out into the fields, and then the Captain began to inquire at Rona where his father was to be found. Rona denied, that he knew any thing where his father was to be found. Upon this, the Captain said, he had matters of very great consequence to communicate to his father, and therefore he earnestly begged to know where he was. Rona still persisted in his denial, and would not own that he knew any thing about where his father was to be found. Upon this, the Captain found there was a necessity for speaking out; and therefore he plainly told Rona, that the Prince was how in the Isle of Sky, and that it was requisite his father should be found out; for that his father and he (the Captain) were pitched upon

about what course the Prince was to take; only she had a suspicion that he might be going to Rasay, as Portree is opposite to it. She remarked, how the Prince fell briskly to his victuals, at Portree, in his shirt, what a great desire he had to have Donald Roy MacDonald along with him, &c. and that his farewell to her was in these words,—“I hope we shall meet in St James’s yet, and I will reward you there for what you have done.”— R. F.

* Called Balodinaghabor.

to go with the Prince into Seaforth's country amongst the MacKenzies. The Captain said, he hoped he might trust him; and therefore it was, that he had so openly declared the matter to him. Rona was rejoiced to hear that the Prince was still in safety, notwithstanding the many strict searches that had been made, and were still making for him, and now frankly owned, that his father was upon the continent in Knoidart, whither, he said, he would as soon as possible send an express for him; because he was sure his father would run any risk, and be glad of an opportunity, to serve the Prince, especially in his distress. Then the Captain said, "I expect the Prince this night at Portree; and, as there is no right boat on this side, you must in the meantime, Rona, do your best to get over to Rasay, in order to fetch a right boat from thence to ferry the Prince over to Rasay, for thither he designs to set out from Portree." Rona undertook this piece of service, but was quite unwilling to leave Portree till he should see the Prince, for he had not been out in his service; and therefore he stayed some hours in hopes to see him. The Captain was always pushing him to be gone; and at last he set out in an old sherd of a boat, which he found in a fresh water loch near Tottrome. So crazy it was, that one man could not possibly keep it dry in the passage, without an assistant to help him to lave, though the distance from Portree to Rasay be but small, about three miles. Before Rona went off, the Captain had received a short line from Kingsburgh, importing, that Miss Flora MacDonald was so fatigued, that she behoved to stay all night in his house, and could not come to Portree so soon as she had designed; and ordering the Captain to provide a boat to ferry Miss about to Strath, because it would be easier for her to make it out by sea, than to go overland. The Captain took the hint, and then Rona went off.

Upon Monday's evening, (June 30th,) Rona and his brother, (Murdoch MacLeod) and Malcolm MacLeod, arrived within half a mile of Portree; and Malcolm went towards the house, leaving Rona and his brother in the boat. In his walking from the shore, Malcolm spied three persons making towards the house, who happened to be the Prince, Neil MacKechan, and a little boy, who had guided them the way from the side of a wood, where they had parted with Kingsburgh not far from his own house. Malcolm MacLeod, through the darkness of the night, (for it was raining excessively,) not knowing who these persons might be that he had seen, did not advance any farther, but lurked at some distance, and sent a little boy to the house, desiring Donald Roy MacDonald to come out and speak with a friend. By this time, the Prince was in the house. Donald Roy went out to Malcolm, and took along with him a half mutchkin stoup

full of whisky. Captain Malcolm MacLeod asked, who they were that he had spied going towards the house; for that he had been near them, but had hid himself, not knowing who they might happen to be. Captain Roy MacDonald told him, that the Prince was one of them. Malcolm then begged despatch, because Rona and his brother were in the open air upon the shore with the boat, and it was still raining very heavily, the Prince having got his share of it as he walked along; for he was wet into the skin. Rona and his brother did not choose to be seen by any of the people thereabouts, lest a discovery should result from it. Donald Roy MacDonald soon parted from Malcolm MacLeod, promising all possible despatch, and returning to the house, Malcolm waiting to receive the Prince. In the journey from Kingsburgh, Miss Flora MacDonald on horseback came first to Portree, and immediately notified to Donald Roy MacDonald, privately, that the Prince was on his way in such a road; upon which he stepped out to meet him, and staying about twenty minutes, could not see him. He then choosed to come again into the house, as the rain was exceedingly heavy, and dangerous to the wound in his foot, which was still open, and was not quite healed up till some time in November, 1746, it continuing all that time (now and then) to throw out small bones. He now walks as cleverly as ever without any the smallest pain or halt, and made out his late journey from Sky to Edinburgh in twelve days on foot, and, as he came along, visited several friends and acquaintances.

The Captain had not been long in the house, till the boy, that came along with the Prince and Neil MacKechan as guide, called for the landlord, and desired to know if Donald Roy MacDonald was there, and to have a word of him; upon which the Captain stepped out, and a little from the door found the boy, MacQueen, who told him, there was a gentleman a little above the house that desired to speak with him. The Captain desired the boy to go into the kitchen, and he himself went away to the place where the Prince was, who no sooner saw him, than he took him in his arms, and, by way of salutation, put his head over one shoulder of the Captain, and then over the other, expressly forbidding the Captain to use any ceremony, they then not knowing who (under cloud of night) might be near them to make observations. When the Captain happened to express his concern, that he had got such a stormy night, the Prince said, "I am more sorry that *our Lady*" for so he used to name Miss MacDonald, "should be all abused with the rain." Then they went into the house, the Captain stepping in first, the people of the house (an inn) not knowing any thing of the matter at all. The Prince no sooner entered the house, than he asked if a dram could be got there, the rain pouring down

from his clothes, he having on a plaid without breeches, trews, or even philibeg. Before he sat down, he got his dram, and then the company desired him to shift, and put on a dry shirt, Captain Roy MacDonald giving him his philibeg. The Prince refused to shift, as Miss Flora MacDonald was in the room; but the Captain and Neil MacKechan told him, it was not a time to stand upon ceremonies, and prevailed upon him to put on a dry shirt. By this time they had brought some meat into the room (the Prince having called for it before he would think of shifting) which consisted of butter, cheese, bread, and roasted fish. The landlord's name is Charles MacNab. Before the Prince got on his coats, just in his shirt, he fell heartily to the meat, and made good use of his time, having travelled on foot from Kingsburgh to Portree, being seven good Highland miles. He brought along with him four shirts, a cold hen, a bottle of brandy, and a lump of sugar in one of his pockets; all which small stock of provisions, (adding to them a bottle of whisky he bought from the landlord of Portree,) he took along with him to the Island of Rasay. When the Prince fell heartily to the meat in his shirt, Captain MacDonald could not help smiling, though he was in deep enough concern about the Prince's situation, and said, "Sir," (having observed the Prince looking at him,) "I believe that is the English fashion."—"What fashion do you mean?" says the Prince.—"Why," replied the Captain, "they say, the English, when they are to eat heartily, throw off their clothes." The Prince, smiling, said, "They are in the right, lest any thing should incommode their hands when they are at work." The Prince asked, if any drink could be had? He was answered, that he could have no other drink but whisky or water; for there is no such thing as beer, or ale of any kind, to be got in all the Isle of Sky, but only in gentlemen's houses, all the public houses there being mere whisky houses. Then the Prince desired to have some milk; but there was none in the house. Captain Roy MacDonald told him, he behoved to drink water, of which there was plenty in the room, in an ugly cog, which the landlord ordinarily made use of for throwing the water out of his boat, and thereby all the mouth of it was beat in, and made rough enough. The Captain had been taking a drink out of the cog, and he reached it to the Prince, who took it out of his hand, and, after looking at the cog, he stared the Captain in the face, who, upon this, made up to him, (the landlord being in the room) and whispered him softly in the ear, to drink out of it without any ceremony; for though the cog looked ill, yet it was clean, and if he should shew any nicety, it might raise a suspicion about him in the landlord's mind. The Prince said, "You are right," and took a hearty draught of water out of the rough cog, and then he put on his coats.

The Captain was still urging him to be gone in as discreet a manner as possible; but the Prince was desirous to stay all night in Portree, as the rain was still heavy. The Captain suggested to him, (the landlord having gone out of the room,) that, as it was a public house, it was frequented by all sorts of folks, and therefore it was not safe for him to stay any time there; for if they saw a stranger, it would make them curious to inquire who he was, and this might prove of dangerous consequence to him especially.

