

HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE PEACE OF UTRECHT  
TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, VOLUME 2

By Philip Henry Stanhope (Lord Mahon)

Extracts from the Stuart Papers beginning on [page 533](#) of the Appendix.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.<sup>1</sup>

(*Extract.*)

*Paris, Nov. 30, 1744.*

THE only thing that is good I have to say is, as long as there is life there is hope, that's the proverb. ... S. Littleton (Sir Thomas Sheridan) found Wright (Cardinal Tencin) in extreme bad humour at the proceedings of Adam (King Louis), and his fellow lawyers (ministers). *On le serait à moins*. You may imagine how I must be out of humour at all these proceedings, when, for comfort, I am plagued out of my life with *tracasseries* from our own people; who, as it would seem, would rather sacrifice me and my affairs than fail in any private view of their own. Dean (Lord John Drummond) is one of those that has been plaguing me with complaints, but I quieted him in the best manner I could, saying that whatever is said of our own people, though never so well grounded, was cutting our own throats.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

(*Extract.*)

*Pans, Jan. 3, 1745.*

IF Isham (himself) had not represented that it was impossible for him to part without paying his debts, or some of them, I believe he would have got little or nothing. Now that he has got at least something, he intends to part to his imprisonment,<sup>2</sup> where I believe he will have full occasion to have the spleen, by seeing no appearance of real business, and being entirely out of the way of company, and diversions that accompany any great town; but all this Isham (the Prince) does not regret in the least, as long as he thinks it of service for our great lawsuit: he would put himself in a tub, like Diogenes, if necessary!

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<sup>1</sup> The MS. letters of Charles, like several others in this work, display gross ignorance of spelling; but to retain all these errors in printing them, could only serve to weary and perplex the reader.

<sup>2</sup> He retired for some weeks to Fitz-James, the former seat of the Duke of Berwick, near Clermont de l'Oise.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Paris, February 28, 1745.*

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 1st and 7th current As I have been so much hurried between balls and business, I shall refer to my next It would be a great comfort to me to have real business on my haftds, but I see little of that at present, as I shall explain in another. It is something surprising to me not to have heard from Lumley (Lord Sempill) this two weeks; and even he owes me an answer to one of mine of that standing: but I easily conceive the reason on't, which is, that after making such a noise of his being able to do a great deal, he does nothing, or he does not care to let me in the confidence of his managements, which, I believe, has happened before now to more than he, for I see here every body thinks himself to be the wisest man in the world!

I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, &amp;c.

CHARLES P.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Paris, March 7, 1745.*

I HAVE read and considered the Duke of Perth's message, which is, in the first place, to buy, if Jenkins (the Prince) can possibly, some broad-swords unmounted, for they do that in their own way. ... He says, that he knew a place where there was a considerable sum of money that he could lay hold on when he pleased, but that not to be attempted till the happy time of action comes. It is a thing absolutely necessary, though I have little hopes myself of anything being soon to be done anywhere for the cause, to make our friends think otherwise for to keep them in spirits, and not let them be cast down; for which reason the only thing that was in Howell's (the Prince's) power, Jenkins (the Prince) thought should not be let slip for that end, at any cost whatsoever: for which I took upon me to borrow forty thousand livres from young Waters, for to be able to dispatch the messenger back, and buying of broad-swords, which is the only comfort the Prince can give them at present: rather than to have wanted this sum, Isham (the Prince) would have pawned his shirt. It is but for such uses that the Prince shall ever trouble Trig (the King) with asking for money; it will never be for plate or fine clothes, but for arms and ammunition, or other things that tend to what I am come about to this country. I therefore wish that Hammer (the King) would pawn all Isham's (the Prince's) jewels, for on this side the water Howell (the Prince) would wear them with a very sore heart, thinking that there might be made a better use of them, so that, in an urgent necessity, Howell (the Prince) may have a sum which

he can make use of for the cause; for the Prince sees almost everything at the French Court sticks at the money, as it did in this last enterprise, which was when the Prince insisted for an expedition in Scotland at the same time with England. They answered, they would give me troops, but had not or would not give money or arms: for which reason the having such a sum at command, would be of great use: but, at the same time, the Court of France must not suspect in the least that I have such a sum; for perhaps they may give it now, though they would not then.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Paris, April 19, 1745.*

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 30th March, at my arrival here, where I intend to pass the week, for to see a firework and a *ball masqué*, given by the Spanish ambassador. I thank your Majesty for being so good as to order the payment of the 40,000 livres, which I took upon me to borrow, and am very sensible at the goodness you have to speak your mind so freely to me, which I am sure is a great relief to me. My want of experience is what I too much know, and would fain get as soon as possible, for to be able to serve you and our country more effectually, and to purpose, which is all that I am put in this world for. I really thought myself very sure of not erring when I took up this money, but finding I mistook, I shall be more rigorous and reserved in doing anything that is my own thought or opinion for the future. It would be endless for me to write, or for you to read, if I was to enter in the detail of all the little malice and odd doings of Lumley (Lord Sempill), Maloch (Bohaldie), and some others; it is also very disagreeable to me the writing of such things. I shall only say at present, as to these matters, this, to conjure you to be on your guard from Kerry (Bohaldie), and Morrice (Lord Sempill), for really I cannot believe a word they say after the lies they told me, particularly that of the paper, which cannot be more demonstration. I think to discharge my conscience in saying this, being very sure of it. At the same time I recommend to you not in the least to seem to be knowing of this malice, for with their *Regiros*, if disgusted, they would certainly do a great deal of harm, to which there is no help. Both Morgan (Mr. O'Brien), and Lumley (Lord Sempill), are doing all their endeavours for my making campaign, but I have too much reason to be afraid they won't succeed, which I own will be very mortifying and cruel. It is very extraordinary Maloch's and Lumley's complaining I would not see them, which is not so, for I have on several occasions said to them, over and over, that they were always welcome wherever I was, but it is certain that they both never say to me anything to the purpose; I believe,

because that they have nothing to say, which makes them both avoid seeing and writing to me as much as possible. You see by this what they are, and that their heads are filled with nothing but malice and spite. Sir Hector has lost his *proie*, for which he is not a little angry, as you may believe, against Lord John, which makes me apprehensive it should end in a challenge. I am doing all I can to hinder it, in which I hope to succeed: at least it won't be want of my pains, which I take in this case to be charity for them both; though as to Lord John, I can't say what he deserves, after such a proceeding. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Navarre, June 7, 1745.*

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 18th May, there being in it also a note in your own hand. I cannot be too sensible at so much goodness you express towards me. If your Majesty was in this country, I flatter myself you would be surprised to see with your own eyes how I blind several, and impose upon them at the same time they think to do it to me. If I was not able to do this, things here would go at a fine rate, considering what malice there is in this world, and very often only for mischief-sake alone, doing hurt at the same time to themselves. I have nothing more to say at present, but to lay myself most humbly at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing, and remaining

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Navarre, June 12, 1745.*

SIR,

I BELIEVE your Majesty little expected a courier at this time, and much less from me; to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the Crown, and them to their liberties.

After such scandalous usage as I have received from the French Court, had I not given my word to do so, or got so many encouragements from time to time as I have had, I should have been obliged, in honour and for my own reputation, to have flung myself into the arms of my friends, and die with them, rather than live

longer in such a miserable way here, or be obliged to return to Rome, which would be just giving up all hopes. I cannot but mention a parable here, which is: a horse that is to be sold, if spurred does not skip, or show some sign of life, nobody would care to have him even for nothing; just so my friends would care very little to have me, if, after such usage, which all the world is sensible of, I should not show that I have life in me. Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year 15; but the circumstances are now indeed very different, by being much more encouraging, there being a certainty of succeeding with the least help; the particulars of which would be too long to explain, and even impossible to convince you of by writing, which has been the reason that I have presumed to take upon me the managing all this, without even letting you suspect there was any such thing a brewing, for fear of my not being able to explain, and show you demonstratively how matters stood—which is not possible to be done by writing, or even without being upon the place and seeing things with your own eyes; and had I failed to convince you, I was then afraid you might have thought what I had a mind to do, to be rash; and so have absolutely forbid my proceedings.