The Prince called for some tobacco, that he might smoke a pipe before he should go off. The Captain told him, there was no tobacco to be got there but what was very coarse. The Prince asked what kind of tobacco they had? "Only roll tobacco," said the Captain. The Prince said it would serve the present turn very well, and desired to have some of it. The Captain ordered the landlord to fetch a quarter of a pound, which he did in the scales at fourpence halfpenny. The Prince gave a sixpence; but the landlord was desired by the Captain to bring in the change. The Prince smiled at the Captain's exactness, and would not be at the pains to take the three halfpence. The Captain insisted he should take them, because, in his present situation, he would find bawbees very useful to him, and said, perhaps he would find a different partition in his purse, which he had hanging before him. The Captain opened the purse, and, finding an empty partition, put the bawbees into it. The Prince, the Captain, and Neil MacKechan, drank a bottle of whisky while at Portree.

The landlord going again out of the room, the Prince began to importune the Captain to go along with him, speaking softly, lest the landlord should be near the door and overhear them, and saying, that Kingsburgh had assured him, that Donald Roy would attend him. The Captain begged him to consider it was not in his power to be useful to him, considering the open wound in his left foot, unless he could fix in one place; for otherwise he would only prove a burden and distress upon him, seeing he could not skulk from place to place, and any little journey he could make behoved to be always on horseback, which was far from being proper for one in the Prince's company, because it would be a means of descrying him at a distance to some of the ranging parties. The Prince said he had always found himself safe in the hands of the MacDonalds, and so long as he could have a MacDonald along with him, he still would think himself safe enough; and, therefore, he persisted in urging the Captain to attend him. Here the Captain took the opportunity of suggesting to him the scheme about his going to Seaforth's country attended by himself and old Rasay, and that, in this event, he could go along with him, because they were to fix in one place how soon they should come

among the MacKenzies. The Prince asked the Captain if he knew any of the MacKenzies? He said, not; but that Rasay senior knew them well, whom to trust, and whom not to trust. The Prince said little more about this scheme; but seemingly was pleased with it, and still insisted upon the Captain's going with him to Rasay. To this the Captain answered, that (all things considered) it was far better, and more for the Prince's safety, that he should return, and be a spy for him in Sky, making inquiry, if the Prince's going to Portree, and from thence to Rasay, was in the least known in the Isle of Sky, and, after doing this, he promised to follow him to Rasay, and to inform him what discoveries he had made. The Prince could not think of parting with him at all.

In paying the reckoning the Prince got change for a guinea, upon which he desired to have silver for another guinea; but the landlord having no more than eleven shillings, the Prince was for giving him the guinea for them, for that, he said, eleven shillings would be much more useful to him than a guinea in gold could be; but the Captain would not hear of this at all, as this piece of generosity might tend to raise a suspicion in the breast of the landlord about the real character of one who had been so liberal in paying a small reckoning; and, therefore, the Captain made a shift to change the guinea for him.

At last the Prince says to the Captain,—“Are you afraid to go along with me? I can assure you, so long as I have, you shall not want. I still am anxious to have a MacDonald along with me.” The Captain once more represented to him the case of the cripple foot, which rendered him incapable of fatigue, or of any real service to the Prince. From his expressing such a liking for the MacDonalds, the Captain took occasion to ask his opinion of Sir Alexander MacDonald and his following, saying, “Though Sir Alexander and his following did not join your Royal Highness, yet, you see, you have been very safe amongst them; for though they did not repair to your standard, they wish you very well.” The Prince said, he was sensible enough of all that.

In giving this account, Captain Roy MacDonald declared more than once what great concern it gave him, that he could not attend the Prince in his distress, especially as he urged it so much; but, considering the condition of the lame foot, he behoved to foresee, that his going along would expose the Prince more and more to new dangers and difficulties, of which he had too many to struggle through at any rate.

In the course of the conversation, the Captain begged to know how the Prince was provided in money; for that he knew of a friend in that

country ready and willing to supply him. The Prince asked who that friend was? The Captain replied, "Lady Margaret MacDonald." The Prince said, he was much obliged to that lady for the favours she intended him; but he did not incline to be troublesome to any friend in that way, seeing at present he had a sufficiency to carry him to the mainland, where, he hoped, he would get credit, or perhaps get some of his own money.

The Prince now began to bid farewell to Miss MacDonald, and Neil MacKechan, (the Captain being always begging him to depart,) and, turning to Miss, he said, "I believe, madam, I owe you a crown of borrowed money." She told him it was only half-a-crown, which accordingly he paid her with thanks. He then saluted her, and expressed himself in these or the like words, "For all that has happened, I hope, madam, we shall meet in St James's yet." He then bade farewell to honest MacKechan, who stayed that night with Miss Macdonald at Portree, and attended her next day to the place she intended to go to. This MacKechan found the way afterwards to get off to France with the Prince.

When the Prince was about going off from Portree, he tied the bottle of whisky to his belt at one side, and the bottle of brandy, the shirts and the cold hen in a napkin, at the other side. When they were going out at the door, the Captain happened to spy the landlord looking after them; upon which they turned another way quite opposite to what they had designed to go, till they were out of his view, and then making a circle, came to the place where they found Malcolm MacLeod, and went directly to the boat. In their way to the boat, the Prince was still pressing Captain Roy MacDonald to go along with him, and, when in the boat, would have the Captain to come aboard. The Captain then communicated his scheme to young Rasay, Murdoch, and Malcolm MacLeods, who all unanimously approved of it as the best service at present that could be done to the Prince; for that it was far better, and more for the Prince's safety, that the Captain should continue in Sky, and make inquiry if the Prince's motions were known in that island, or any way suspected. The Prince insisted upon a particular day, when the Captain should follow him to Rasay. It was agreed, that young Rasay should come to Sky, Thursday next, July 3d, and meet with the Captain at Tottrome, and take him over the day after [Friday] to Rasay. The Prince, taking the lump of sugar out of his pocket, gave it to the Captain, and said, "Pray, MacDonald, take this piece of sugar to *our lady*; for I am afraid she will get no sugar where she is going." The Captain refused to take it, begging the Prince to keep it for his own use; for that he would stand in need of it yet. The Prince would not take it again; upon which the

Captain slipt it privately into Malcolm MacLeod's hands, desiring him to preserve it for the Prince's use. The Prince enjoined the Captain a strict silence, in these or the like words, "Tell nobody, no, not *our lady*, which way I am gone; for it is right that my course should not be known." The Prince then took leave of the Captain, (about the dawning of the day, Tuesday, July 1st,) the boat steering away for Rasay, and the Captain returning to the landlord at Portree, where the Captain slept all night, or rather a part of the day, daylight coming quickly in. Upon the Captain's return, the landlord was mightily inquisitive about the gentleman that had been in his house, who he was, and where the Captain had parted with him? The Captain, in a very unconcerned way, told him, he had only shewed the gentleman a little of the way he had a mind to go, and that he was only a brother rebel, Sir John MacDonald, an Irish gentleman, who, having luckily got free of his enemies, had been skulking among his friends, the MacDonalds of Sky, but wearying of being long in one place, and suspecting he might be discovered, he had set out for the continent to skulk among the MacDonalds there. Meantime, the Captain earnestly begged the landlord to keep all this to himself as a great secret. The landlord said, he had entertained a strong notion that the gentleman might happen to be the Prince in disguise; for that he had something about him that looked very noble.

The Captain left Portree the same day, (July 1st,) and went directly to Kingsburgh, informing him and his lady how the Prince had got off in a very private way to Rasay, and likewise giving them an account of the concert about his returning and being again with the Prince. Kingsburgh and his lady said, they had reason to think it was not known that the Prince had been in their house; only there was a suspicion among their servants, that yon person might be a man in woman's clothes, because so monstrously tall. From Kingsburgh the Captain went to Mouggistot, and informed Lady Margaret how safely and privately things had been managed. There he met with Lieutenant MacLeod, (son of Donald MacLeod of Balmeanagh, and the very person that had been in the dining-room with Miss Flora MacDonald, when the Prince was sitting upon the shore,) who was very fond to see Donald Roy MacDonald, as they were well acquainted together. The lieutenant would not part with the Captain that night, but would needs carry him to his quarters about a long mile from Mouggistot. The Captain most cheerfully embraced the opportunity of passing that night with him, as he had intended, however, to have called at the lieutenant and his command, (because he well knew he was in absolute safety with them,) and to pass some short time among them, in order to pump them, with wariness and at

a distance, if they knew any thing at all about the Prince and his motions; and, upon trial, he found, to his great comfort, they knew nothing about him at all. He lay in the same bed with the lieutenant that night. In their conversing together, they happened to talk of Donald MacLeod of Gualtergill, upon whom the lieutenant was pleased to bestow abusive language in great plenty, calling him knave, villain, &c. Captain Roy Macdonald very seriously asked him how he came to give such names to Donald MacLeod, who was well known to have behaved himself, throughout all his life, in a very honest and neighbourly way; and not only so, but likewise it was remarkable, that Donald was one of a gentlemanly temper, and that if he had a fault, it was, that he was rather too gentlemanly, for that he had frequently gone beyond one in his circumstances to keep the best company. To this the lieutenant replied, that Donald MacLeod behaved to be nothing else but a knave, &c. that would offer to desert his chief and the clan, and to go over and join the Rebellion. At this the Captain smiled, and said, "If this be all that you have to say against honest Donald, good troth, he will keep his character still, and will find many good folks to like him for all that." The Captain, finding that the lieutenant, by his expressions, knew nothing at all of the Prince's late motions, began to be afraid that he had been only dissembling the matter with him; and therefore he got up pretty early in the morning, and went to the guard-house to pump the common fellows; for he was well acquainted with some of the command. In a joking way they called him a rebel, and he again called them rebels. Then he asked, if they knew any thing about his young master, for that he longed much to hear something about him, and they could not fail to know somewhat of him, as the army was so extraordinary diligent, both by sea and land, to find out and watch his motions. With an air of assurance they told him, that the young Pretender was still somewhere in the Long Isle, and that certainly he would be very soon caught, if he was not in the hands of the army already. This gave great inward pleasure to the Captain, as it was a plain proof, that they knew nothing about the Prince's being in or about the Isle of Sky at all. They were still keeping sentry on a rising ground at the shore. The Captain asked, what they meant by all that extraordinary exactness? They told him, it was to watch if any boat sailed thither from the Long Isle, and if one happened to appear, to search it for rebels, but more especially for the young Pretender.

It is here to be observed, that Captain Roy MacDonald, upon coming to the Isle of Sky from Culloden battle, had made a sham surrender of his arms to the said Lieutenant MacLeod, which had made them have the more freedom and familiarity together, the

Captain having purchased some very indifferent arms to give up for his own good arms, which he took care to have safely conveyed to his brother, Balishair, in North Uist, for the preservation of them; and, upon the sham surrender, Kingsburgh (then a Captain of militia) had ventured to give him a kind of a protection, which made him easy, till his having been with the Prince at Portree began to be known, and that strangers were landing upon the Isle of Sky for a more strict and narrow search for the Prince.

From Lieutenant MacLeod's quarters the Captain went to his own old quarters, the surgeon's house, very well satisfied with the result of his inquiries.

After settling accounts with the surgeon, the Captain set out again, next day, for Mouggistot, where he provided himself in a pocket pistol and a good dirk, being all he could get there, thinking he might have use for arms, being on his way to attend the Prince, as he had reason to imagine. He had walked to Mouggistot on foot from the surgeon's house, four miles, which had fatigued him much, as the wound in the foot was still open, and having only a cloth shoe upon it. Lady Margaret wrote a letter to the Prince, which she sent by Captain Roy MacDonald, in which she wished the Prince all happiness, and told him, she was ready to serve him in any thing he wanted that she could furnish him with. From Mouggistot the Captain travelled on horseback to Kingsburgh, where he got a boy to go along with him to Tottrome to fetch back the horse. At Tottrome he called if young Rasay was there, who jumped out of bed, and came to him directly, informing him privately, that he had left the Prince in a cow byre at Nicolson's Rock near Scorobreck, attended by Murdoch and Malcolm MacLeods, and that the Prince was exceedingly desirous to see Donald Roy MacDonald. The Captain, being very much fatigued, declared, it was not in his power to make it out at present, especially as it was under night, (Thursday, July 3d;) but that he would set out when it was daylight, and after he had taken some rest. Accordingly he set out with young Rasay to the palace of a cow byre, where they found only Murdoch MacLeod; the Prince and Malcolm MacLeod having gone off together, and the Prince leaving orders with Murdoch to tell Donald Roy MacDonald, that he would meet him at Cammistinnawagg, on Sunday night or Monday morning at farthest. This serves to correct a mistake in Captain Malcolm MacLeod's Journal; for it is plain, that Donald Roy (he being the same Donald MacDonald, alias Donald Roy, there mentioned) was the person appointed to meet the Prince at Cammistinnawagg, and to whom the letter was written from the boat-side, when the Prince was on board with old MacKinnon, &c. as will appear hereafter.

According to the orders left by the Prince with Murdoch MacLeod, Captain Roy MacDonald came to Cammistinnawagg, and went to the house of Peter MacQueen, upon Sunday, July 6th. In the evening (when dark) a stranger came stepping into the house, whom Peter MacQueen put several questions to about where he dwelt, whither he was going, &c. At last the Captain began to suspect, the stranger might be one employed to bring some message to him, and therefore he stepped out, the man following him directly. When they had gone a little from the door, the stranger (who knew the Captain, though the Captain did not know him) told him, that he had come from the Island of Rasay, and his errand was to him, and that he had a letter to him, delivering it into his hand. The Captain asked from whom the letter was? The stranger said, he believed it was from Malcolm MacLeod; for that he had got it from him, and he knew no more about it. The Captain desired his service to be given to Malcolm MacLeod, and then the bearer went off. As it was dark, the Captain could not know the contents of the letter till he returned into the house. It was without any address whatsoever upon the outside, and had no place or date on the inside, and it was to this purpose,

“SIR,—I have parted (I thank God) as intended. Make my compliments to all those to whom I have given trouble.—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

“JAMES THOMSON.”

Here I asked Captain Roy MacDonald, if he remembered any thing about the particular day, when the Prince set sail from the Isle of Sky to the continent, along with old MacKinnon? He said, to the best of his remembrance, it was upon Friday, July 4th, that he set out.

Till the day upon which Miss Flora MacDonald was made prisoner, Captain Roy MacDonald carefully kept the short letter the Prince had honoured him with, being mighty desirous to preserve it as a token of his young master; but on the foresaid day he destroyed it, as he plainly foresaw that dangers would increase upon him. The Captain happened to be at Armadale when the message came to Miss Flora MacDonald from Donald MacDonald of Castleton, (by the contrivance of Taliskar MacLeod,) inviting her to come to his house. The Captain was of opinion that Miss should not venture upon complying with any such message at any rate; for that he was afraid there might be a snare laid for her; but when he found her resolved to go, he desired her to deliver up to him the letter, which Armadale had sent along with her to his wife, in the way of a passport, and in favours of Betty Burke, alleging it was to no purpose (except a bad one) to carry that along with her, whatever might turn out to be the

matter. She acknowledged the wisdom of the advice, and accordingly delivered up the letter to him, which was to the following purpose.

“I have sent your daughter from this country, lest she should be any way frightened with the troops lying here. She has got one Betty Burke, an Irish girl, who, as she tells me, is a good spinster. If her spinning pleases you, you may keep her till she spins all your lint; or, if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her I am, your dutiful husband,

HUGH MACDONALD.”

The day after Miss MacDonald was made prisoner, Captain Roy MacDonald was careful to deliver up the above letter into Armadale's own hands, who immediately destroyed it. By this time, Donald Roy had destroyed the Prince's letter to himself, and Lady Margaret's letter to the Prince, not knowing what might happen. Armadale, immediately upon Miss MacDonald's being made prisoner, began a-skulking, because a report had gone about, that he had given a pass to her, though it consisted with his knowledge that the young Pretender was in company with her in disguise as a woman-servant. General Campbell, upon this account, was much in search of honest and brave Armadale; being not a little chagrined that Armadale should have outwitted him, to say no more of it.