I have tried all possible means and stratagems to get access to the King of France, or his Minister, without the least effect, nor could I even get Littleton (Sir Thomas Sheridan) an audience, who I was sure would say neither more nor less than what I desired, and would faithfully report their answer. As for Wright (the Cardinal), he is not much trusted or well looked upon by Adam (the King of Franpe), who is timorous, and has not resolution enough to displace him. Now I have been obliged to steal off, without letting the King of France so much as suspect it, for which I make a proper excuse in my letter to him; by saying it was a great mortification to me never to have been able to speak and open my heart to him; that this thing was of such a nature that it could not be communicated by any of the ministers or by writing, but to himself alone—in whom, after God Almighty, my resting lies, and that the least help would make my affair infallible. If I had let the French Court know this beforehand, it might have had all these bad effects:—1st, It is possible they might have stopped me, having a mind to keep measures with the Elector, and then, to cover it over, they would have made a merit of it to you, by saying they had hindered me from doing a wild and desperate thing: 2dly, My being invited by my friends would not be believed; or at least would have made little or no impression on the French Court.

I have sent Stafford to Spain, and appointed Sir Thomas Geraldine to demand succours in my name, to complete the work, to whom I sent letters for the King and Queen, written in the most

engaging terms, to the same purpose. Let what will happen, the stroke is struck, and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die, and stand my ground as long as I shall have a man remaining with me. I think it of the greatest importance your Majesty should come as soon as possible to Avignon, but take the liberty to advise that you would not ask leave of the French Court; for if I be not immediately succoured, they will certainly refuse you.

Whatever happens unfortunate to me cannot but be the strongest engagements to the French Court to pursue your cause. Now if I were sure they were capable of any sensation of this kind, if I did not succeed, I would perish, as Curtius did, to save my country, and make it happy; it being an indispensable duty on me, as far as lies in my power. Your Majesty may now see my reason for pressing so much to pawn my jewels, which I should be glad to have done immediately; for I never intend to come back, and money, next to troops, will be of the greatest help to me. I owe to old Waters about 60,000 livres, and to the young one above 120,000 livres. I and Sir Thomas will write more fully to Edgar about these matters, both as to the sum I carry with me and arms, as also how I go. I write this from Navarre, but it won't be sent off till I am on shipboard. If I can possibly, I will write a note and send it from thence at the same time. I have wrote to Lord Marischal, telling him to come immediately, and giving him a credential to treat with the Minister for succours. To the Duke of Ormond I have writ a civil letter, showing a desire of his coming here immediately, but at the same time leaving it to his discretion so to do.....I should think it proper (if your Majesty pleases), to be put at his Holiness's feet, asking his blessing on this occasion; but what I chiefly ask is, your own, which I hope will procure me that of God Almighty upon my endeavours to serve you, my family, and my country; which will ever be the only view of

Your Majesty's most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER-[Second Letter.]

*Navarre, June 12, 1745.*

SIR,

I MADE my devotions on Pentecost day, recommending myself particularly to the Almighty on this occasion to guide and direct me, and to continue to me always the same sentiments, which are rather to suffer anything than fail in any of my duties. I write to you this apart, for to entreat your Majesty, in the most earnest manner, to desire Grevill (the King) for God's sake not to give to Howell (himself) what he designed, that is a secret; for it would be of the greatest hurt to his farm. Let not his engagement with a certain person be any hindrance, for circumstances are changed, by which,

if there was any question of that, one can find ways to come off on't I must repeat this, that Greville and his family is ruined if he does that thing. Grevill thinks this is an absolute secret; but he is mistaken, for I have heard it from several people, to whom I flatly denied it, and said I was very sure it was not true, to which every one of these said, God be praised; for if it were so, both father and son would be undone. Sovereigns upon the throne can do such things; and even then it is not advisable: but a private man ruins himself and his family in doing on't, especially one that has great many enemies. I lay myself again most humbly at your Majesty's feet; and remain your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

*Navarre, June 12, 1745.*

I HERE enclose you the King's and Duke's letters; one for Lord Dunbar, and another for B. Tencin. If the bearer be one Pleve, I know him to be very honest, and a good servant. Macdonald is his master, whom I carry with me; so the servant deserves to be taken care of. Having writ a long letter to the King, I chose to refer some particulars to be added to yours, which are these:—I owe old Waters about 60,000 livres, part of which went to the payment of my debts last winter, which the French Court did not think fit to complete. Young Waters has advanced me 120,000 livres, and promised to pay several other things which I have referred to him. It will be absolutely necessary to remit these two sums immediately; and young Waters desires that his money may be sent by Belloni directly to himself, without letting the old man know he made any such advance; and whatever other money may be remitted for my use, the best way will be to send it to the young one—for the other, I believe, will be glad to be eased of that trouble. All this money I have employed in my present undertaking, having bought fifteen hundred fusees, eighteen hundred broad-swords mounted, a good quantity of powder, ball, flints, dirks, brandy, &c., and some hundred more of fusees and broadswords, of which I cannot at present tell the exact number. I have also got twenty small field-pieces, two of which a mule may carry; and my *cassette* will be near four thousand louis-d'ors: all of these things will go in the frigate which carries myself. She has twenty odd guns, and is an excellent sailer; and will be escorted by one, and perhaps two men-of-war, of about seventy guns each. It will appear strange to you how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French Court I employed one Rutledge and one Walsh, who are subjects. The first got a grant of a man-of-war to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is, luckily, obliged to go as far north as I do, so that she will escort me without

appearing to do it. Walsh understands his business perfectly well, and is an excellent seaman. He has offered to go with me himself, the vessel being his own that I go on board of. He has also a man-of-war that will likewise go with me, if she can be got ready in time, and a frigate of forty-four guns, which he took lately from the English, and is manning, to be sent out with all expedition. He lives at Nantes; and I expect a courier every moment from him with an account that all is ready; and then I must lose no time to get there, and go directly on board. If there be no danger of being stopped or discovered, I shall write from thence. Adieu, friend. I hope it will not be long before you hear comfortable news. In the meantime, be assured of my constant friendship.

CHARLES P.

P. S.—I send you here also, enclosed, an authentic copy of what is to be printed and dispersed at my landing. I have forgot also to mention that I intend to land at or about the Isle of Mull. I enclose you here also five letters, and one open, to yourself; all from Sir Thomas.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Navarre, June 20, 1745.*

SIR,

I HAVE just received yours of the 24th May. I do not at all doubt but that Canillac's tongue would go post at the news of the battle in Flanders, as he will also do for this new victory gained by the King of Prussia. I am, thank God, in perfect good health; but the time seems very long to me for to make use of it to the purpose. I have nothing in the world new. I suppose Morgan (Mr. O'Brien) and Morrice (Lord Sempill) write distinctly what they have to say. As for the latter, it is long since I have quite given up believing in the least anything he says, which makes me never mention him. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

P. S.—As I finished this, I received yours of the 1st, and am heartily sorry for poor General Macdonald's death. I shall not fail to be attentive to what you mention in your little note.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*St. Nazaire, at the Mouth of the Loire, July 2, 1745.*

SIR,

THE contrary winds that have been blowing hitherto, have deferred my embarking, which will be this afternoon, at seven, for to go to the rendezvous of the man-of-war of 67 guns, and 700 men



aboard, as also a company of sixty volunteers, all gentlemen, whom I shall probably get to land with me, I mean to stay; which, though few, will make a show, they having a pretty uniform. The number of arms are just as I mentioned in my last of the 12th, that goes with this, except the augmentation I was in hopes of is of a hundred or two less than I expected, which is no odds. I keep this open, and do not send it until I am fairly set off from Belle Isle—*id est*, the rendezvous—so that I may add a note to it, if being sea-sick does not hinder; if it does, Sir Thomas will supply in mentioning what more may occur. It is a mortification to me to want so many of your packets which are lying at Paris, because of the daily expectation of parting. We have nothing to do now but to hope in the Almighty favoring us and recompensing our troubles; which, at you may see by the nature of the thing, were not small. I hope in God my next will bring comfortable news. In the mean time I remain, laying myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking your blessing,

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO MR EDGAR.