I took an opportunity of asking Captain Roy MacDonald, whether or not it was true, that Armadale had the Prince's pistols in keeping? He told me, it was a fact that might be depended upon; Armadale having received them from MacDonald of Milton, Miss MacDonald's full brother. Donald Roy said, he saw the pistols in Armadale's house, and had them in his hands; but he could not inform me certainly who the person was that had delivered them into Milton's hands, whether it was the Prince himself, O'Sullivan, or O'Neil.

When Miss MacDonald was made the captive lady, Donald Roy MacDonald was obliged likewise to go a-skulking, the cripple foot notwithstanding, information having been given against him, that he had been with the young Pretender at Portree. His greatest danger proceeded from the captains of the ships and sloops of war, when they landed with their marines upon the Isle of Sky, and from General Campbell, who, when in Sky, made great inquiry after him, as he had got his character (in a disadvantageous light) from some of the Campbells in Argyleshire, with whom he had had an old quarrel. The Captain had three different caves, where, by turns, he made his abode for eight weeks; and during that time, Lady Margaret furnished him with provisions and necessaries, and the surgeon used to send dressings to him for the wounded foot by a proper hand. In the caves he had beds only of ferns or heath, and wrapped himself in

his tartan plaid. The midgies and flies, from the heat of the season, (part of July and August,) proved very uneasy companions to him, which obliged him frequently to retire into the inner parts of the caves, where the coolness kept them from him. He behaved to be very wary how he stepped out of any of his solitary retirements, lest the country people should spy him and be talking about him, which might make a discovery of him. He used to walk out, either early in the morning before people got up, or late at night after they were in bed, to some neighbouring fountain with his bottle to supply himself with water. Having got notice, that the independent companies were to be broke, he sent to Sir Alexander MacDonal for his opinion about what he should do, who advised him to appear by little and little; but to keep quite free of those in the independent companies, till they should be broke, and then he appeared publicly in Sky. At last the indemnity set him altogether free to go where he pleased. As to his principal entertainment while he wandered among the rocks and caves of Sky, it will hereafter appear.

Captain Roy MacDonal and another are the only persons of Sir Alexander MacDonal's following that joined the Prince. The other person's name is James MacDonal, son of John MacDonal, late tenant upon Hiskir, a small isle about eight miles distant to the westward of North Uist. The said James MacDonal being upon the continent, when the Prince landed there, he joined him directly. He still lives, and is in health.

It is worth observing, that Captain Roy MacDonal, in the retreat from Stirling, was despatched with a letter to Sir Alexander MacDonal, subscribed by all the Highland chiefs in the Prince's army, desiring him forthwith to join the Prince's standard with his following. The said letter was given in trust to the Captain, with proper orders, by Cluny MacPherson. The Captain accordingly made his way to Sky, and delivered the letter into Sir Alexander's own hands, and at the same instant letters were delivered to Sir Alexander by another from Lord Loudon, President Forbes, and the Laird of MacLeod, desiring him to raise his men and join them. Sir Alexander read one of these letters to Captain Roy MacDonal, which contained accounts that the young Pretender's army had deserted him, except only five hundred. The Captain, not being allowed to know who had writ the letter, said, it was a shame and a disgrace for any of them to write so; "for," said he, "why do not they with their fifteen or seventeen hundred attack the Prince, seeing he has such a small number?" This assertion in the letter, by the by, was a downright falsehood, and the author of the letter could not fail to know as much. Sir Alexander would give no return in writing to any of the

subscribers, but only Keppoch, to whom he wrote some few lines, the Captain not knowing the contents, till he delivered the letter to Keppoch, who allowed him to know them, and they were to the following purpose:

“Seeing I look upon your affairs as in a desperate way, I will not join you; but then, I assure you, I will as little rise against you. If any misfortune shall happen to yourself, I desire you may leave your son Ranald to my care,” &c.

Sir Alexander entreated Captain Roy MacDonald not to be in any hurry in returning to the Prince's army; for he did not doubt but there would be an engagement betwixt the Highland army and Lord Loudon's men, and therefore it was unwise for the Captain to run the risk of killing, or being killed by, any of his own blood relations, he having several near cousins in Lord Loudon's command. However, the Captain did not listen to the advice, but as soon as possible took leave, and went off to Kyle, the short ferry betwixt the continent and Sky, at which place his brother Balishair had the command of a company of militia. There the Captain remained three days, drinking and making merry with his friends, and eating plentifully of King George's beef and provisions, with the white cockade in his bonnet, his several friends of the militia heartily wishing and drinking success to the Prince's arms. When he was on his journey to the Isle of *Sky*, Lord Loudon and his men were in possession of Inverness; but, when he returned, he found the Prince and his army in possession both of the town and castle. When the Captain came into Inverness, the first man he met with was Donald MacLeod of Gualtergill, of whom he says most excellent things.¹²⁹

NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN MALCOLM MACLEOD.¹³⁰

By appointment Captain Malcolm MacLeod, and Murdoch MacLeod, Raaza's third son, met the Prince at Portree, a public house

¹²⁹ Here endeth the Journal of Captain Donald MacDonald, alias, Donald Roy, who parted from me upon Friday, January 15th, betwixt seven and eight at night. He is u tall sturdy man, about six foot high, exceedingly well shaped, and about forty years of age—R. F.

¹³⁰ Taken down from MacLeod's own mouth by Bishop Forbes, at Leith, August 17, 1747. This gallant gentleman, for such he appears to have been, was living at Raasay when Johnson and Boswell visited it, and communicated to the latter several particulars of his concern in the Prince's escape, which Boswell incorporated in the narrative published in his *Tour to the Hebrides*.—ED.

in the Isle of Sky, upon Monday night, June 30, 1746. After taking leave of Kingsburgh at the side of a wood, the Prince¹³¹ had set out directly for this place, where Miss Flora MacDonald (taking a different road) met him once more, and bade farewell to him. Captain Malcolm MacLeod said he would not positively affirm, whether it was Monday night or Tuesday morning when they met; "but," said he, "it was dark." Raaza's third son had been in the Prince's service, and had received a musket-shot through his shoulder, at the battle of Culloden.

Before these two gentlemen had set out from the Island of Raaza, in order to meet the Prince at Portree, the young Laird of Raaza, John MacLeod, came to the Captain, and told him what a great anxiety he had to see that young man, the Prince. Malcolm MacLeod begged him to consider well what he was doing, that, as he had not been out, he ought to run no risk for satisfying his desire, which at present could be of no real use or service; and therefore he suggested him to act in this affair with the utmost prudence and caution. Meantime, Malcolm could not help owning frankly, that he himself heartily wished that his friend might see the Prince, provided he could do it with safety; but then he would leave it altogether to himself to determine on which side he should think fit to choose. After thinking a little, young Raaza positively declared, he was resolved to see the Prince, if it should cost him the estate and the head, and accordingly accompanied his brother and the Captain to Portree in a small boat, that would contain only six or seven men with difficulty. Upon meeting with the Prince, they spent very little time at Portree; but attended him soon to the same small boat, and the Captain did not introduce young Raaza to the Prince till they were in the boat. Early in the morning, July 1st, they arrived at Glam, in Raaza, where they remained two days in a mean low hut, and young Raaza was the person that brought provisions to them, viz. a lamb and a kid, in the nook of his plaid.

At that time there happened to be in Raaza, a fellow, who had come into the island upon pretence of selling a roll of tobacco; but after he had sold off his tobacco, he continued strolling up and down the island in an idle way, without any thing to do, for no less than twelve or fourteen days, which made the people of the island suspect him to be a spy. When the Prince and his friends were in this hut, Malcolm MacLeod happened to see the stroller coming towards the hut, which

¹³¹ Attended by Neil MacKechan, and a boy to shew them the way. Neil MacKechan went with Miss MacDonald to Slate.—R. F.

he took notice of to the Prince, and told him withal what kind of a fellow he was suspected to be. The Prince not liking the thing so well, Malcolm said he should take care that the fellow should not go back again; for that he would immediately go out, and shoot him through the head. "Oh, no!" said the Prince, "God forbid that any poor man should suffer for us, if we can but keep ourselves any way safe!" and he would not allow the Captain to stir, though their apprehensions behoved to be the greater, that the hut was not upon any road; but the fellow happened to pass by it without looking into it.