*St. Nazaire, July 2, 1745.*

THIS being the last note I shall write this side of the seas, I would not fail to give you adieu in it, making my compliments to Lord Dunbar, and to as many of my friends as you shall think convenient and proper. I enclose herewith letters for the King and Duke. I hope in God we shall soon meet, which I am resolved shall not be but at home.

In the mean time I remain, &c.

CHARLES P.

P. S.—*Belle Isle à la Rade, the 12th July*,—After having waited a week here, not without a little anxiety, we have at last got the escort I expected, which is just now arrived, *id est*, a ship of 68 guns, and 700 men aboard. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, but have been a little sea-sick, and expect to be more so; but it does not keep me much a-bed, for I find the more I struggle against it the better.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Abord du Vaisseau le Du Bellier, à l'ancre dans la Baie de Longhaylort,  
le 2 Août, V. S. 1745.*

SIRE,

J'AI reçu des services si importans de M. Antoine Walsh, qu'il n'y a rien que je ne me croie obligé de faire pour lui en témoigner mon agrément. Ainsi je lui ai promis d'employer tout mon crédit auprès de Votre Majesté pour lui obtenir le titre de Comte

d'Irlande. Il est issu d'une fort bonne famille, très en état de soutenir la dignité de ce nouveau titre, et n'a pas besoin d'autre chose. C'est la première grace que je vous demande depuis mon arrivée dans ce pays. J'espère bien que ce ne sera pas la dernière, mais en tout cas, je vous supplie de me l'accorder. Je la regarderai comme une obligation particulière, accordée à votre très-obéissant fils,

CHARLES P.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Longhaylort, August 4, O. S, 1745.*

SIR,

I AM, thank God, arrived here in perfect good health, but not with little trouble and danger, as you will hear by the bearer, who has been along with me all along, that makes it useless for me to give any accounts and particulars on that head. I am joined here by brave people, as I expected. As I have not yet set up the Standard, I cannot tell the number, but that will be in a few days, as soon as the arms are distributed; at which we are working with all speed. I have not as yet got the return of the message sent to the Lowlands, but expect it very soon. If they all join, or at least all those to whom I have sent commissions, at request, every thing will goon to a wish. Sir Hector's<sup>3</sup> being taken up, is of no other consequence but of perhaps frightening some few; for they can make nothing of him, nor of some papers that were found in his room, which he denies having any knowledge of. The commissions, along with the declaration, are arrived safe, and in a proper hand. The worst that can happen to me, if France does not succour me, is to die at the head of such brave people as I find here, if I should not be able to make my way; and that I have promised to them, as you know to have been my resolution, before parting. The French Court must now necessarily take off the mask, or have an eternal shame on them; for at present there is no medium, and we, whatever happens, shall gain an immortal honour by doing what we can to deliver our country, in restoring our master, or perish with sword in hand. Your Majesty may easily conceive the anxiety I am in to hear from you. Having nothing more particular at present to add (not being able to keep the ship longer, for fear of men-of-war stopping her passage entirely), I shall end, laying myself with all respect and duty at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking a blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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<sup>3</sup> Sir Hector Maclean.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO MORAY OF ABERCAIRNEY.

*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 upon 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 that I shall be always ready to acknowledge this and all other services, and to give you proportionable marks of my favour and friendship.<sup>4</sup>

CHARLES P. R.

## PRINCE CHARLES'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. HICKSON.

*September 22, 1745.*

YOU are hereby authorised and directed to repair forthwith to England, and there notify to my friends, and particularly those in the north and north-west, the wonderful success with which it has hitherto pleased God to favour my endeavours for their deliverance. You are to let them know, that it is my full intention, in a few days, to move towards them, and that they will be inexcusable before God and man, if they do not all in their power to assist and support me in such an undertaking. What I demand and expect is, that as many of them as can shall be ready to join me, and that they should take care to provide provisions and money, that the country may suffer as little as possible by the march of my troops. Let them know that there is no time for deliberation,—now or never is the word: I am resolved to conquer or perish. If this last should happen, let them judge what they and their posterity have to expect.<sup>5</sup>

C. P. R.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Edinburgh, Oct. 7, O. S., 1745.*

IT is impossible for me to give you a distinct journal of my proceedings, because of my being so much hurried with business, which allows me no time; but notwithstanding, I cannot let slip this occasion of giving a short account of the battle of Gladsmuir, fought on the 21st of September, which was one of the most surprising actions that ever was. We gained a complete victory over General

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<sup>4</sup> This letter is printed in the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 94. Several others, to the same purport, were written on that day.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Hickson proceeded as far as Newcastle, but was there arrested and put into prison, and these instructions found upon him.—(See Culloden Papers, p. 226.)

Cope, who commanded 3,000 foot, and two regiments of the best dragoons in the island, he being advantageously posted, with also batteries of cannon and mortars, we having neither horse or artillery with us, and being to attack them in their post, and obliged to pass before their noses in a defile and bog. Only our first line had occasion to engage; for actually, in five minutes the field was cleared of the enemies; all the foot killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and of the horse only 200 escaped, like rabbits, one by one. On our side we only lost a hundred men, between killed and wounded; and the army afterwards had a fine plunder.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Edinburgh, Oct. 15, O. S., 1745.*

SIR,

I HAVE at last had the comfort of receiving letters from you, the latest of which is of the 7th Sept N. S. I am confounded and penetrated with so much goodness and tenderness your Majesty expresses to me in all your letters. It is a grief to me that my keeping Strickland has given you one moment's concern, but I shall send him away in all haste. I hope your Majesty is persuaded that this fault, or any others I may have committed, is no want of the respect and submission which you will always find in me. I remark your letter to the King of France, in which you do me more honour than I deserve. I wish to God I may find my brother landed in England by the time I enter it, which will be in about ten days; having then with me near 8000 men, and 300 horse at least, with which, as matters stand, I shall have one decisive stroke for it, but if the French land, perhaps none. I cannot enlarge on this subject as on many others, for want of time, because of such a multiplicity of things which hourly occur for the service of the affair. Adam (King Louis) has sent me a gentleman (who brought me your letters) to stay with me, for to give notice of anything that I may want, which, as he says, will be done immediately; accordingly I am sending off immediately three or four expresses, all to the same purpose, so that some one may arrive. What is said is very short, pressing to have succour in all haste, by a landing in England; for that, as matters stand, I must either conquer or perish in a little while. Thank God, I am in perfect good health, but longing much for the happy day of meeting.

In the mean time, I remain, &c,

CHARLES P.

The ship being just ready to go off, I have only time to enclose here a scrawl of the account of the battle, which I in a hurry writ some days ago.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Edinburgh, Oct. 22, O. S., 1745.*

SIR,

I HAVE charged Sir James Stewart to carry this as far as Paris, and to forward it immediately by a courier to your Majesty; as also to write you a distinct account of the situation of affairs. He is an understanding capable man, and can be depended on, which has made me choose him to send to the French Court with proper compliments to the French King, and to hasten them for succours. I hope your Majesty will be satisfied with his proceedings. As I have nothing particular to add, but what he can say, makes it needless for me to say any more at present, I am, thank God, in perfect good health, but still in the usual anxiety for want of letters, to which there is no help but patience. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing; and remaining, with the profoundest respect,

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

P. S.—As I writ to you in my last, I shall not fail to get rid of Strickland as soon as possible. Your Majesty, I hope, will forgive this scrawl, not having time to write it over, being so much hurried with business.