The Prince began to be anxious to be out of Raaza, alleging the island to be too narrow and confined in its bounds for his purpose, and proposed setting out for Troternish, in Sky; but his companions told him, that they thought him in safety where he was, and did not like that he should change his place so soon. The Prince pressed so much for going to the place he had mentioned, pretending he had a tryst therewith a gentleman,¹³² which he would not break for any thing, that his friends yielded to his importunity. July 2, about 7 o'clock at night, he went on board the above mentioned small boat, attended by the young Laird of Raaza, who could not think of parting from him soon, and his brother, Murdoch, Captain MacLeod, and the two boatmen, John MacKenzie, and Donald MacFrier, who had been both out in his service, the one a sergeant, and the other a private man. They had not well left the shore, till the wind blew a hard gale, and the sea became so very rough and tempestuous, that all on board begged he would return; for the waves were beating over and over them, the men tugging hard at the oars, and Captain MacLeod laving the water out of the little boat. The Prince would by no means hear of returning, and, to divert the men from thinking on the danger, he sung them a merry Highland song. About nine or ten o'clock the same night, they landed at a place in Sky, called Nicolson's Rock, near Scorobreck in Troternish. In rowing along they found the coast very bad and dangerous; and when they came to the rock, the Prince was the third man that jumped out among the water, and cried out, "Take care of the boat, and hawl her up to dry ground;" which was immediately done, he himself assisting as much as any one of them. The Prince had upon him a large big-coat, which was become very heavy and cumbersome by the waves beating so much upon it; for it was wet through and through. Captain MacLeod proposed taking the big-coat to carry it; for the rock was steep, and of a very uneasy ascent; but the Prince would not part with the coat, wet as it was, alleging he was as able to carry it as the Captain was. They went

¹³² Captain Donald Roy MacDonald.

forward to a cow byre on the rock, about two miles from Scorobreck, a gentleman's house. In this byre the Prince took up his quarters, the whole company still attending him. Here they took some little refreshment of bread and cheese they had along with them; the cakes being mouldered down into very small crumbs.

Captain MacLeod entreated the Prince to put on a dry shirt, and to take some sleep; but he continued sitting in his wet clothes, and did not then incline to sleep. However, at last he began to nap a little, and would frequently start in his sleep, look briskly up, and stare boldly in the face of every one of them, as if he had been to fight them. Upon his waking he would sometimes cry out, "O poor England! O poor England!" The Prince desired the Captain to take some rest; but he did not choose to sleep at that time. However, when the Prince began to importune him, the Captain thought, perhaps the Prince wants a private opportunity to say something to Raaza's sons; and therefore he stepped aside a little. The two brothers¹³³ and the boatmen parted from the Prince at the byre, he promising to meet the youngest brother again at Camistinnawagg, another place in the same island.

The Prince said he expected Donald MacDonald, alias Donald Roy, to come to him; but he not coming, the Prince asked Captain MacLeod if he was a stout walker, and if he could walk barefooted? The Captain replied he was pretty good at walking, and that he could travel bare-footed very well. The Prince told him, by bare-footed he meant, if he could walk in his shoes without stockings; "for," said he, "that is the way I used to walk at my diversions in Italy." The Captain said, he could not really tell if he could do that or not, for that he had never tried it.

About six or seven o'clock at night, the Prince, taking the little baggage in his hand, stepped out of the byre, and desired the Captain to follow him. The Captain came up to him, and said, "Give me that," taking hold of the little baggage, which he gave him; and then the Captain followed him without speaking one word, till they were out of sight of the cow byre; when the Prince happening to turn such a way as the Captain did not think so safe, he made up to him, and said, "Your Royal Highness will pardon me, to ask where you are going, for that I dread you may chance to fall into the hands of some party or another, if you do not take exceeding good care, as there are many small parties dispersed up and down the country?" The Prince then

¹³³ Wrong, for one of them, young Raasay, had gone to find out Donald Roy MacDonald.—R.F.

said, "Why, MacLeod, I now throw myself entirely into your hands, and leave you to do with me what you please; only I want to go to Strath, MacKinnon's country. I hope you will accompany me, if you think you can lead me safe enough into Strath." The Captain declared, he would go with him where he pleased, and said, he could undertake to bring him into MacKinnon's country safe enough, provided he would go by sea, which he might easily do; for that he did not really think it so safe for him to go by land, by reason of the several parties that were searching the country. The Prince said he would go by land, for that there was no doing any thing in their situation without running risks; and proposed directing their course immediately for the place intended, alleging, that he himself knew the way very well. "I am sure," says the Captain, "I must know it much better; and I must tell you, that we have a long journey to make, no less than twenty-four or thirty long miles; for I dare not lead you the direct road, but take you by-ways, and go here and there across the country, to keep as free as we can of the parties scattered up and down." Then the Captain hinted, that he thought it not so convenient to set out when night was coming on, lest they should fall into dangers and inconveniences for want of knowing well where they were; but the Prince insisted upon setting out immediately; and accordingly, away they went along; the ridges of high hills, and through wild muirs and glens. All the time, from first to last, of this adventure, the Captain was exceedingly afraid of what might happen, lest bad things should be imputed to him in case of any harm befalling the Prince.

The Prince proposed to pass for the Captain's servant, the better to conceal him, which was agreed to, and that he should be named Lewie Caw, there being of that name a young surgeon lad (who had been in the Prince's service) skulking at that time in Sky, where he had some relations. The Captain advised the Prince, since he had proposed being his servant, to walk at some distance behind him; and, if at any time he happened to meet with any persons, and to converse with them, as he was well known in the island, that the Prince should shew no concern at all in his face, but sit down at a small distance when he should happen to talk with any folks. The Prince assured him, that no appearance of concern should be seen about him; and that he should be careful to observe the proper distance of a servant, and to do the duty of one by carrying the baggage, which very often he would not part with to the Captain, when he desired it of him, and even pressed to have it.

The conversation happening to turn upon Lord George Murray, the Prince said, that Lord George Murray (whether out of ignorance, or

with a view to betray him, he would not say) did not behave well at all with respect to obeying of orders; and that particularly for two or three days before the battle of Culloden, Lord George did scarce any one thing he desired him to do.

When the Captain was informing the Prince about the many cruelties and barbarities committed after Culloden battle, the Prince was amazed, and said, "Surely, that man who calls himself the Duke, and pretends to be so great a general, cannot be guilty of such cruelties. I cannot believe them."

The Captain, happening to see the Prince uneasy and fidgeting, took him to the back of a knowe, and opening his breast, saw him troubled with lice, for want of clean linen, and by reason of the coarse odd way he behoved to live in, both as to sustenance and sleep. He said, he believed he took fourscore off him. This serves to shew that he was reduced to the very lowest ebb of misery and distress; and is a certain indication of that greatness of soul, which could rise above all misfortunes, and bear up, with a cheerfulness not to be equalled in history, under all the scenes of wo that could happen. He used to say, that the fatigues and distresses he underwent signified nothing at all, because he was only a single person; but when he reflected upon the many brave fellows who suffered in his cause, that, he behoved to own, did strike him to the heart, and did sink very deep with him.

The Prince, even when warm and sweating, used to drink a great deal of water in his wandering from place to place; and the Captain was always sure to desire him to take a dram above the water, to qualify it. The Captain entreated him not to drink water when he was sweating, lest he should thereby injure his health. "No, no," said the Prince, "that will never hurt me in the least. If you happen to drink any cold thing when you are warm, only remember, MacLeod, *

* * * * *

When the Captain was asked, if the Prince was really in good health when he happened to be with him, he said, it was not possible he could be altogether in good health, considering the many fatigues and distresses he was obliged to undergo, and that (as he had heard) he had been seized with a bloody flux before he left South Uist; but then, he said, the Prince would never own himself to be in any bad state of health at all, and always bore up with a surprising stock of spirits. It was never in the power of any person to discover an appearance of bad health about him. He walked very quickly, and had a good appetite.

At last the brandy bottle began to come near the bottom, when the Prince pressed the Captain to take a dram, lest he should faint with

the excessive fatigue; but he refused to take it, and desired the Prince himself to drink it off. The kind contest ran so high, that the Prince told him, the devil a drop of it he would drink, and therefore he should make an end of it. The Captain behoved to empty the bottle, which the Prince proposed to throw away, and to break it. "No, no," said the Captain, "I will be so far from breaking it, that I will do my best to preserve it as a curious piece. It may come to drink many a cask of whisky to me yet." He then hid the bottle in the heart of a thick bush of heath, and as he knows the ground well, he hopes to find it upon his return to Sky; if the cattle have not trampled it to pieces. He said, he hoped the bottle would make a figure in Westminster yet. He has likewise the big-coat, which the Prince wore wet and heavy. He took it to London with him, and gave orders to send it after him when he set out for Scotland.

As they were marching along, and talking of the fatigues the Prince was obliged to undergo, he said, "MacLeod, do you not think that God Almighty has made this person of mine for doing some good yet? When I was in Italy, and dining at the king's table, very often the sweat would have been coming through my coat with the heat of the climate, and now that I am in a cold country of a more piercing and trying climate, and exposed to different kinds of fatigues, I really find I agree equally with both. I have had this philibeg on now for some days, and I find, I do as well with it as any the best breeches I ever put on. I hope in God, MacLeod, to walk the streets of London with it yet." Then he remarked, that the waistcoat he had upon him was too fine for a servant, being a scarlet tartan with a gold twist button, and proposed to the master to change with him, the better to carry on the disguise, which accordingly was done, the master's vest not being so fine as the servant's. When the Prince was making the exchange, he said, "I hope, MacLeod, to give you a much better vest for this yet."

The Captain remarked, it was proper they should pass the road that leads to the Laird of MacLeod's country, in the night time, for fear of parties spying them; which accordingly they did by break of day; and the Prince, looking about him, and seeing nothing but hills all around them, said, "I am sure the devil cannot find us out now."

As they were coming near Strath, MacKinnon's country, the Captain suggested to the Prince, that now he was coming to a country where he would be known, and consequently liable to be discovered in every corner of it, as MacKinnon and his men had been out in his service, and therefore some shift behoved to be fallen upon to disguise him more and more still. The Prince proposed blacking his face with some one thing or another; but the Captain was against that

proposal, as what would serve rather to discover him all at once, than to conceal him. The Prince then pulling off the periwig, and putting it into his pocket, took out a dirty white napkin, and desired the Captain to tie that about his head, and to bring it down upon his eyes and nose. He put the bonnet on above the napkin, and said, "I think I will now pass well enough for your servant, and that I am sick with the much fatigue I have undergone. Look at me, MacLeod, and tell me what you think. How will it do?" MacLeod told him, this would not do yet; for that those who had ever seen him before, would still discover his face for all the disguise he was in. The Prince said, "This is an odd remarkable face I have got, that nothing can disguise it." I heard Mr MacLeod declare more than once, that the Prince could do any thing, or turn himself into any shape, but that of dissembling his air. That he could never disguise with all the arts he could use. "There is not a person," said he, "that knows what the air of a noble or great man is, but, upon seeing the Prince in any disguise he could put on, would see something about him that was not ordinary, something of the stately and the grand."

They were no sooner come into Strath, than they met two of MacKinnon's men, who had been out in the expedition. Immediately they stared upon the Prince, and, with hands lifted up, wept bitterly to see him in such a pickle. Malcolm begged them to take care what they were doing, and to compose themselves; for that they might do harm by shewing any concern. He took them back with him so far, and, cautioning them not to take any notice of this meeting, took an oath of them, that they should not discover at any rate that they had seen the Prince in disguise, or in that corner of the country, and then dismissed them. The men accordingly proved true to their trust.

When they were near the place the Captain designed to set up at, he told the Prince that he had a sister that dwelt there, who was married to John MacKinnon, a captain lately under the Laird of MacKinnon, and that he judged it advisable to go to his sister's house, advising the Prince in the meantime to sit at a little distance from the house, till he should inquire at John MacKinnon, or his wife, if any party was near the place, and if he (Malcolm MacLeod) could be safe there; and likewise telling the Prince, that he was still to pass for his servant, Lewie Caw. Mr MacLeod accordingly went to the house, where he found his sister; but her husband was not at home. After the usual compliments, he told his sister that he had come there perhaps to pass some little time, provided that no party was near them, and that he was in safety to stay. She assured him, that no party she knew of was in that corner, and that he was very welcome, and she hoped he would be in safety enough. He told her, that he had nobody along

with him but one Lewie Caw, (son of Mr Caw, surgeon in Crief) who had been out in the late affair, and consequently in the same condemnation with himself, and that he was with him as his servant. Upon this Lewie Caw was called upon to come into the house, the place being called Ellagol, or Ellighuil, near Kilvory, or Kilmaree, (*i. e.* a chapel, or rather, a burying-place dedicated to the Virgin Mary,) in Strath. When Lewie entered the house with the baggage on his back, and the napkin about his head, he took off his bonnet, made a low bow, and sat at a distance from his master. The Captain's sister said, there was something about that lad she liked unco well, and she could not help admiring his looks. When meat and drink, *viz.* bread and cheese, milk, &c. were set down before the master, he said to his servant, that he might come in by and take a share; for that there were no strangers in the house. The sick Lewie made shy, and refused to eat with his master, and alleged, he knew better manners. But the master ordering him to come and take a share, he obeyed, still keeping off the bonnet. In their way to this place, the Prince, in the night-time, happened to fall into a bog almost to the top of the thighs, and MacLeod behoved to pull him out by the armpits, and thereby was bogged himself. The Captain desired the servant lass, who could talk nothing but Erse, to bring some water for his feet, which she did; and, being much fatigued, he desired her to wash his feet and legs. When she was washing them, he said, "You see that poor sick man there. I hope, you'll wash his feet too. It will be great charity; for he has as much need as I have."—"No such thing," said she, "although I wash the master's feet, I am not obliged to wash the servant's. What! he's but a low-country woman's son. I will not wash his feet indeed." However, with much entreaty, Malcolm prevailed upon the maid to stoop so low as to wash poor Lewie's feet. While she was washing them, she happened to use him right roughly, and the Prince said to Malcolm, "O MacLeod, if you would desire the girl not to go so far up."

Malcolm importuned the Prince to go to bed and take some rest. The Prince then asked who would keep guard for fear of an alarm? Malcolm said he would do it himself. The Prince at last was prevailed upon to throw himself upon a bed; but would not strip. Malcolm desired his sister to go out, and sit upon the top of a knowe near the house, and keep watch, while he and his servant Lewie should take some sleep; which she accordingly did. The Captain, hearing that the landlord was coming towards home, went out to meet him. After saluting him, he asked if he saw these ships of war (pointing to them) that were hovering about upon the coast. Mr MacKinnon said, he saw them very well, "What," said MacLeod, "if our Prince be on board one

of them? —“God forbid!” replied MacKinnon; “I would not wish that for any thing.”— “What,” said Malcolm, “if we had him here, John? Do you think he would be in safety enough?”—“I wish with all my heart we had him here,” replied John, “for he would be safe enough.”—“Well then,” said MacLeod, “he is here already. He is just now in your house. But when you go in, you must be careful to take no notice of him at all. He passes for one Lewie Caw, my servant.” John faithfully promised to observe the direction, and thought he could perform it well enough; but he was no sooner entered the house, than he could not hold his eyes from staring upon Lewie, and very soon he was forced to turn his face away from the Prince, and to weep. In this house the Prince diverted himself with a young child, Niel MacKinnon,¹³⁴ carrying him in his arms, and singing to him, and said, “I hope this child may be a captain in my service yet.”

The Prince and Malcolm began to deliberate about going to the continent, and the proper measures to be taken for that purpose. They both agreed not to let the old Laird of MacKinnon know any thing of their being in that country; because, though he be a mighty honest, stout, good man, yet, through his old age, and the infirmities attending it, they thought he was not so well cut out for the difficulties of the Prince’s present situation; and therefore they judged it advisable to desire John MacKinnon to hire a boat under a pretence of Malcolm MacLeod’s only sailing to the continent, taking his promise, in the meantime, that he should not communicate any thing of the matter at all to the old laird, if he should chance to see him. Accordingly John went to hire the boat; and meeting with the old chieftain, he could not keep the matter from him. The laird told John, that he should get a right boat, and manage that matter well enough, and that he would instantly come to the place where the Prince was. John returned to the Prince, and told him what he had done, and that old MacKinnon was coming to wait upon him. Upon this Malcolm represented to the Prince, that seeing they were upon the bounds of the old Laird, and that he had taken the matter in hand, he behoved to order and direct every thing; for that if he should take upon him to give his opinion, or contradict honest MacKinnon in any thing he should propose, a difference might arise, that would not be so convenient in the present juncture; and therefore suggested it as a wise thing, that he should leave the Prince altogether to the management of old MacKinnon, who, he was persuaded, would be very careful of him, and exceedingly true and firm to the trust. The

¹³⁴ Son of said John.