## THE FRENCH ENVOY TO THE DUKE OF PERTH.

[From the Duke of Perth's Papers taken in the Retreat]

*A Carlisle, ce Dimanche (Nov. 1745).*

MILORD Duc,

ON vient d'oter à mes gens un pauvre lit qu'ils avaient à trois; de sorte qu'il faut que je les couche dans le mien; ou que je les envoie passer la nuit à la rue, vu le beau temps qu'il fait! Enfin, milord Duc, que ceux qui sont chargés du détail des logemens prennent des mesures pour mépargner la nécessité de prendre un parti qui me mettra dans le cas de n'avoir plus à me plaindre après m'être plaint si souvent et si inutilement Vous êtes bon et avisé; vous avez mille bontés pour moi; au nom de Dieu faites que les choses soient en regle une bonne fois, et qu'enfin mes gens aient à se coucher ce soir.

Je suis, avec respect, &amp;c. &amp;c.

BOYER.

PROCLAMATION,  
TO THE INHABITANTS OF MANCHESTER.

[See Chambers's History, vol. i. p. 271.]

*Manchester, Nov. 30, 1745.*

HIS Royal Highness being informed that several bridges had been pulled down in this county, he has given orders to repair them forthwith, particularly that at Crossford, which is to be done this night by his own troops, though his Royal Highness does not propose to make use of it for his own army, but believes it will be of service to the country; and if any forces that were with General Wade be coming this road, they may have the benefit of it!

C. P. R.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO ONE OF HIS OFFICERS.

JE vous ordonne d'exécuter mes ordres ou de ne plus retourner.

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THE PRETENDER TO PRINCE CHARLES.

*Albano, June 6, 1746,*

GOD knows where or when this will find you, my dearest Carluccio, but still I cannot but write to you in the great anxiety and pain I am in for you, from what the public news mentions from Scotland. I know nothing else; and I doubt not but those accounts are exaggerated, considering from whence they come. But still it is but too plain to see that affairs with you don't go as I could wish. I am, though, still in hopes you may be able to keep your ground in Scotland till you can have assistance from France: but if you really cannot maintain yourself in Scotland, do not, for God's sake, drive things too far; but think of your own safety, on which so much depends. Though your enterprise should miscarry, the honour you have gained by it will always stick by you; it will make you be respected, and considered abroad, and will, I think I may answer for it, always engage the French to protect and assist you, and to renew in time another project in your favour; so that you should really have no temptation to pursue rash or desperate measures at this time, for should you do so, it would be the ruin of all, and even a drawback from the honour you have already gained. In fine, my dear child, never separate prudence and courage. Providence has wonderfully assisted you hitherto, and will not abandon you for the time to come. This I firmly hope, while I shall not cease to beseech God to bless and direct you. Adieu, my dearest child, I tenderly embrace you, and am all yours. Once more, God bless you, and protect you.

JAMES R.

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“A JOURNAL OF THE PRINCE’S TRANSACTIONS SINCE  
THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN TO THIS DAY, AS TAKEN  
FROM HIS OWN MOUTH.”

This narrative is short and summary. The following is an account of Charles’s disguise and assistance from Flora Macdonald:—

THE Prince finding, as was proposed, that the best method was to disguise himself in woman’s clothes, with a young lady that had a protection, he took his party to do so. The very night before he was to go off, landed General Campbell within a mile or two of him, which obliged the Prince to go a couple of miles southward to avoid the pressing danger, and wait the gloaming of the evening to get away; and for his comfort he had the men-of-war cruising before him, who luckily, towards night-fall, sailed off, which gave him the opportunity of making for Mungaster in Skye, Lady Margaret Macdonald’s house. 12th July. The Prince left Mr. O’Neal at Benbecula, as also his own arms, as the young lady refused to go if he or any other should carry any; but he insisted he might safely carry his pistols under the petticoats, as in case of search all would be discovered: but he could not prevail.

In the way to Mungaster, before mid-day, as he was crossing a point, a guard of the MacLeods challenged the boat; but he not minding to answer, they fired on the boat.

As soon as he landed, the young lady went to Lady Margaret’s, and the Prince, at some distance, to wait a friend; and that evening he walked eight miles to a gentleman’s house, where he was to meet the young lady again; but being unused to petticoats, he held them, in walking, up so high that some common people remarked an awkwardness in wearing them, which being told, he was obliged to change his habit again next day; and went, being advised that Rasay was the best place to go to. He walked that evening eight miles, it pouring rain all the while, to get to the shore at —: there, being in men’s clothes, he parted with the young lady, and embarked in a little boat for Rasay; being told the enemy was still on the main land.

*(Another Extract)*

July 19. The Prince arrived at the main land in Glengary Morar, or North Morar, at the point of Loch Nevis, and having waited there three days to have intelligence, but to no effect, he resolved the eleventh day to try what intelligence he could get, and to cross a Loch within a mile of Scotus-house—(Nota Bene: all that time that he waited, he was exposed to wind and weather, and was excessively straightened for any kind of provision—) which he executed; and just as he crossed a little point entering the Loch, he stumbles on a boat of the enemy’s, which was hidden in the Loch, when those who were ashore ran to their boats, which startled them a little; but the Prince, having along with him Mackinnon (and three

Camerons) consulted with him what best to do; and he saying, that there was no possibility to avoid them, the best method was to put on a bold face, and make up to them, which accordingly was done—and proved to effect; for, as luck would have it, they happened to be only five, and so only questioned them, and let them go on; but, upon reflection, after we had passed them and gone down the Loch, fearing that more of them might have been at hand, and joining the others, might come up to them, he thought proper to stop and to climb up to the top of a very high hill, the south side of the Loch—which he did very quickly; but, being there, he observed the boat steering off to that part of Skye, called Slate, which made him go down to the place whence he had gone; and afterwards went to Morar. But his house being in his way to Borrodale—which was no small fatigue, being obliged to march the whole night—he met there with Angus of Borrodale; and skulked with him in a cave near the side of Lochnonona, for eight or ten days.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS BROTHER.

*Morlaix, October 10, N. S. 1746.*

DEAR BROTHER,

As I am certain of your great concern for me, I cannot express the joy I have, on your account, of my safe arrival in this country. I send here enclosed two lines to my master,<sup>6</sup> just to show him I am alive and safe, being fatigued not a little, as you may imagine. It is my opinion you should write immediately to the French King, giving him notice of my safe arrival, and at the same time excusing my not writing to him myself immediately, being so much fatigued, and hoping soon to have the pleasure of seeing him. I leave to your prudence the wording of this letter, and would be glad no time should be lost in writing and despatching it, as also that you should consult nobody without exception upon it, but Sir John Graham and Sir Thomas (Sheridan), the reasons of which I will tell you on meeting. It is an absolute necessity I must see the French King as soon as possible, for to bring things to a right head. Warren, the bearer, will instruct you of the way I would wish you should meet me at Paris. I embrace you with all my heart, and remain

Your most loving brother,

CHARLES P.

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PRINCE HENRY TO HIS FATHER.

*Clichy, October 17, 1746.*

THE very morning after I writ you my last, I had the happiness of meeting with my dearest brother. He did not know me at first sight, but I am sure I knew him very well, for he is not in the least altered

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<sup>6</sup> His father.



since I saw him, except grown somewhat broader and fatter, which is incomprehensible after all the fatigues he has endured. Your Majesty may conceive better than I can express in writing the tenderness of our first meeting. Those that were present said they never saw the like in their lives; and, indeed, I defy the whole world to show another brother so kind and loving as he is to me. For my part, I can safely say that all my endeavours tend to no other end but that of deserving so much goodness as he has for me. . . . The Prince sees and will scarce see any body but myself for a few days, that he may have a little time to rest before he is plagued by all the world, as to be sure he will, when once he sees company. I go every day to dine with him. Yesterday I brought him privately to see my house; and I perceive he has as much *goût* for the chase as ever he had. Most humbly asking your Majesty s blessing, I remain

Your most dutiful son,

HENRY.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

*Fontainebleau, ce 22 Octobre, 1746.*

MONSIEUR MON FRERE ET COUSIN,

JE prends la liberté d'écrire à votre Majesté pour lui dire la raison que je ne parlais pas de mes affaires hier au soir; c'est parceque mon frère était présent, et qu'en même temps je voudrais éviter de lui donner aucune jalousie, comme je l'aime tendrement. Oserais-je supplier V.M., comme sa prudence est au nombre de ses grandes qualités, d'avoir la bonté la première fois qu'Elle voudrait que je lui parle d'affaires qu'Elle soit en particulier et de faire en sorte éviter cet inconvénient là.

Je suis, &c.

CHARLES P.

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MEMOIR TO THE KING OF FRANCE BY PRINCE CHARLES.

*Le 10 Novembre, 1745.*

LA situation dans laquelle j'ai laissé l'Ecosse, à mon depart, mérite toute l'attention de votre Majesté; ce royaume est à la veille de se voir anéantir, et le gouvernement d'Angleterre est résolu de confondre les sujets qui lui sont restés fidèles, avec ceux qui ont pris les armes pour moi; d'où il est aisé de conclure que le mécontentement de cette nation est général, et que j'y trouverais aujourd'hui trois partisans pour un que j'y ai trouvé en débarquant.

Ce serait tromper votre Majesté que de la flatter que je pourrais encore soulever l'Ecosse, si le Parlement a le temps cet hiver d'y mettre les lois pénales en exécution. Votre Majesté devrait alors renoncer pour jamais au secours d'une revolution dans ce pays là, et

moi je n'aurais de ressource que dans les cœurs des sujets de mon père, quand il plaira à la Providence de les rappeler.

Le nombre de sujets aguerris ne m'a jamais manqué en Ecosse. J'ai manqué tout à la fois, d'argent, de vivres, et d'une poignée de troupes régulières. Avec un seul de ces trois secours je serais encore aujourd'hui maître de l'Ecosse, et vraisemblablement de toute l'Angleterre.

Avec trois mille hommes de troupes régulières j'aurais pénétré en Angleterre immédiatement après avoir défait le sieur Cope; et rien ne s'opposait alors à mon arrivée à Londres, puisque l'Electeur était absent, et que les troupes Anglaises n'avaient pas encore repassé.

Avec des vivres, j'aurais été en état de poursuivre le Général Hawley après la bataille de Falkirk, et de détruire toute son armée, qui était la fleur des troupes Anglaises.

Si j'eusse reçu plutôt la moitié seulement de l'argent que votre Majesté m'a envoyé, j'aurais combattu le Duc de Cumberland avec un nombre égal, et je l'aurais sûrement battu, puisque avec quatre mille hommes contre douze, j'ai longtemps fait pencher la victoire, et que douze cent hommes de troupes réglées l'auraient décidée en ma faveur, au vu et au su de toute mon armée. Ces contretemps peuvent encore se réparer si votre Majesté veut me confier un corps de dix-huit ou vingt mille hommes. C'est dans son sein seul que je déposerai l'usage que j'en veux faire: je l'emploierai utilement pour ses intérêts et pour les miens. Ces intérêts sont inséparables, et doivent être regardés comme tels par tous ceux qui ont l'honneur d'approcher de votre Majesté, et qui ont sa gloire et l'avantage de son royaume à cœur.

CHARLES P.R.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Paris, December 19, 1746.*

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 28th, and have read it with tears in my eyes, not so much for the loss of my old acquaintance,<sup>7</sup> as for the so many expressions of your Majesty's goodness to me, which I shall always be at pains to deserve, by doing what I can to serve and obey you. It is my duty to say and represent to your Majesty what I in my conscience think, as to some people; after which it is for you to judge, and I to obey what commands you think fit to give me. I cannot, without a new cipher (as I took the liberty already to say), put your Majesty into the light of several things, which, when I shall be able to do, I flatter myself you will approve of my proceedings; which I am very sensible at present must appear odd to you. It is my

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<sup>7</sup> Sir Thomas Sheridan, who died shortly after his arrival at Rome.

humble opinion it would be very wrong in me to disgrace G. K.,<sup>8</sup> unless your Majesty positively ordered me to do it. I must do him the justice to assure you I was surprised to find your Majesty have a bad opinion of him; and hitherto I have had no reason to be dissatisfied with him, for this was the first I heard of his honesty and probity to be in question. I shall take the liberty to represent, that if what he has been accused of to you, be wrote from hence, there is all reason to believe, *id est*, in my weak way of thinking, that such that have writ so to you mistake, because of my never having heard any body accuse him to me here of such things, and my having declared that my ears were open to every body, so as to be the better able to judge the characters of people. As Sir Thomas is dead and gone, it is useless to be troubling your Majesty for to justify him, but shall let it alone at present, until you to do it order me. I must own I am now entirely convinced F. S.<sup>9</sup> was an ill man, by a circumstance your Majesty mentions to me of him. I have never shown to any body your Majesty's letters, but to the Duke, as I ought to have mentioned before; and for this last I have not shown it to him, as also not this answer. I do nothing without consulting my dear brother; and when I happen to do contrary to his opinion, it is entirely of my own head, and not by any body's else advice, for I can assure your Majesty I myself trust nobody more than I do him, as, with reason, I tell him every thing I can: but I am afraid some people have given him a bad opinion of me, for I suppose I must own he does not open his heart to me. I shall always love him, and be united with him. Whatever he does to me, I will always tell him face to face what I think for his good, let him take it well or ill. I know him to be a little lively, not much loving to be contradicted; but I also know and am sensible of his love and tenderness for me in particular beyond expression, and of his good heart in general. Your Majesty cannot imagine what trouble I am at about trifles, which I cannot avoid without neglecting my duty—which I hope will never be the case. I am in hopes I shall be able soon to send to your Majesty a person of trust—and it would be of consequence nobody should know of it; so that he should carry my dispatches, and I receive your orders without its being known he carried them. In the meantime I can say no more; and so remain, with all respect, asking blessing, your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P. R.

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P. S.—I hope your Majesty will excuse the freedom with which I write this letter, as also the liberty I take to assure you that whatever

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<sup>8</sup> George Kelly.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Strickland.

I say to you will never proceed from partiality or pique, but plainly what I think. I suppose O'Brien has already given an account to you of what pains I am at, and what has been done concerning the poor Scotch. I told Marquis D'Argenson t'other day how sensible I was at the King's goodness for what he has done for them, and that I would go, if necessary, upon my knees for them, but that I would never ask any thing for myself; for I came only in this country to do what I could for my poor country, and not for myself. The said Marquis answered, that it was his Christian Majesty's intention to give to as many as came over, and that I should only give a list, and it would be continued; and I upon that most earnestly thanked his Most Christian Majesty, when I had the pleasure of seeing him t'other day, and must do him the justice in saying, he was extremely civil to us, as also all his family. O'Sullivan showed me the letter your Majesty did him the honour to write to him. I cannot let slip this occasion to do him justice by saying I really think he deserves your Majesty's favour. Townly is not the discreetest man upon earth. He was making a rout, that he, being the only Englishman, was neglected, when all the rest got something or another. I was plagued with him several times on that strain. At last I stopped his mouth, having the good luck to get for him the Croix de St. Louis. I suppose you have been already informed of it. I do not mention so many trifles of that kind, supposing others supply for me in that I am in hopes poor Cardinal Acquaviva will escape this bout, for I believe him to be a good friend of ours.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*(Extract.)*

*Paris, January 16, 1747.*

IN reality I do not doubt of the honesty of those about me, though they may not have all the capacity in the world. I find it now-a-days so rare to find an honest man, that any that has given me proofs of being so, (unless your Majesty orders me, or I find I am deceived by any of them on any the least trifle,) I would part with them with a sore heart Notwithstanding I offered to my dear brother, that any one, or all about me, that he had a disgust for, I would dismiss, to make him easy; to which he assured, me he had no dislike for any body, and did not want any such thing. He does not open his heart to me, and yet I perceive he is grieved, which must proceed from malicious people putting things in his head, and preventing him against me. Notwithstanding I am persuaded he loves me tenderly, which is the occasion of my grief. God Almighty grant us better days. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS BROTHER.