Prince did not favour this proposal at all, for he could not think of parting with his trusty friend; but the Captain insisted upon it as advisable upon other accounts. He told the Prince, that now he behoved to be amissing among his own friends and acquaintances, and ten to one but parties would be employed in search of him, which, if they should still keep together, might end in making a discovery of them both; and that therefore he would choose rather to return to the place from whence he came, though he should happen to have the misfortune of being made a prisoner, which was very like to be the case; "and no matter for that at all," said he, "if it can tend to promote your safety, which it cannot readily fail to do." With much reluctancy the Prince at last agreed to the proposal, and, upon old MacKinnon's coming to them, they went directly to the boat, John MacKinnon going with them, who likewise accompanied the Prince and old MacKinnon to the continent.

When the Prince was about stepping into the boat, about eight or nine at night, he turned to Malcolm, and said, "Don't you remember that I promised to meet Murdoch MacLeod at such a place?"—"No matter," said Malcolm; "I shall make your apology."—"That's not enough," said the Prince. "Have you paper, pen, and ink, upon you, MacLeod? I'll write him a few lines. I'm obliged so to do in good manners." Accordingly he wrote him in 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."

"Ellighuil, July 4th, 1746."

The Prince delivered the letter into the Captain's hands, and then asked him if he could light him a pipe, for he wanted to smoke in the passage. The Captain desired him to have the cuttie ready in his cheek, and that he should fall upon a method to light it. Malcolm took some tow out of his pocket, and, snapping one of the guns, held the tow to the pan, and kindled it. Then putting it to the mouth of the pipe, he blew, and the Prince smoked; but the cuttie being exceedingly short, Malcolm scamed the Prince's cheek with the tow.

At parting, the Prince presented the Captain with a silver stock-buckle, which, among all his difficulties, he has got still preserved, and embracing him in his arms, saluted him twice, and bade God bless him, putting ten guineas into his hand. Malcolm positively refused to accept of the gold, because the Prince behoved to have great use for money in his wandering from place to place; and

he said, he believed he had not much about him at that time. The Prince pressed it upon him, and would have no refusal, wishing it had been much more for his sake, and that he could have gone to the continent with him.

Captain MacLeod took care to have one of the cutties the Prince had used, and carried it to London with him,¹³⁵ where meeting with one Dr Burton, of York, a prisoner, and chancing to tell the story of the cuttie, the Doctor begged, as a great favour, to have the cuttie, which Malcolm gave him. The Doctor has made a fine shagreen case for it, and preserves it as a valuable rarity. This Dr Burton was made prisoner upon a suspicion of his having crossed England, with an intention to kiss the Prince's hands. Malcolm, in coming down from London, made a stop at York for a day or two, and visited the Doctor and his cuttie.

¹³⁵ Captain MacLeod, like most of the individuals concerned in the Prince's escape, was taken almost immediately after parting with that distinguished person. He was seized in Raasa by a party of the loyal MacLeods, his own blood relations, headed by MacLeod of Talisker. He was then carried to London, encountering many hardships upon the voyage. The government, finding it impossible to obtain proper evidence against him, permitted him to depart after nearly a twelve-month's imprisonment; and he returned to Scotland in the same post-chaise with Miss Flora MacDonald.—ED.

NARRATIVE OF JOHN MACKINNON.¹³⁶

The Prince and his company arrived next morning about four, on the south side of Loch Nevis, near Little Mallack, where they landed, and lay three nights in the open air. The Laird and one of the men having gone the fourth day to seek a cave to lie in, the Prince, with John MacKinnon and the other three rowers, took to the boat, and rowed up Loch Nevis along the coast. As they turned a point, they suddenly struck their oars upon a boat tied to the rock, and saw five men with red crosses over their bonnets standing on the shore. These immediately called out, demanding whence they came. John MacKinnon's people answered, "From Slate" whereupon they were ordered ashore, but not complying with this summons, the five red crosses jumped into their boat, and set four oars agoing in pursuit of them. At first seeing the men, John MacKinnon had the Prince sitting low down on the bottom of the boat betwixt his knees, with his head leaning back on John's belly, and John's plaid spread over him, so that the Prince could not be seen at all. John said, he was obliged to be very positive and peremptory as to keeping the Prince in his then snug situation, when he offered to get up, and to jump ashore; insomuch, that he affirmed with an oath, he would by no means allow of any such thing, as he well knew the danger of such an experiment. Meantime, the Prince and John kept up a close conversation together; the Prince asking now and then how they kept their distance from the red crosses. John assured him, they kept their distance very well, and that the red crosses did not gain a single foot on them.

John gave orders to the rowers to have their muskets close by them, but by no means to fire till he himself should fire first, which was to be the word of command; "and then, my lads," said he, "be sure to take an aim. Mark well, and there is no fear. We will be able to manage these rogues, if we come to engage them." Upon this the Prince earnestly entreated John not to take any life without absolute necessity. John said he would observe his direction, and that he would not make an attempt, unless better could not be; but that, if they were forced to come to blows, it was necessary that none should

¹³⁶ This article is composed partly of notes taken from Captain MacKinnon, by Mr John Wilkinshaw, in London, and subsequently arranged by Mr James Elphinstone, the well known translator of *Martial*, and partly of notes corrective of these, taken by Bishop Forbes from the mouth of MacKinnon, in the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh.—ED.

get off to tell tidings. John observed to the Prince, that, as the landing place they were sailing to was all wood down to the water, they would be very safe if once there, because the red crosses would be afraid of being fired at from behind the trees, or out of the thickets; and therefore, would be sure to sheer off for their own safety.

They had no sooner reached the shore than the Prince sprang out of the boat, and, attended by John and another, mounted nimbly to the top of the hill. From hence they beheld the boat with the militia returning from their fruitless pursuit; and John, congratulating his young master upon his escape, asked pardon for having disobeyed him. The Prince replied, that he had done well, that his reason for desiring to go ashore was, "that he would rather fight for his life than be taken prisoner; but that he hoped God would never so far afflict the king, his father, or the Duke, his brother, as that he should fall alive into the hands of his enemies."

On this eminence the Prince slept three hours, and then returning down the hill, he re-embarked, and crossed the loch, to a little island about a mile from Scot'use's house, where Clanranald,¹³⁷ to whom he sent a message by John MacKinnon, then was. Upon John's return, they repassed the loch, and landed at Mallack; where having refreshed themselves, and met with old MacKinnon and servant, they set out for MacDonald of Morar's seat, which was about seven or eight miles distant. As they passed a sheiling, (a cottage,) they spied some people coming down towards the road. Whereupon the Prince made John fold his plaid for him, and throw it over his shoulder, with his knapsack upon it; tying a handkerchief about his head, the better to disguise himself. In going along, John was asked if that was his servant; to which he answered in the affirmative, adding, that as the poor fellow was not well, he intended to leave him at Morar's. So after receiving a draught of milk from Archibald MacDonald, son to Ranald MacDonald, son of Scot'use, they pursued their journey, and came to another sheiling, belonging to old Scot'use, where also they bought a draught of milk, and procured a guide, (the night being

¹³⁷ We here omit a long passage in one of the sets of notes, descriptive of the unsuccessful mission of MacKinnon to this old chief, who utterly refused to stir another step in favour of the individual who had brought ruin upon his family, and for whom he had already done so much. When MacKinnon returned and told the particulars of the interview, the Prince "heard him without any emotion, and easily said, 'Well, Mr MacKinnon, there is no help for it; we must do the best we can for ourselves.'"—ED.

dark, and the road bad,) to shew them how to take the ford near Morar's house. A little before day, they arrived at Morar's bothy, or hut, his house having been burned by Captain Fergusson.