*(Extract.)**Avignon, February 9, 1747.*

I MUST now tell you, dear brother, that even in Scotland I formed a project of going myself to the Court of Spain. I left Paris with that intention, which I am resolved to pursue, and would not ask leave for fear of being refused; and propose to go and return, if necessary, with all the privacy imaginable. I shall despatch O'Sullivan to inform the King of it, and of every step I have taken since my coming to France.

I now send to entreat you, by all the ties of brotherly affection, not to think of starting from Paris,

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*(Extract.)**Guadalaxara, March 12, 1747.*

SIR,

I BELIEVE your Majesty will be as much surprised as I am to find that no sooner arrived, I was hurried away without so much as allowing me time to rest. I thought there were not such fools as the French Court, but I find it here far beyond it. Your Majesty must forgive me if I speak here a little out of humour, for an angel would take the spleen on this occasion. Notwithstanding you will find I behaved towards them with all the respect and civility imaginable, doing, *à la lettre*, whatever they required of me, to give them not the least reason of complaining of me, and by that putting them entirely *dans leur tort*. I shall now begin my narration of all that is passed since my arrival in this country.

For to arrive with the greater secrecy and diligence, so that this court should not hear of me until I let them know it, I took post at Perpignan, with Vaughan and Cameron, the rest not being able to ride, and not to be so many together. I arrived at Barcelona, and finding that, by the indiscretion of some of our own people (which the town happened then to be full of) it was immediately spread I was there; this hindered me to wait here for the rest of my people coming up, as I intended, and made me take the resolution to leave even those that had come there with me, for the greater blind and expedition, and to take along with me one Colonel Nagle, who had been with the Duke of Ormond.

I arrived at Madrid the 2d inst, and addressed myself immediately to Geraldine, Sir Charles Wogan being at his government; and it happened better so, for I find they are not well together, and

Geraldine is all in all with the ministers. I gave him immediately a letter for Caravajal, which inclosed one for the King, of which I send here copy; this was the channel he advised me to go by. Upon that I got an appointment with the said minister; and he carried me to him in his coach, with a great many ridiculous precautions, for I find all here like the pheasants, that it is enough to hide their heads to cover the rest of the body, as they think. After I made Caravajal many compliments, I asked him that I supposed he had delivered my letter to the King, and had received his orders what I should do? To which he said he had not, telling me it was better he should not give it, and that I should go back immediately; that he was very sorry the situation of affairs was such, that he advised me to do so. This he endeavoured to persuade me to by several nonsensical reasons. I answered them all, so that he had nothing in the world to say, but that he would deliver my letter. I told him that my sudden resolution of coming here was upon one of my friends coming just before I parted from Paris to me, from the rest, assuring me that they were ready as much as ever, if they had the assistance necessary, to allow them time to come to a head; at the same time expressing what a conceit that nation had for the Spaniards' good inclinations, and how popular it would be for me to take a jaunt in that country, out of gratitude for all they had endeavoured to do for us; that I could be back at any event for any expedition of effect, for that, with reason, none could be undertaken till the month of April or May. I added to that my personal inclinations, which bit with theirs. I parted, after all compliments were over, and was never in the world more surprised than when Caravajal himself came at the door of the *auberge* I was lodged in, at eleven at night and a half, to tell me that the King wanted to see me immediately. I went instantly, and saw the King and Queen together, who made me a great many civilities, but, at the same time, desiring me to go back as soon as possible; that, unluckily, circumstances of affairs required so at present; that nothing in the world they desired more than to have the occasion of showing me proofs of their friendship and regard. One finds in old histories, that the greatest proofs of showing such things are to help people in distress; but this, I find, is not now *à la mode*, according to the French fashion. I asked the King leave, in the first place, to see the Queen Dowager, and the rest of the Royal Family, to which he answered, there was no need to do it. Upon my repeating again how mortifying it would be for me, at least, not to make my respects to the old Queen, to thank her for her goodness towards us, he said I might speak of that to Caravajal. I found by that he had got his lesson, and was a weak man, just put in motion like a clock-work. At last, after many respectful compliments, and that the chief motive of my coming was to thank his Majesty for all the services his Royal Family had done for ours, at the same time to desire the continuation

of them; (to which he said, if occasion offered, he would even do more;) after that, I asked him, for not to trouble him longer, which was the minister he would have me speak to of my affairs, and of what I wanted? to which he said, that he had an entire confidence in Caravajal, and that to him alone I might speak as to himself. I spoke then, that Caravajal might hear, that there was nobody that could be more acceptable to me than him: says I, in laughing, he is half an Englishman, being called Lancaster. I parted; and who does I make out at the door but Farinelli;<sup>10</sup> who took me by the hand with effrontery. I first thought, as with reason, it was some Grandee, or Captain of the Guards, that had seen me in Italy, and was never so much surprised as when he named himself, saying that he had seen me formerly, which he was sure I could not remember.

From thence I went in the Minister's apartment, and staid some time with him; but I perceived immediately that he *baitid la campagne*, and concluded nothing to the purpose, but pressing me ardenily to go out of the town and away immediately. I told him, though I had made a long journey, notwithstanding, being young and strong, I would be ready to go away that very same night; but that, if he cared to assist me in the least, he must allow me a little time to explain and settle things with him, that if he pleased, I would be next day with him again. He agreed to that, but that absolutely it was necessary, to do a pleasure to the King, I should part the day after. I went to him as agreed upon, and brought a note of what I was to speak to him about, which, after explaining, I gave to him, a copy of which I enclose here, along with the answer he made before me, in writing, which seems to me not to say much. He pressed me again to part next day. I represented it was an impossibility, in a manner, for me to go before any of my people coming up. At last he agreed to send along with me Sir Thomas Geraldine, as far as Guadalaxara, where I might wait for my family.

We parted, loading one another with compliments.

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#### PRINCE CHARLES TO LORD CLANCARTT.

*Paris, March 26, 1747.*

I THOUGHT it proper to come back again in this country (but intend to keep myself absolutely in private), as the season is now favourable to make another attempt, and to bring these people here to reason if possible. On our side we must leave no stone unturned, and leave the rest to Providence. If you have anything to let me know of, you have only to write to me under cover to young Waters,

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<sup>10</sup> The celebrated singer and *soprano*. According to M. de Brosses, the King of Spain had granted him letters-patent of nobility in the usual form "à lui et à toute sa postérité!" (L'Italie, vol. i. p. 251.)

who will always know where to find me. At present I have nothing more particular to add, so remain, assuring you anew of my constant regard and friendship.

CHARLES P. R

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S— TO MR. MURRAY (LORD DUNBAR).

*Paris, April 15, 1747.*

My Lord,

AN Irish cordelier, called Kelly, who gives himself out for the Prince's confessor, has distributed in this town an infamous paper, entitled a Sonnet on the Death of a Caledonian Bear, and has been indiscreet enough to publish that his Majesty has been of late troubled with vapours, which have affected his judgment, and that your Lordship governs him despotically; in fine, he has said that the King is a fool and that you are a knave. As he is known to have access to his Royal Highness, his discourse has produced very bad effects; people imagine that the Prince contemns his father. I am persuaded he does not deserve that censure. It were to be wished, however, that his Royal Highness would forbid that friar his apartment, because he passes for a notorious drunkard. The opinion prevails here that the cordeliers in general are great drinkers, yet even among them this Kelly is infamous for his excesses; in fine, the wine of the Prince's table is termed friar Kelly's wine; and the same person who governs his conscience is said to regulate his diversions, and his Royal Highness's character in point of sobriety has been a little blemished on this friar's account.

I am your Lordship's, &c.

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THE PRETENDER TO PRINCE CHARLES.

*Albano, June 13, 1747.*

I KNOW not whether you will be surprised, my dearest Carluccio, when I tell you that your brother will be made a Cardinal the first day of next month. Naturally speaking, you should have been consulted about a resolution of that kind before it had been executed; but, as the Duke and I were unalterably determined on the matter, and that we foresaw you might probably not approve of it, we thought it would be showing you more regard, and that it would be even more agreeable to you, that the thing should be done before your answer could come here, and to have it in your power to say, it was done without your knowledge and approbation. It is very true I did not expect to see the Duke here so soon, and that his tenderness and affection for me prompted him to undertake that journey; but after I had seen him, I soon found that his chief motive for it was to discourse with me fully and freely on the vocation he had long had



to embrace an ecclesiastical state, and which he had so long concealed from me and kept to himself, with a view, no doubt, of having it in his power of being of some use to you in the late conjunctures. But the case is now altered; and, as I am fully convinced of the sincerity and solidity of his vocation, I should think it a resisting the will of God, and acting directly against my conscience, if I should pretend to constrain him in a matter which so nearly concerns him. The maxims I have bred you up in and have always followed, of not constraining others in matters of religion, did not a little help to determine me on the present occasion, since it would be a monstrous proposition that a King should be a father to his people and a tyrant to his children. After this, I will not conceal from you, my dearest Carluccio, that motives of conscience and equity have not alone determined me in this particular; and that, when I seriously consider all that has passed in relation to the Duke for some years by-gone, had he not had the vocation he has, I should have used my best endeavours, and all arguments, to have induced him to embrace that state. If Providence has made you the elder brother, he is as much my son as you, and my paternal care and affection are equally to be extended to you and him; so that I should have thought I had greatly failed in both towards him, had I not endeavoured by all means to secure to him, as much as in me lay, that tranquillity and happiness which I was sensible it was impossible for him to enjoy in any other state. You will understand all that I mean without my enlarging further on this last so disagreeable article; and you cannot, I am sure, complain that I deprive you of any service the Duke might have been to you, since you must be sensible that, all things considered, he would have been useless to you remaining in the world. But let us look forward, and not backward. The resolution is taken, and will be executed before your answer to this can come here. If you think proper to say you were ignorant of it, and do not approve it, I shall not take it amiss of you; but, for God's sake, let not a step, which naturally should secure peace and union amongst us for the rest of our days, become a subject of scandal and *éclat*, which would fall heavier upon you than upon us in our present situation, and which a filial and brotherly conduct in you will easily prevent. Your silence towards your brother, and what you writ to me about him since he left Paris, would do you little honour if they were known, and are mortifications your brother did not deserve, but which cannot alter his sentiments towards you. He now writes to you a few lines himself, but I forbid him entering into any particulars, since it would be giving himself and you an useless trouble after all I have said about him here.

You must be sensible that, on many occasions, I have had reason to complain of you, and that I have acted for this long while towards

you more like a son than a father. But I can assure you, my dear child, nothing of all that sticks with me, and I forgive you the more sincerely and cordially all the trouble you have given me, that I am persuaded it was not your intention to fail towards me, and that I shall have reason to be pleased with you for the time to come, since all I request of you hereafter is your personal love and affection for me and your brother. Those who may have had their own views in endeavouring to remove us from your affairs have compassed their end. We are satisfied, and you remain master; so that I see no bone of contention remaining, nor any possible obstacle to a perfect peace and union amongst us for the future. God bless my dearest Carluccio, whom I tenderly embrace. I am all yours,

JAMES R.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

*St. Ouen, July 24, 1747.*

I HAVE received yours of the 4th current,<sup>11</sup> and send you here inclosed the usual letter. Happy would I be to have happier orders and higher spirits, which, to my misfortune, my friends hinder as well as my enemies. God forgive the last! Having not strength to say more, I remain yours,

C. P.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO THE MARQUIS DE PUISIEULX,  
FRENCH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

*Paris, le 27 Mars, 1748.*

MES amis en Angleterre m'ayant demandé, Monsieur, d'y faire passer un nombre de médailles, j'en ai fait graver une ici par le Sieur Nicholas Rotier. Après m'en avoir donné l'empreinte, il ma dit qu'il ne pouvait les frapper sans un ordre de votre part. J'ignorais à la vérité la nécessité d'une permission, et n'en pouvais prévoir la conséquence politique. Cependant, pour parer au plus petit inconvénient qui en eut pu résulter, j'ai requis le Sieur Rotier de ne point mettre Paris sur la médaille, n'y même son nom; et pour remplir en même temps l'objet de l'amour propre naturel à un ouvrier pour son ouvrage, nous sommes convenus qu'il n'y mettrait que les lettres initiales N. R. F. *Ne Rien Faire*,<sup>12</sup> comme S. P. Q. R.<sup>13</sup> se rend par *Si Peu Que Rien!*

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<sup>11</sup> Written to announce the elevation of the Cardinal of York on the preceding day.

<sup>12</sup> *Nicholas Rotier Fecit The Ne Rien Faire* of Charles is a satirical touch on the unwillingness of the French Court to assist him.

<sup>13</sup> *Senatos Populos Que Romanus.*

Il est fâcheux de n'avoir que des bagatelles à proposer à quelqu'un dont je connais le zèle et l'amitié pour moi dans des choses bien plus essentielles si l'occasion y était La mesure de ma reconnaissance n'en est pas pour cela plus bornée, et je suis, Monsieur, &c.,

CHARLES P.

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PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. BULKELEY.

*Paris, October 31, 1748.*

I HAVE just seen your letter to Kelly, and am truly sensible of your zeal, but have nothing more to say on that subject, but that *quod dixi, dixi, et quod scripsi, scripsi.*

C. P.

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FROM SCRAPS, IN PRINCE CHARLES'S WRITING.

*Paris, 1748.*

JE suis en peine surtout pour Louis, comme je ne peux que perdre la vie, mais Louis l'honneur.

Louis se plaint que Charles veut lui donner des lois. Je ne veux pas, dit Charles, recevoir des lois qui viennent d'Hanovre. Mais ne dites pas que c'est moi, n'étant pas même ministre.

Je ne suis pas un ministre; un mot doit vous suffire si vous êtes mon ami.

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PRINCE CHARLES STUART (UNDER THE NAME OF JOHN DOUGLAS) TO MR. BULKELEY.

[From a rough draught in the Stuart Papers.]

*June 3, 1749.*

I WRIT you last the 26th of May from Venice with a letter inclosed. This is sent by one that promised safe delivery. My friendship for you does not permit me any longer silence as to what regards a person you esteem. His situation is singular; and though now rejected by many, he may be soon as much courted. Being desperate, honest, and with only one *point de vue*, what cannot be compassed? Bologna was said to be his residence, but that was but a blind; I can firmly assure you never shall any of the Pope's dominions see his face. The only one in Italy would have been Venice. That same person never intends to make but a passage over of France. ... Now my friend must skulk, to the perfect dishonour of his worthy relations, until he finds a reception fitting at home or abroad.

JOHN DOUGLAS.

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## MEMORANDA BY PRINCE CHARLES.

“Remitted to B. (Colonel Brett?) the 22d June, 1750”

[From a fragment in the Stuart Papers.]

Instructions for —, who is to inform himself whether — will receive the P. (Prince) upon occasion, who is willing to trust his person in his hands; if he should decline it, to find out some other proper person for that purpose, as the P. (Prince) is determined to go over at any rate.

To speak to Sir C. G. (Charles Goring?) about a ship that it may arrive at Antwerp, to carry over his brother, and to be there some time in the beginning of August.