In coming to the ford near Morar's house, a comical adventure happened. Mr MacKinnon desired the guide to be so kind as to take this poor sick young fellow (meaning the Prince) upon his back across the ford, as it was then pretty deep. "The deil be on the back he comes," says the guide, "or any fellow of a servant like him; but I'll take you on my back, sir, if you please, and carry you safely through the ford."—"No, no, by no means," said Mr MacKinnon. "If the lad must wade, I'll wade along with him, and help him, lest any harm should happen to him." Then John MacKinnon took hold of the Prince's arm, and they went through the ford together. This adventure pleased Mr MacKinnon very much, as it served to conceal the Prince more and more; for the guide had not the smallest suspicion that the sick lad was the Prince.

When they came to Morar's house, none could be more hearty and ready to serve the Prince, and to take all possible care of him, than Morar was; but, when he returned next day from seeking out young Clanranald, he became all at once very cool and backward: for, when he told young Clanranald was not to be found, the Prince said, "Well, Morar, there is no help for that; you must do the best you can yourself." To which Morar answered, he was sorry to tell him, he could do nothing at all for his Royal Highness, and as little did he know of any one to whose care he could commit his person. "This is very hard," said the Prince. "You were very kind yesternight, Morar, and said you could find out a hiding-place, proof against all the search of the enemy's forces, and now you say you can do nothing at all for me. You can travel to no place, but what I will travel to: no eatables or drinkables can you take, but what I can take a share along with you, and be well content with them, and even pay handsomely for them. When fortune smiled upon me, and I had pay to give, I then found some people ready enough to serve me; but now that fortune frowns on me, and I have no pay to give, they forsake me in my necessity."

This provoked John MacKinnon highly; insomuch that he told Morar very roundly, "I am persuaded, Morar, though you deny it, you have met with your betters, and gotten bad counsel, otherwise you would not have changed your mind so much as you have done in so short a time; for yesterday you was as hearty as one could have wished, to do every thing for the preservation of the Prince, whose situation is just the same as when you left us; and as there is no

change at all in his circumstances, why this sudden change in your resolutions?" Morar still persisted in the denial of having seen young Clanranald, and of having received any bad counsel in the matter; but old MacKinnon and John were as positive, on the contrary, that he had certainly met with young Clanranald, and that Morar's present conduct had been the result of the conference. This dilemma vexed the Prince greatly; insomuch that he cried out, "O God Almighty! look down upon my circumstances, and pity me; for I am in a most melancholy situation. Some of those who joined me at first, and appeared to be fast friends, now turn their backs upon me in my greatest need; and some of those again who refused to join me, and stood at a distance, are now among my best friends; for it is remarkable, that those of Sir Alexander MacDonald's following have been most faithful to me in my distress, and contributed greatly to my preservation." Then he added, "I hope, Mr MacKinnon, you will not desert me too, and leave me in the lurch, but that you'll do all for my preservation you can." Old MacKinnon, imagining these words to be spoken to him, declared, with his eyes gushing out the tears, "I never will leave your Royal Highness in the day of danger; but will, under God, do all I can for you, and go with you wherever you order me."—"Oh, no!" said the Prince; "that is too much for one of your advanced years, sir. I heartily thank you for your readiness to take care of me, as I am well satisfied of your zeal for me and my cause; but one of your age cannot well hold out with the fatigues and dangers I must undergo. It was to your friend John here, a stout young man, I was addressing myself."—"Well then," said John, "with the help of God, I will go through the wide world with your Royal Highness, if you desire me."

Then the Prince proposed to go to Boradale. "I am pretty sure," said he, "honest old Æneas MacDonald will be ready enough to do all he can for me." Then he asked of Morar, if he would do that much for him as to give him a guide, seeing John MacKinnon, being a stranger in that part of the country, did not know the way thither. Morar said he had a boy, a son of his own, who knew the road very well, and whom he would send with him as guide. The Prince very readily answered, "If that son of yours did never see me, well and good; he will do very well; but if he has ever seen me, let him not come near us. We will do the best we can for ourselves." Morar assured the Prince, his son had never seen him; and therefore it was agreed to take him.

The Prince said, he longed much to hear what they were doing in the camp, at Fort Augustus, and asked if Morar could procure any one to go and bring intelligence from that quarter. Morar said there was a packman, or pedlar, in that corner, who used to go sometimes

to Fort Augustus to sell his wares in the camp; and he doubted not, but he might be prevailed upon to go. The Prince pulled out a guinea, and desired Morar to give it to the pedlar, to despatch him for intelligence in Morar's own name, and to tell him to return as speedily as possible. Morar said a guinea was too much, that the one half might do very well. To which the Prince scornfully replied, "Well then, sir, if you think so, give him the one half, and keep the other to yourself." After this the Prince and John MacKinnon stepped out of the cave, and went to Boradale, the foresaid boy conducting them.

Here they arrived before day, found the house burned by Captain Fergusson, and Mr MacDonald himself, with two men, at a bothy hard by. John MacKinnon went in abruptly, desiring that unfortunate gentleman to rise. Angus MacDonald at first was surprised; but presently knowing John's voice, he got up, and went to the door, having thrown his blankets about him. Then John asked him, if he had heard any thing of the Prince. Æneas answered, "No."—"What would you give for a sight of him?" says John. "Time was," returned the other, "that I would have given a hearty bottle to see him safe; but since I see you, I expect to hear some news of him."—"Well then," replies John, "I have brought him here, and will commit him to your charge. I have done my duty, do you yours."—"I am glad of it," said Angus, "and shall not fail to take care of him: I shall lodge him so secure, that all the forces in Britain shall not find him out;" which he accordingly did, till he delivered him safe off his hands. John MacKinnon stayed only to drink a little warm milk; but here he met again with old MacKinnon, who was taken next morning in Morar's bothy. John escaped at this time, having lain near the boat, and went home under cloud of night, (being the 11th.) He no sooner landed, than he was made prisoner at his own sheiling in Ellagoll, by a party of militia.

[The remainder of the Prince's adventures, extending through a period of two months, are chronicled in Bishop Forbes's collection by young Clanranald, Glenaladale, and Captain Alexander MacDonald, a younger brother of the Laird of Dallely. It is judged, however, to be unnecessary to present that narrative in the present volume, as it has been already printed in the Lockhart papers, besides being employed as material in the account of the Rebellion in Constable's *Miscellany*.

The Prince remained for some days under the protection of MacDonald of Boradale, whose kindness was the more meritorious, in as far as he had lost a son at Culloden. The editor of these papers had the honour to be acquainted with the late venerable Mr MacDonald of Glenaladale, grandson of this generous and faithful

person; who informed him that, when Charles entered the house entreating protection, and saw the mother of the young man recently slain in his service, he went up to her, and with tears in his eyes, asked if she could still endure the sight of one who had been the cause of so much distress to her and her family. "Yes," answered this Roman mother, "although all my sons had fallen in your Royal Highness's service."

From Boradale, the Prince proceeded, in the latter days of July, to the braes of Locharkaig, in the interior of the country; and soon after had an amazingly perilous escape through a line of guards by which the district was crossed. He then endeavoured to find refuge in the MacKenzie country, but was soon obliged to return to the south, travelling by Glenmoriston, and finally resting for some weeks (about the beginning of August) on the hill of Corambian, where he was protected and kindly entertained by a band of "broken men," or robbers.¹³⁸ He was conducted by these men to a wood near Locharkaig, which afforded him protection for several days, till he obtained the securest of all his hiding-places in a dwelling called the Cage, which was literally hung from the face of a lofty precipice on the confines of Rannoch, and had for some time previously given shelter to Lochiel, and others of his friends. Here he remained from the 2d till the 13th of September; when, learning that a French vessel was in waiting for him in one of the estuaries of the West Highlands, he set out thither, and on the 19th left Scotland, after a series of adventures the most perilous, distresses the most excruciating, and escapes the most narrow, that perhaps any Prince ever encountered.]

¹³⁸ Bishop Forbes has preserved memoranda of the fates of almost all these men. The remarkable story, hitherto current, that one of the individuals who had resisted the temptation of thirty thousand pounds, which he might have obtained by delivering up the Prince, was afterwards hanged for stealing a cow, is contradicted by the Bishop.

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