To visit Mr. P. of D., and to see what he has done in his own and the neighbouring counties, and to agree where the arms, &c, may be most conveniently landed, the grand affair of L. (London) to be attempted at the same time.

To inform the principal persons that the P. (Prince) desires the whole may be forwarded with the greatest expedition, and that no time may be lost; that a Declaration may be prepared in which the funds are to be referred to a free Parliament, and the army encouraged to join the P. (Prince) by showing the nullity of the obligation of the oaths they have taken for the E. (Elector.)

To acquaint particular persons that the K. (King) will R. (resign), in order to prevent any proclamation, as lately happened at N., and to return, as soon as may conveniently happen, to me.

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*Mem.*—Concerning some things to be proposed to B. (Duke of Beaufort?) for adding to the P. (Prince’s) Declaration,—to remove the prejudices so unjustly grounded against the K. (King),—and also something concerning the bribery in the F. M. (French Ministers), which has hitherto prevented the assistance that would have been given me, always agreeable and fitting to the inclinations of both the K. (King of France) and I.

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## THE PRETENDER TO PRINCE CHARLES.

*Rome, December 30, 1750.*

TO-MORROW you end your 30th year. May you see many more than double that number, and happier ones than those you have already past! The hardships you have gone through, and do perhaps still undergo, are not small, and it is to be hoped they will contribute at last to what they are chiefly directed. But in the darkness you keep me, as to all that relates to you, I can pray and wish, but I can neither judge nor advise, except on one single article, which is so obvious and so important that I should think every body, who really wishes you well, should be of the same opinion in that respect, and that is, your securing the succession of our Family by marrying. I cannot

think you so selfish as to have yourself only in view in all you suffer. The happiness of our country must undoubtedly be your motive, and by consequence, you would never surely restrict that happiness to your own life only, but endeavour to perpetuate it by a succession of lawful Kings, who may have no other interests but those of our country. Your giving lawful heirs to the Crown will not only be a constant security to your own person, but it will make you more considered and respected abroad, and will undoubtedly give new life and vigour to the cause and your friends, whose zeal can never be so warm when all their hopes are centred in you alone. Had you entered into the view I formerly gave you, you had been probably at this time the father of a family, with a wife whom it would not have been beneath you to have married had you been in England. But it is useless to look backward, and what gives me the greatest concern in all this is, that you have put yourself in a situation and way of living which renders your marrying anybody absolutely impracticable. This, as long as it lasts, must appear extraordinary and singular to persons of reflection and sense, because the motives and object of your marrying are obvious to all, and those of your pursuing your present conduct and scheme, whatever they may be, can be only known to such as are the authors and promoters of them. For my part, I can have no other view but your real good and advantage, and I am so much convinced of the necessity of your marrying, that I could almost say that I would rather see you married to a private gentlewoman than that you should not be it at all; and therefore I cannot but recommend earnestly to you to think seriously on the matter, and, as you cannot now hope to make a marriage suitable to yourself, to endeavour to make one that may be at least as little unequal as possible; for I can only, on this occasion, exhort you in general, since I cannot think of any particular person to propose to you who might be any ways proper and at the same time willing to marry you. If this letter has the same fate with many others I have writ to you, I might have saved myself the trouble of writing it; but whatever reception it may meet with, or impression it may make, I shall still have the comfort of having acquitted myself of the duty of a father, in telling you what I really think for your good, and of showing you, at the same time, that no behaviour of yours can alter the warm concern I shall ever take in all that relates to you, whom I beseech God to bless, protect, and prosper, and direct upon all occasions,

JAMES R.

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## IN CHARLES'S WRITING.

*About 1760.*

DE vivre et pas vivre est beaucoup plus que de mourir.

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## IN CHARLES'S WRITING.

1775—1780.

REPONSE qu'un homme fit à son ami qui lui conta que sa maîtresse était infidèle par vengeance. Est-ce, dit-il, pour l'avoir trop aimé, ou trop peu? En tout cas la vengeance est douce.

Pour les hommes, je les étudie, et à quatre-vingt ans je serais peut-être moins savant qu'à cette heure; mais pour les femmes, je l'ai toujours cru inutile, comme plus méchant et impenetrable.

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[The following account of the Stuart Papers is given in the article on "The Stuarts in Italy," in the Quarterly Review, No. clvii. p. 166-7, December 1846.

“. . . . . A few words as to the fate of the Stuart Papers, that long accumulated store of documents so promising as historical materials, so compromising to family interests. The Duchess of Albany having sent her chaplain, Father Waters, a Benedictine monk, to arrange her father's succession at Florence, desired him to make over the whole archives to her uncle, as head of the family and representative of its claims. This, however, Waters omitted to do, and after her death they remained in his possession, with the Cardinal's sanction. There they were casually seen by Sir John Hippesley, about 1794-5, who wrote to Mr. Burke, and by him the matter was brought under the notice of the Prince of Wales (George IV). His Royal Highness took great interest in the papers, and authorised Sir John to treat for their purchase. This was effected in 1798, in consideration of an annuity of 50*l.* to Waters, which the latter lived only a few months to enjoy, but as the consent of Cardinal York had not been sought in the transaction, a pledge of secrecy during his life was annexed to the transfer. The papers were consigned to the British Vice Consul at Civita Vecchia, to await the arrival of a frigate in which they were to be shipped, but that town having meanwhile fallen into the hands of the French, their removal became impracticable. Signer Bonelli, an Italian gentleman resident in London, was sent out to attempt their recovery, and on reaching Rome, he applied to the Abbé Paul Macpherson of the Scotch College. This was a matter of much delicacy, no British subject being then permitted by the French authorities to approach the coast. Macpherson, however, contrived to obtain a passport to Civita Vecchia, and, having ascertained from the Consul where the papers lay, he applied to the Commandant of the place for leave to search among them for certain documents required in a litigation in

Scotland. The Commandant desired to see them, and happening to take up a transcript of King James II.'s memoirs, exclaimed that, as the papers seemed of no consequence, having been already published, the Abbé might dispose of them as he thought fit. Under this permission they were sent to Leghorn, and thence shipped to Algiers, whence they reached England.

“Another mass of papers, of which the larger portion consisted of correspondence and documents regarding the rebellions of 1715 and ‘45 belonged to Cardinal York, and remained after his death in the hands of his executor, Monsignor Angelo Cesarini. There happened in 1812 to be at Rome one Robert Watson, who had been compromised in London, first as private secretary to Lord George Gordon, and subsequently as a member of the Corresponding Society, after which he had found it convenient to live abroad. He purchased these papers for about twenty guineas, and fitted up a room to receive them, there being several cart loads. Having made great boasting of his acquisition, the matter reached the Cardinal Consalvi, himself a co-executor of the Cardinal, who seized the papers on behalf of the Papal government, offering to repay Watson all his outlay, a proposal which he refused, and left Rome, after vainly protesting against such interference with his lawful property. In November, 1838, he hanged himself in a London tavern, when eighty eight years of age. Consalvi’s object was probably to possess himself of any matter tending to compromise the Holy See, but finding the seizure very useless to his government, he, after the war was over, presented the papers to the Prince Regent. They have since been drawn upon with skill and good effect by Lord Mahon, and many other extracts from them appeared in the Appendix to Dr. Brown’s ‘History of the Highlands.’ The documents which we have quoted as ‘The Malatesta Papers,’ had been overlooked when Watson’s purchase was made, and have supplied some of the facts which we now for the first time give to the public.”

See also Mr. Lockhart’s *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, chap. lxxviii., vol. ix. p. 349. Sir Walter Scott was placed by George the Fourth, “at the head of a new Commission for examining and editing the MSS. collections of the exiled Princes of the House of Stuart, which had come into the King’s hands on the death of the Cardinal of York.” Scott accepted the appointment, but the decline of his health had already begun.]